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THE  
H I S T O R Y  
OF  
F R A N C E,  
FROM THE ACCESSION OF  
HENRY THE THIRD,  
TO THE DEATH OF  
LOUIS THE FOURTEENTH.  
PRECEDED BY  
A V I E W  
OF THE  
CIVIL, MILITARY, AND POLITICAL  
STATE OF EUROPE,  
BETWEEN THE MIDDLE, AND THE CLOSE, OF  
THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

K  
By NATHANIEL WILLIAM WRAXALL.

VOLUME THE FIRST.

L O N D O N:

Printed for A. STRAHAN and T. CADELL:

And Sold by T. CADELL Junior, and W. DAVIES, (Successors to  
Mr. CADELL,) in the Strand.

1795.

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OF  
FRANCE  
FROM THE ACCESSION OF  
HENRY THE THIRD  
TO THE DEATH OF

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1790

## P R E F A C E.

**I**N composing the History of France, I have not had it so much in my intention, to relate the series of political facts under the reigns of Henry the Third and Fourth; as to delineate the genius, spirit, and character of the French nation, during that period. The nature and limits of the work itself, did not permit me, in the first volume, to do more than to sketch, in nineteen chapters, the general state of the European system, between the middle and the conclusion of the sixteenth century. In the second and third volumes, I have minutely and accurately shaded the picture. The sources from which information upon national manners, and the progress of the human mind, are derived; may be pronounced to be neither obvious, nor superficial. They can only be found in the most patient and laborious perusal, or investigation of almost all the contemporary writers, in every branch of science, or polite letters. To that merit, and to that only, I can lay claim.

It may, perhaps, be objected, that at the present moment, when men are universally agitated with apprehen-



sions relative to the dearest objects of personal concern, and for the very preservation of civil order and society itself; few persons will have leisure or inclination to read the history of a period, which, though not in itself remote, is yet comparatively distant. But, may I not be allowed to assert, that to those who philosophize upon the nature of man, it cannot be either destitute of amusement or of instruction, to contemplate the same nation, as it existed two hundred years ago, which engrosses at present so much attention? We shall find, that at the extinction of the family of Valois, and at the elevation of the house of Bourbon to the throne, the French people were under the influence of a delirium, neither less ferocious, nor less sanguinary, than at this moment. So extraordinary a renewal of the same anarchy, and the same enormities, precisely at the termination of two centuries, might almost induce us to adopt the sentiment of their own historian de Thou; who seems to think, that "nations, like individuals, are subject to paroxysms of frenzy, which visit them periodically, at stated intervals."

If the work now presented to the world, should never exceed its present limits, it is complete in itself; as containing, besides the sketch of Europe, in the first volume, a History of France, in its most comprehensive sense, from 1574, to 1610. At the same time, it is my inten-

P R E F A C E

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tion, if the public approbation should be extended to the work, to continue it through three additional volumes. The first of these, would contain the reign and age of Louis the Thirteenth; and the two last, the reign and age of Louis the Fourteenth, down to the death of that monarch, in 1715. The severity of truth, which is demanded from history, as well as the want of a number of lights and documents of various kinds, which time alone can furnish; would prevent me, even if there were no personal impediments in the way, from ever attempting to bring it down to a later period. That task must be the province of future historians, and the work of another century.

N. W. WRAXALL.

LONDON,  
*March, 1795.*





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INTRO-



## INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTION.

**T**HE principal object of History, which is to expand and elevate, while it informs the mind, can never be so effectually attained, as by ascending an eminence at certain periods, and taking from thence a comprehensive view of man, as he exists under the various forms, into which force, policy, or accident have moulded society. Before the termination of the fifteenth century, Europe, scarcely emerged from barbarism, and destitute of all the facilities of mutual communication, was little connected by any general ties of policy or commerce. But, after the accession of Francis the First to the crown of France, and the elevation of Charles the Fifth to the Imperial throne, a new order of events arose. The obstinate contests of those princes for pre-eminence and power, called into action states previously unknown; and eventually produced that systematic attention to prevent the aggrandizement of any one state, which has blended the interests of all. Letters, hitherto confined to the banks of the Arno or the Tyber, and only fostered by the protecting care of the Medicis, or the sovereign pontiffs, began to penetrate beyond the Appennines and the Alps. They were patronized by sovereigns, cultivated by the nobility, and gradually diffused through



## INTRODUCTION.

the inferior ranks of mankind. Trade, which had been exclusively limited to the Mediterranean, embraced the Baltic and the Atlantic. The extremities of Europe became in some measure approximated, and the mutual wants of various countries united them by a common chain. It is from this period that a liberal curiosity is justly excited; and that history, liberated from fable or superstition, becomes the guide, and the best instructor to which we can have recourse.

France, from its central position, from the magnitude and variety of its resources, as well as from the spirit of enterprize and turbulence which has frequently characterized its counsels, has, in every age, had great influence on the general repose of the surrounding states. During the whole course of the sixteenth century, that kingdom may be considered as the master-spring, by which all the inferior movements were affected or regulated. Charles the Fifth and Philip the Second, although possessed of far more extensive dominions, and masters of the treasures remitted from the new world; yet in real power were, perhaps, not superior to the French princes, their contemporaries. All Europe was implicated in the quarrels of Francis the First. England and Scotland, either as allies or enemies, took the most active part. Italy was the great theatre of action, and the perpetual scene of hostility. The German empire, convulsed in its interior by political and religious dissensions, was agitated by the intrigues of Francis, and openly invaded by his successor, Henry the Second, who dismembered from it Metz, Toul, and Verdun. Even beyond the shore of the Baltic, their enmity opposed new barriers to the ambition of the house of Austria. Christian the Second, king of Denmark, and Gustavus Vasa, king of Sweden, entered into connexions of offensive policy with the crown of France. Not satisfied with appealing to all the Christian states, they introduced an Asiatic and a Mahometan upon the stage of Europe. Soliman the Second, sultan of the Turks, and master of the capital of the Greek empire,

## INTRODUCTION.

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was their ally and confederate. The Mediterranean was covered with the French and Ottoman fleets, who besieged Nice in concert, laid waste the coasts of Italy, and spread terror from the mouth of the Adriatic, to the Straits of Gibraltar.

Even after the decease of Henry the Second, and the commencement of the civil wars, which plunged the kingdom of France into a temporary anarchy, the restless ambition of Catherine of Medicis, or the efforts of the two factions which contended for superiority, perpetuated the general fermentation. Scotland, by the marriage of its young queen to Francis the Second, became for a short period annexed to, and incorporated with, the French monarchy. The Netherlands were on the point of passing permanently into the house of Valois, in the person of the duke of Alençon, the youngest of the sons of Henry the Second. Catherine herself laid claim to the vacant sceptre of Portugal, after the death of the Cardinal king, in 1580; and endeavoured, though vainly, to place on the throne an illegitimate descendant of its ancient monarchs. Her intrigues pervaded the most remote countries, and, by a singular caprice of fortune, raised to the Polish crown one of her sons, the duke of Anjou, after the extinction of the family of Jagellon. Elizabeth, queen of England, notwithstanding the numerous reasons which should have induced her to dread a French alliance, seemed to be inclined towards accepting the hand of the duke of Alençon. Germany, Spain, and Switzerland, as well as many of the Italian states, were active participators in all the troubles of France, and lent their assistance to one or the other of the contending parties.

In order, therefore, to read the French history with information, and to derive from its perusal that enlarged instruction which it is peculiarly calculated to convey, it becomes indispensable to survey previously the state of Europe. By comparing the relative situation, force, and progress of the respective countries which compose it, we shall be assisted in forming those deductions, without which the



## INTRODUCTION.

mere narration of events is neither productive of utility nor benefit. The present age, which has produced so many illustrious writers, and which is illuminated by a variety of knowledge on every subject, expects from an historian a comprehensive view of the time and period, not the dull recapitulation of battles, treaties, and alliances. Such is the avowed object of the work now undertaken. In contemplating the European system, as it existed at the death of Charles the Ninth of France, in 1574, it is natural to begin with England.

A  
V I E W  
OF THE  
CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND SOCIAL STATE  
OF  
E U R O P E,  
AT THE  
DEATH of CHARLES the NINTH,  
in 1574.

C H A P. I.  
E N G L A N D.

*Review of the English History from the death of Henry the Eighth to the accession of Elizabeth.—Survey of the principal events of Elizabeth's reign to the year 1574.—State of England at that period.—Foreign and domestic policy of the Queen.—Ministers and favourites.—Government and constitution.—Revenues.—Military force.—Navy.—Commerce.—Navigation.—Manufactures.—Population.—Police.—Letters.*

**S**INCE the æra of the Norman conquest, which had transferred the English sceptre to a race of foreign princes, and which was succeeded by a general change of the private property of the kingdom, no reign, during near five centuries, had been productive of alterations so vast, or so permanent in their consequences, as that of Henry

C H A P.  
I.

General re-  
view of the  
English  
history.



CHAP.  
I.

Henry the Eighth. The successful wars, waged by the barons and great vassals of the crown, against John and Henry the Third, had rather tended to secure the independence of the nobility, than to emancipate the people; who in that age were, from a multiplicity of causes, equally incapable of comprehending and of enjoying the advantages of a free constitution, and a limited monarchy. The victorious inroads of Edward the First upon Scotland, and the final reduction of that country, which he appeared to have nearly achieved a short time before his decease, were as rapidly overturned under his successor. Even the brilliant career of Edward the Third, and Henry the Fifth, in France, though calculated to dazzle their subjects, and to ornament the page of history, had neither produced any beneficial nor lasting effect. The victories of Cressy, Poitiers, and Agincourt; the captivity of John, and the marriage of Henry the Fifth with Catherine daughter of Charles the Sixth, which was designed to cement the union of the two crowns; had been successively rendered abortive by the desperate valour, or wisdom and policy, of the French princes. Debility, languor, and civil commotions had followed these violent efforts, which seemed to have exceeded the strength, and exhausted the resources, of England.

The long contest and alternate triumphs of the two houses of York and Lancaster, had deluged the kingdom with blood, and terminated in the extinction of the family of Plantagenet; while, at the same time, they impeded the introduction of order, science, and civilization. At the accession of Henry the Seventh, England was depopulated; the inhabitants were rendered ferocious, from their familiarity with scenes of anarchy and violence; and the connexion with foreign states, commercial or political, was almost annihilated, under the pressure of domestic calamities.

Reign of  
Henry the  
Eighth.

The slow and sagacious policy of that artful monarch, by permitting and encouraging the alienation of the estates of the nobility, had begun to sap the edifice of the feudal system, and to open the prospect

prospect of wealth and consideration to the commons. But it was reserved for his son, Henry the Eighth, to effect changes equally salutary, and far more comprehensive. The abolition of the monastic orders; the confiscation and seizure of their property; the renunciation of the papal supremacy; and the subversion of so many tenets or usages, sanctified by prescription, and enjoined by superstition: these mighty innovations, civil and religious, had not been equalled, or paralleled, in any preceding age; and though they originated in the furious passions, or insatiable rapacity, of the king, yet they were eventually productive of the happiest consequences to his people. A spirit of inquiry and disquisition, favourable to the progress of learning, succeeded to the torpid indolence of the cloyster; while the unlimited tyranny, which Henry had acquired and exercised over the minds and persons of his subjects, enabled him, in his wars, or negotiations with other princes, to call into action, and to direct, with energy and effect, all the vigour of the state.

CHAP.  
I.

If we survey the condition of England towards the termination of his life and reign, we shall find, notwithstanding the political errors which he committed from caprice or impetuosity; notwithstanding his prodigality of the public treasure, and the unrelenting barbarity of temper, which, in its paroxysms of rage or jealousy, spared neither his wives, his ministers, nor his favourites; yet, that the monarchy occupied a rank in the scale of Europe, only inferior to those of France and Spain. His severe administration had established a profound repose throughout his own dominions, in an age of theological controversy, when the minds of men were heated to the greatest degree of mutual virulence and animosity. Coercing equally the catholic and the protestant part of his subjects, he imposed his own rule of faith, and religious dogmas, upon the followers of both persuasions. In the last rupture with France, though he had been abandoned by his ally, the emperor Charles the Fifth, and had been left alone in the contest, he had, notwithstanding, effected the reduction.

1540—1547.



## CHAP.

## I.

1540—1547.

reduction of Boulogne, and retained possession of it at the subsequent treaty of peace. Ireland had given him no disturbance, nor excited any commotion against his government, during the last thirteen years of his reign. The premature death of James the Fifth; the struggles for power which ensued; the minority of the young queen, afterwards the unfortunate Mary; and, more than all these causes combined, the internal convulsions excited by the introduction and rapid progress of the reformation; had disabled the Scots from sustaining the repeated inroads, or repelling the invasions, made by Henry on their frontiers. Though, from his characteristic violence, he failed in the only wise and rational object of policy; that of uniting the two kingdoms, by the marriage of his son Edward with Mary; yet his arms had obtained the most decided superiority over Scotland, and left him nothing to apprehend from that dangerous quarter. The emperor Charles the Fifth, notwithstanding numerous domestic and political subjects of disgust, was anxious to maintain an amicable correspondence with a sovereign who had already extended, and was competent to lend at any future time, the most effectual assistance to the Smalcaldic league, composed of the protestant princes of the empire. The thunders of the Vatican, vainly levelled at Henry, had lost their force, and excited neither terror nor attention.

1547—1553.  
Reign of  
Edward the  
Sixth.

In this state of things, the crown devolved to Edward the Sixth; but, during the short period of six years, within which his reign is comprised, many of the advantages derived from the vigour of his father's government, were successively lost or sacrificed. The royal power, diminished in the unskilful hands of the duke of Somerset, uncle to the young king, and protector of the realm, no longer inspired the dread, or excited the respect, which it had so long been accustomed to produce. Internal dissensions divided the counsels,

\* Rapin, Hume, passim.

and

# E N G L A N D.

CHAP.

I.

1547—1553.

and enfeeble the exertions of England. The protector, after reluctantly bringing his own brother, lord Seymour, to the block, for his criminal and dangerous intrigues, was himself in a short time deprived of his office, and eventually conducted to the scaffold, by the arts of the duke of Northumberland. Somerset, in the beginning of his administration, had obtained a signal victory over the Scots, at Pinkey, which, if it had been pursued, might have enabled him to dictate conditions to that country; but, his apprehension of the influence, which his brother attempted to establish during his absence, prevented his reaping any solid advantage from his success. It was even injurious to his sovereign and to England, by affording a pretext and an occasion for transporting the young queen, Mary, then in a state of childhood, to the court of France, where she was educated, and betrothed to the dauphin: an event equally productive of misfortunes to herself and to Scotland. Though the reformation had been adopted in England, and zealously supported by the government, yet the German princes of that persuasion were abandoned to their fate, and finally overpowered by the emperor. Boulogne, acquired at an immense expence, was tamely surrendered to the French, for an inconsiderable sum; and the young king, whose extraordinary endowments of understanding and qualities of heart, had excited the most flattering expectations in his subjects, was snatched away at a period, when his virtues might soon have been actively exerted for their protection and benefit. He was even induced, during the progress of the distemper which conducted him to the grave, to entail a civil war upon his dominions, by invading the natural order of succession, and by calling to the throne a princess, who could claim no right to it from proximity of blood or descent. The lady Jane Gray was proclaimed queen, and expiated her momentary and unwilling acceptance of the crown, by an early death.

\* Hume, Rapin, passim.

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C

All



## C H A P.

## I.

1553—1558.  
Reign of  
Mary.

All those, to whom either the honour of their country, or the general rights of humanity are dear, must turn with disgust from the reign of Mary. The first act of her government, which was the punishment of the ambition and crimes of Northumberland, is almost the only one which excites approbation. Her narrow and furious bigotry, combined with the inhumanity and asperity of her temper, impelled her to attempt the extirpation of heresy by every cruel and sanguinary mode, which inquisitorial rancour could devise. Born with all the hereditary superstition of the house of Austria, and of her mother, Catherine of Arragon, she wanted capacity to moderate and direct its violence. She completed the unpopularity of her administration, by contracting a marriage with Philip, prince of Spain, to whom the leading features of her mind and character bore a striking similarity. To the gratification of his animosity or ambition, she deliberately sacrificed the glory and the interests of her own kingdom. In contradiction equally to the dictates of policy, and to the ties of faith between nations, she violated the peace subsisting with France; and took an active part in the war then carrying on between Philip and Henry the Second. By a retribution, as singular as it was just, she became the victim of this infraction of treaties: at a moment when her husband and ally had obtained the memorable victory of Saint Quentin, and seemed on the point of dictating, at the gates of Paris, his own terms to the French monarch, Mary received the most humiliating blow. From the criminal neglect and parsimony of the court, as much as by the well-directed enterprize of the duke of Guise, Calais was unexpectedly attacked and taken. This place, which the circumstances of its original capture, the possession of more than two hundred years, and the facility which it afforded to invade the dominions of France, had rendered dear to the pride and prejudices of the English nation, was irrecoverably lost. One only benefit might be said to have resulted from the misfortune; as the agitation of mind which the queen underwent at so disgraceful an event, aided and accelerated the progress of those distempers, under

der which her frame was already hastening to decay. She expired towards the close of the same year; leaving an exhausted exchequer, an enfeebled country, and a memory deservedly odious to the latest posterity'. CHAP.  
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Such were the circumstances of national depression, under which Elizabeth ascended the English throne; and the first measures which she embraced, evinced to her subjects, and to all Europe, that the sceptre had passed into hands, capable of swaying it with energy and effect. The enlargement of her mind, and her superiority to the dictates of personal revenge, induced her to receive with benignity even those, who, during the late reign, had stimulated the bigotry of Mary, to acts of violence against her; and who, not content with endeavouring to exclude her from the succession, had meditated to bring her to the scaffold. This contempt of injuries was not less the effect of an enlightened and liberal policy, than of magnanimity. Though attached to the reformed religion from education and conviction, yet in this, as in almost every other feature of her public character, the precautions of a wise and cautious government repressed the indiscreet zeal or enthusiasm, so characteristic of that age of innovation. The change of the national worship and profession of faith was conducted with temper, exempt from every unnecessary violence, and even accommodated, in some degree, to the prejudices of her catholic subjects\*. The popularity of her manners, and graciousness of her demeanour, acquired the affections of the people; and in these commendable arts, she has scarcely been exceeded by any prince. 1558.  
November.  
Reign of  
Elizabeth.

While she betrayed qualities so beneficial in her domestic administration, her situation with respect to foreign powers demanded equal sagacity to discern, and ability to conduct, the interests of her 1559.  
Her foreign  
policy.

\* Rapin, Hume, passim.

\* Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 5—8. Camden's Annals of Elizabeth, p. 5, 6.



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I.  
1559—1560.

crown. Two powerful princes, Philip and Henry, occupied the thrones of Spain and of France. The former, after the death of Mary, anxious to perpetuate his nominal sovereignty of England, offered her his friendship, and solicited her hand in marriage. The latter, already in possession of Calais, refused to cede, or to restore, so valuable an acquisition. Her address and the wisdom of her counsels, were equally conspicuous towards both these monarchs. She prudently temporised with Philip, and even allured him with hopes, until she had effected the important changes, religious and civil, which were indispensable on her accession. She then tempered her refusal with every profession of personal regard, calculated to diminish its effect, and to retain the good will, at the same time that she rejected the proposal, of the king of Spain<sup>5</sup>.

Conscious that the juncture was unfavourable for the recovery of Calais, by open force; and that, in the exhausted state of the kingdom, repose and frugality were requisite to establish the foundation of her throne, and of the national grandeur; she prudently yielded to the necessity which these circumstances imposed: yet, in the treaty of peace, she not only retained her pretensions to Calais, but supported her own dignity, while she flattered the pride of the English nation, by stipulating for its restitution at the end of eight years. She knew how to appreciate, and how to despise this possession, when opposed to more important interests of state; and only a few months afterwards, when the court of France affected to offer the immediate restoration of the place and its dependant territory, if she would withdraw her troops from Scotland, she rejected the proposal with disdain<sup>6</sup>.

1560—1568.  
Her policy  
towards Scot-  
land.

The masculine understanding and vigilant policy of Elizabeth, were never so fully exerted or manifested, as in her conduct towards

<sup>5</sup> Camden, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 11—14. Rapin's Hist. of England, octavo, vol. vii. p. 195—197. Hume, vol. v. p. 16—18.

the

the last mentioned kingdom; it occupied her whole reign, and formed the most essential object of her unremitting attention. The crown of Scotland had devolved, like that of England, to a woman. Mary, queen of Scots, was a princess peculiarly formed to excite the compassion, as well as to conciliate the affection, of the age in which she lived, and of posterity. Her personal beauty, her address, her accomplishments, and her undaunted spirit under circumstances the most distressful, claim our admiration. Her errors, or rather her crimes, challenge our detestation; but they are, in some measure, effaced by her misfortunes, and expiated by her imprisonment and death. In the science of reigning, and in all the arts of rendering her people happy and herself respected, she was far inferior to her illustrious rival. Elizabeth, actuated by the personal jealousy of a woman, as well as impelled by her apprehension of Mary's designs against her crown, exhausted all the subtle refinements of an insidious and unprincipled policy, in exciting such domestic disturbances against the queen of Scots, as might effectually restrain her from carrying into execution her plans of aggrandizement. She succeeded in this endeavour; and even against the wishes of her own subjects, and in defiance of the addresses of both houses of parliament, she ultimately prevented Mary from being acknowledged as presumptive heir to the crown of England.

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I.

1560—1568.

The fatal imprudence and misconduct of the latter princess; her acquiescence, or participation, in the murder of her husband, lord Darnley; her subsequent marriage with the earl of Bothwell; in a word, that series of infatuation and enormities, which stains and degrades her character, gave to Elizabeth advantages, that no superiority of power or capacity could ever have procured. Mary, precipitated into infamy and ruin, imprisoned and dethroned by her own rebellious subjects, defeated in her attempts to re-ascend the throne, and dreading the last degree of violence if she fell alive into their hands, embraced the most fatal and irremediable of all expedients; that of flying



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1560-1568.

flying for refuge and protection to Elizabeth, whom she had injured, and by whom she was detested. The queen of England improved to its utmost extent this extraordinary interposition of fortune, which laid at her feet the object of her hatred and terror. Every profession of sympathy and concern, every blandishment of generous friendship, were at first assumed and expressed, to deceive the captive queen, and induce her to submit the arbitration of her cause to the justice of Elizabeth. Anxious only to expose to the eyes of all Europe, the crimes of the unfortunate princess, and firmly determined never to release her, or permit her to resume the crown of Scotland, expedients were not wanting to prolong the final decision. Mary, transferred successively to different prisons, and denied all access to the queen of England, saw her youth pass away in vain attempts, on the part of her numerous partizans, to procure her freedom and revenge<sup>7</sup>.

1569.  
Her domestic  
policy.

The vigilant administration of Elizabeth continually discovered, and rendered ineffectual, the intrigues or conspiracies set on foot to restore the queen of Scots. Her uncles, the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine, though still disposed to exert their unwearied efforts to place her on the throne of England, no longer possessed that unlimited influence over the counsels of France, which they had enjoyed during the reign of Francis the Second. The duke of Norfolk, after having embarked in her cause, and even stipulated to marry her, lost his head for these criminal and reiterated plots. The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, who commenced a premature insurrection in the northern counties, were defeated, and compelled to fly for safety into foreign kingdoms. Similar enterprises, undertaken by the zealous catholics, met with the same success. Nor were the interpositions and exertions of France and Spain attended with better consequences. The former country, plunged in civil dissensions; governed by a minor king (Charles the Ninth);

<sup>7</sup> Camden, Rapin, Hume, passim.

and

and torn by opposite factions ; was little able to interpose with vigour and effect, by force of arms. The expostulations of successive French ambassadors, in behalf of Mary, affectedly made rather to save appearances, than with any serious wish or expectation of extricating her, were easily eluded, or answered by complaints on the part of Elizabeth. Philip, the most powerful sovereign in Europe, bigotted to the catholic faith, and the determined enemy of England, might have employed more decisive means to enforce his demands. But the revolt of his subjects in the Netherlands, and the employment which his arms found in endeavouring to conquer those provinces, incapacitated him, during a considerable part of his reign, from making any hostile invasion of Elizabeth's dominions ; though the duke of Alva, aiding the wishes of Philip, repeatedly attempted to excite rebellions in the kingdom. From Scotland itself, she was still liable to inroads the most ruinous and frequent, if Mary's adherents had been in a condition to annoy her upon that vulnerable quarter ; but after the flight of the Scottish queen, and the depression of her party, it was not difficult for so able a princess as Elizabeth, to procure a decided superiority for her friends. A regent, (the earl of Murray,) devoted to her interests, supported by her forces, and almost subsisting on her bounty, retained Scotland in obedience, and governed, under the infant son of Mary, who was declared king \*. By these wise and active measures, Elizabeth maintained England in peace, and excited respect or terror in every court of Europe.

If, after the review of her conduct towards the captive queen of Scots, we survey the great outlines of her policy with respect to France and Spain, we shall be compelled to own that it was equally masculine and successful. The time was past, when her father, Henry the Eighth, could hold the balance between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, and decide as his interests or caprice dictated, in favour of

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Conduct of  
Elizabeth to-  
wards Spain  
and France.

\* Hume, vol. v. p. 124—126.



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one or the other of those princes. Elizabeth reigned by a questionable title and a disputed claim. Her mother's marriage and death had cast a doubt over the legitimacy of her birth; and many of her own subjects held the pretensions of Mary to be superior in validity. Nor was this the only circumstance which rendered her liable to danger and attack. She was the head and the protectress of the reformed religion; and though she appears rather to have been driven to the necessity of placing herself in the situation, than to have adopted it from any enthusiasm for the tenets of the protestant faith; yet she could derive little advantage from her moderation or liberality upon that article.

Theological disputes and a sanguinary zeal had, in a great measure, superseded or suspended the interests, which for half a century involved the monarchies of France and Spain in perpetual hostilities. Philip the Second and Charles the Ninth, sacrificing to their mutual bigotry and detestation of the reformers, all the subjects of contest between the two crowns, had recently entered into the closest alliance. The conferences held at Bayonne, between Catherine of Medicis and the duke of Alva, were universally supposed to have, for their principal object, the extirpation of the hugonots. An attack upon England would have been regarded as a crusade, meriting the immediate benediction of Heaven. Elizabeth lay under a papal excommunication; and successive pontiffs had absolved her subjects from all allegiance to her person or government. The enmity of France was faintly concealed through the veil of exterior regard and professions of amity; nor did that profligate court hesitate to exert the most perfidious duplicity, in order to lull the circumspection of Elizabeth, and diminish her vigilance. Philip, though, during the life of Francis the Second, he had been restrained from acting in a hostile manner towards the Queen, by the dread of seeing the crown of England united to those of France and Scotland under one head; was no sooner released from his apprehensions,

by

by the death of the French king, than he threw off the mask. The queen endeavoured, by every mark of personal respect, but in vain, to preserve his friendship; or, at all events, to deprecate the resentment of so powerful a prince. He sullenly refused the order of the garter, which she tendered him, and declined renewing the ancient league between the houses of England and Burgundy. These first demonstrations of alienation, were followed by more unequivocal proofs of anger. The English ambassadors in Spain were wantonly insulted; and no satisfaction was made for the capture of three ships, commanded by sir John Hawkins, on the coast of Mexico. Elizabeth, yielding to the necessity of the time, embarrassed with the queen of Scots, and aware of the insidious duplicity of the French court, prudently dissembled her sense of these injuries, and waited for a more favourable moment, in which to take vengeance on Philip. The troubles that arose in the Netherlands, soon afforded her an occasion, of which she availed herself. Without violating the peace subsisting with Spain, or involving herself in open hostilities with that monarchy, she effectually defeated the schemes of the duke of Alva, by seizing and retaining, at a most critical juncture, a very large sum, which some Genoese merchants were remitting to Antwerp. Though she accompanied this act with excuses, and assurances of restitution, the consequences to Spain were fatal and irremediable.

Towards France, of whose power she stood less in awe, her conduct was more decided, and her interference clearly avowed. At a very early period of her reign, when the civil wars commenced in that country, she sent a powerful succour to the prince of Condé and the hugonots; who, as a pledge for the repayment of the assistance, delivered Havre de Grace into her possession. At the pacification which shortly afterwards took place between Charles the Ninth and his subjects, they jointly invested Havre, and the plague co-operating with famine, it was surrendered by capitulation. So ungrateful a return for her protection, did not prevent the queen from



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renewing her support, when the dissensions revived in France; and she extended, after Condé's defeat and death at Jarnac, the same aid to Coligni, who succeeded to the command of the protestant forces. Yet even this open act of interference, she qualified by her ambassador at the court of France, and avoided carefully involving her kingdom in war, while it was possible to attain the same object by indirect means.

Charles, on the other hand, who had already determined to massacre the rebels whom he could not subdue, and who, with that resolution, had granted them an advantageous peace, dissembled his indignation at Elizabeth's conduct. He went further, and, in order to extinguish the remembrance of past misunderstandings, made every flattering advance to obtain her friendship and alliance. He had long been invested with the order of the garter: he now proposed to enter into the closest connections with England; and set on foot a negotiation for the marriage of his brother Henry, duke of Anjou, with the queen. She affected to listen with apparent complacency, to the offer, which flattered her personal vanity; and, conscious that on the pretext of religion, she could at any time break off the conclusion of the treaty, she permitted it to be discussed, and the leading articles to be agitated. The massacre of Paris, that quickly followed, evinced to her the deep and perfidious designs of the French court, which were not only levelled at Coligni and his adherents, but had for their object, the extermination of the protestant religion in every country of Europe. She dreaded the union of Charles and Philip, and saw her own inevitable ruin, in so unequal a combination against England. Happily, the new commotions which immediately arose in the dominions of the former prince, where the hugonots, more exasperated than subdued, exerted the most successful efforts against the crown, in a considerable degree calmed her apprehensions from that quarter.

The

The armies and revenues of Spain were drained by the wars in the Low Countries, which reluctantly compelled Philip to postpone, though not finally to lay aside, his projects of conquest and revenge against the English. Yet, conscious of the delicacy and danger of her situation, which required not only vigilance, but dissimulation, she adapted her conduct to it with wonderful skill and versatility. To Philip, she continued, even when sending secret assistance to his subjects in the Netherlands, to make professions of neutrality and amity. She admitted the ambassador of Charles to pronounce the apology, and to state the pretended reasons of his sovereign, for exterminating his unarmed and unsuspecting subjects. She moderated the expressions of her indignation at this act of sanguinary treachery, and she affected to suppose that it had not been premeditated on the part of the king. Though well aware of the little reliance to be placed upon the oaths or treaties made with such a prince, she permitted the negotiation for her marriage with the duke of Alençon, Charles's second brother, to be renewed. Elizabeth even sent one of the first noblemen of her court, to assist as her representative at the baptism of the infant daughter of the king of France, and appeared to cultivate that monarch's friendship with the utmost sincerity.

While she made so many sacrifices to policy, and to her personal safety, she neglected no precaution that might enable her to meet and to overcome the dangers, which menaced her tranquillity. She redoubled her vigilance in discovering and repressing the plots of her catholic subjects in favour of Mary. She wisely courted all the arts of popularity, augmented her navy, exercised her people to arms, and renewed her alliance with the German princes of the protestant persuasion. By these efforts, she saw herself in a condition to sustain any attack, which her inveterate enemies might make; and the affectionate zeal of her parliament and people, grateful for the blessing of her government, seconded the exertions of their sovereign.

Arts and precautions of Elizabeth.

\* Camden's Annals, p. 103—178. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 344—396. Hume, vol. v. p. 167.—210.



## CHAP.

## I.

1574.  
May.Character of  
Elizabeth.

Such was the situation of affairs, when the death of Charles the Ninth took place, and Henry the Third ascended the throne of France.

The queen had nearly completed her forty-first year, and was in the plenitude of her vigour and talents. Though, considered as a woman, she appears to have laboured under many of the characteristic weaknesses or defects of her sex; yet, as a monarch, she united almost every great endowment which could conciliate love, or inspire respect. The violence, caprice, and tyranny of Henry the Eighth, are certainly to be traced in many of her actions. The vanity, coquetry, and inordinate passion for admiration, that distinguished Anna Bullen, and which conduced to her ruin, were carried to a much more inexcusable height by her daughter. Her conduct to Mary, queen of Scots, however palliated by necessity, excites disapprobation, and even abhorrence. The malignity with which she persecuted the unfortunate countess of Hertford, sister to lady Jane Gray, and whose only crime seems to have been her descent from the blood-royal of England, cannot be too strongly reprobated. Perhaps more than either of these, her selection of Robert Dudley for her favourite, and the continued protection which she extended to so dangerous and profligate a man, during almost the whole course of his life; in a public point of view, calls for the greatest condemnation. But these vices or faults were eclipsed by her frugality, vigilance, magnanimity, wisdom, and unwearied attention to the happiness and prosperity of her people. They repaid her care with the warmest attachment, and were fully sensible of their felicity in being governed by so great a princess.

State of the  
kingdom at  
this period.

In 1574, the internal troubles and commotions, which had so frequently disturbed her tranquillity, were in a great measure extinct, and their causes removed. Her prisoner, the queen of Scots, languishing in confinement, and transferred successively to various places  
of

of security, was detained in the castle of Tutbury, under the guard of the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon. The party attached to that princess, wearied with vain efforts for her release and re-establishment, was sunk into despondency. With the duke of Norfolk, their hopes had been extinguished. Elizabeth, after a delay of some months, and a reluctance, which seems to have been real, signed an order for his execution; and his head was struck off upon Tower-hill<sup>10</sup>. The rebellion, rashly commenced in the northern counties, had left scarcely any traces. No part of the queen's dominions, during her whole reign, caused her more disquietude, or occasioned her more expence, than Ireland. The unsettled nature of the island; the feuds continually subsisting between the chiefs; their bigotted adherence to the catholic faith; and the effect produced among so uncivilized a people, by the bull of Pius the Fifth, excommunicating Elizabeth: these causes gave birth to perpetual revolts; and though speedily quelled or repressed by the lord-deputies, they drained the royal coffers, and painfully exercised the unremitting attention of the government. In Scotland, the last remaining adherents of Mary had either submitted themselves voluntarily to the established government, or were reduced to obedience, and the leaders capitally punished, by force of arms. The castle of Edinburgh, which still held out for the imprisoned queen, was taken by the English, and her partizans were finally vanquished. The earl of Morton, chosen regent, depended upon Elizabeth, and looked up to her for support and protection<sup>11</sup>. In the Low Countries, her implacable and powerful adversary, the duke of Alva, who had aided every attempt against her person and government, was at length recalled by the king of Spain. His successor, Requesens, a man of milder disposition, rather endeavoured to cultivate her friendship, than to widen the breach. The revolted

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<sup>10</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 199.

<sup>11</sup> Rapin, vol. vii. p. 386—392.

subjects



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subjects of Philip, in the provinces of Holland and Zealand, already regarded her as their protectress, and sued for her assistance".

1574.

From the power of France, she had no immediate cause for alarm. The decease of Charles; the absence and distance of Henry, who was in Poland; at the time of his brother's death; the distracted state of the country; the weakness of the crown; and the diversion which might at any moment be made in her favour, by the hugonots: all these circumstances guaranteed her security. Spain was a more formidable enemy; and she constantly, during her whole reign, kept her eye fixed upon that bigotted and vindictive court. But neither had she hitherto altogether ceased to observe some measures with Philip, nor had he leisure and ability to bend the force of his monarchy against England. With Sebastian, the young king of Portugal, she had recently contracted an alliance, and terminated some differences relative to commerce, which had subsisted between the subjects of the two crowns since the time of Edward the Sixth". The emperor Maximilian the Second had always professed for her the most partial esteem, and had even exerted his interest at the court of Rome, to prevent the excommunication with which she was menaced. Elizabeth repaid his attention, by every act of regard, and treated him on all occasions, as her father. When his daughter, the archduchess Anne, was married to Philip the Second, she sent a fleet, commanded by lord Howard, to escort her from Zealand into Spain. At the nuptials of another of the emperor's daughters, Elizabeth, who espoused Charles the Ninth of France, she, from the same motives, dispatched a splendid embassy to assist at the ceremony". The protestant princes of the German empire courted her friendship; and even from the extremities of Europe, John Basilowitz, czar of Muscovy, not only granted peculiar commercial immunities to her subjects, but solicited her alliance, and warmly

<sup>12</sup> Camden, p. 173.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 147.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 129, 130. Hume, vol. v. p. 208. Rapin, vol. vii. p. 383.

urged

urged her to enter into the closest stipulations for their mutual safety.

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I.

1574.  
Ministers and  
favourites of  
Elizabeth.

The high consideration to which the queen had attained in the estimation of foreign courts, was the result of that energy and vigilance, which distinguished her domestic counsels and government. Though many of the greatest names which adorn her annals, appeared at a later period of her reign, yet, the persons employed at this time in the highest offices of trust, have merited the applauses of posterity, and may be reckoned among the most illustrious men whom England has produced. At their head, must be placed sir William Cecil, secretary of state; and whom she raised, after thirteen years of service, to the dignity of a baron, by the name of lord Burleigh<sup>15</sup>. His sagacity, application, and devotion to the interests of his mistress, induced her soon afterwards to nominate him lord high treasurer, in which employment he continued to his death. Though accused by his enemies, of too great a disposition to parsimony, and of repressing the bounty of the queen towards those, who had impoverished themselves in the service of the state; he nevertheless stands deservedly in the first rank of wise and able ministers. He even ventured, more than once, to oppose the indiscreet profusion of dignities and honours, which she heaped upon the earl of Leicester; and, in such a contradiction to her avowed partiality, he evinced the highest elevation of mind, and regard to the public interests.

Cecil.

The talents of sir Francis Walsingham were scarcely inferior, and his virtue was more pure, than that of Cecil. At this period of Elizabeth's reign, he was her ambassador at the court of France, where his vigilance gave her timely intimation of many of the treacherous measures, designed to invade her repose. His disinterestedness and active precautions diminished his private fortune, and reduced

Walsingham.

<sup>15</sup> Camden, p. 163.

him.



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## I.

1574.  
Throckmor-  
ton.

him to such poverty, as to leave his daughter to be portioned by the queen.

Throckmorton was endowed with extraordinary abilities, which he had evinced in many arduous, and delicate situations; but, having offended lord Burleigh, he had met with a return from Elizabeth, inadequate to his faithful services; and he died, a short time before the elevation of that nobleman to the post of treasurer<sup>16</sup>. Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, was not more eminent for his capacity, than for having given birth to a son, whose genius eclipsed the talents of his father. Drake, sprung from an obscure family, but destined to the most glorious naval achievements, had already signalized himself by a bold and successful attack upon the Spaniards in America; and was preparing to carry his depredations into the Pacific Ocean, where none of his countrymen had hitherto ventured. Raleigh, afterwards so renowned and so unfortunate, first appeared in the succours, sent by Elizabeth to Coligni, where his courage and capacity rendered him distinguished.

Leicester.

This list is disgraced by the earl of Leicester; whose influence, founded only on exterior graces of person or manners, and whose character, composed of the most odious vices, reflect dishonour on his mistress's choice. The truth of history will not, however, permit the omission of a man, whose ascendancy over the mind of Elizabeth, can only be compared to that of Bothwell over Mary, queen of Scots, and whose crimes scarcely appear to have merited a milder fate. Like him, Leicester aspired to his sovereign's bed; and though Elizabeth's jealousy of any participation of her authority, or other more unascertained causes, prevented her from giving to her favourite this last proof of his empire, and of her weakness; he nevertheless attained to so exorbitant a height of power as to shake

<sup>16</sup> Camden, p. 130.

the queen's popularity, and considerably to diminish the respect paid to her person and government.

C H A P.  
I.

1574.  
Constitution  
of England.

If, after this survey of Elizabeth's personal character, her ministers, and measures, we permit ourselves, divested of prejudice, to contemplate the constitution of England under her reign, we must be compelled to admit, that, notwithstanding the forms of a limited monarchy, it approached, in many essential points, to the genius of despotism. The throne was not only intrenched behind numberless branches of prerogative, the most inimical to liberty; but it was surrounded by tribunals, subversive of freedom, civil or religious. The dispensing power alone, which was acknowledged to reside in the crown, rendered its possessor paramount to all laws. The right of arbitrary imprisonment subjected every individual to arrest and detention. Monopolies, granted at pleasure, imposed the most ruinous fetters, or restrictions, on general industry. Benevolences and loans, arbitrarily exacted, rendered property insecure". As if so many oppressive claims or powers were not sufficient to retain the people in subjection, and to awe the most enterprising and seditious, courts of criminal justice, armed with indefinite authority, were likewise added. At the head of them may be ranked the Star Chamber, so celebrated, and so odious, in the English history. Its jurisdiction extended to almost every species of crimes, not cognizable in the ordinary progress of law: the members who composed it, were removable at pleasure; and their sentences might inflict corporal punishment, fines, and imprisonment". The High Commission Court was a scourge, if possible, more severe; because it tyrannized over the opinions and the consciences of men. It was instituted soon after the queen's accession, on her assumption of the spiritual supremacy, and exercised the same powers, which Henry the Eighth had delegated to a vicegerent, or vicar-general, in 1536. If, to the two tribunals already mentioned, we add Courts Martial,

" Hume, vol. v. Appendix, iii. p. 452.

" Ibid. p. 453, 454.



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1574.  
Extensive  
prerogative.

which the sovereign might authorize, and before whose jurisdiction all treasonable offences might be brought, we shall need little additional proof of the boundless pretensions and exercises of the prerogative, or of the feeble barriers by which the subject was then defended from its invasion".

Parliaments.

The parliaments, though frequently convoked, were neither free in their deliberations, nor did they possess the independence, courage, and sense of dignity, indispensable to impel, and sustain them, in a contest with the crown. It was not among the peers, that the flame of liberty could be naturally expected to take birth; and the other house had not as yet made sufficient advances in opulence, or knowledge, to feel, in its full force, the inestimable value of equal laws, impartial justice, and civil liberty. Elizabeth repressed, throughout her whole reign, every attempt, on their part, to emancipate either themselves or their constituents, with the most vigilant attention; and she did not scruple to order into custody, or to detain in confinement, any member, who presumed to pass the limits which she thought proper to affix, to the freedom of debate. The reprehension, accompanied with menaces, which she used towards both houses of parliament, at the close of the session in 1566; because they had ventured, with indiscreet loyalty and zeal for their country, to press her marriage, or the nomination of the eventual successor, if she persisted in remaining single; may evince how severely she checked the first dawns of popular invasion". In 1571, the lord-keeper admonished the parliament, at its meeting, not to meddle with affairs of state; and a member of the lower house was summoned before the privy council, and prohibited from appearing again in his place, for having made a motion relative to the reformation of the liturgy. The queen afterwards signified to him her permission to return to the house of commons. Another member, in the course of the session,

" Hume, vol. v. Appendix, iii. p. 454—456.

" Camden, p. 68—70.

was reprimanded by the council, for daring to censure a ruinous patent, granted by the crown. At the prorogation, the lord-keeper again reminded them of their audacity, insolence, and presumption, in offering to call into doubt the prerogatives, inherent in, and exercised by, Elizabeth".

C H A P.  
I  
1574.

It is indisputable, that in her able hands, the royal prerogatives were preserved, and prolonged beyond the term at which, with less skilful management, they must have arrived, from the rapid progress of true science, wealth, and liberality, among the people. Her natural disposition to economy, confirmed by the necessity of maintaining her independence on the parliament, or of bartering prerogative for supplies, made her not only sparing of the public treasure, but induced her rather to refuse the pecuniary aids offered her by the commons, than to purchase them by the slightest sacrifice of power. It is difficult to commend too highly, as a virtue, the frugality of Elizabeth, since it neither partook of an illiberal parsimony, nor degenerated into avarice. The want of it in her two immediate successors, exposed them to all the inroads of democratic violence, and accelerated the destruction of royalty itself.

Besides the great features of prerogative enumerated, many inferior, but, very onerous rights or claims, existed under this reign. The court of wards was a severe and humiliating one, which subjected the heirs of all landed estates, during their non-age, to the guardianship of the crown: great abuses were committed in its administration. The right of purveyance, or pre-emption, was a still more extensive grievance in its operation. The prohibition of the nobility to marry, without previously obtaining the royal consent; similar restraints on their leaving the kingdom; exemptions from prosecution, and seizure of effects; embargoes on particular articles of trade; presents, exacted to an indefinite amount: all these acts of interference tended to plunder, oppress, or trample on the

Numerous  
claims of the  
crown.

<sup>21</sup> D'Ewes, p. 141. and p. 175, 176.—and p. 151.



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subject, and continued to be exercised, without opposition, till a much later period<sup>22</sup>. The extent of her power may be, perhaps, still more strongly evinced, by observing, that it extended even to manners, dress, and fashion; objects, which have ever been found by legislators and sovereigns, harder to regulate, than matters of a graver nature. Elizabeth, in 1574, issued a proclamation, enjoining all persons to conform to the modes worn in her own court, within fourteen days; and to enforce the observance of so singular a command, she sent out her officers to break the swords, or clip the ruffs, which exceeded the dimensions specified in her prohibition. Nothing can convey a livelier idea of the submission which she exacted, even in things unconnected with government and policy<sup>23</sup>.

## Revenues.

The revenues of the crown bore, however, no proportion to the magnitude of its prerogatives. They were as limited and slender, as the latter were ample and comprehensive. When we consider with how inadequate resources, Elizabeth, during four-and-forty years, conducted the internal government; fed the dissensions in Scotland; defended, or subjected Ireland; aided the Hugonots in France; repelled the attacks of Spain, the most formidable monarchy in Europe; and even carried her arms or inroads into the remote colonies and provinces of Philip the Second; we are penetrated with admiration, and no longer wonder at the high applauses bestowed by her contemporaries, on her wisdom and capacity. No effort of economy, the most vigilant and unremitted, could, however, have enabled her to compass objects so vast, and many of which demanded large pecuniary supplies, unless she had availed herself of the power of alienating and selling the royal domain<sup>24</sup>. Her dread of the encroachments of parliament, induced her to have recourse to an expedient, which, though it liberated her from present embarrassments, effectually impoverished the crown, and involved the princes of the family of Stuart in accumulated distress. To this re-

<sup>22</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 460—462.<sup>23</sup> Camden, p. 179. Strype, vol. 2. p. 603. Townsend's Journals, p. 250.<sup>24</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 472—476.

source must be added, the energy and spirit of enterprize, exhibited by her subjects; who, when their country was to be defended, or foreign expeditions of glory undertaken, did not wait for the sanction of law, but anticipated the wants of government, by equipping ships, and arming them at their private expence. Incredible exertions of the nature alluded to, were made, at different periods of Elizabeth's reign.

C H A P.

I.

1574

No regular troops, properly so denominated, existed in England at this period; and the only body of military forces, capable of being called out on a sudden emergency, was the militia. They were computed, in 1574, not to fall very short of two hundred thousand in number; but their discipline was by no means such as to permit of a reliance on them for defence; and the coasts were frequently plundered by small bodies of Spaniards, sent over from Flanders for that purpose<sup>23</sup>. The greatest security of Elizabeth consisted in the general attachment of all ranks of her subjects, produced by her attention to their welfare, and the wisdom of her measures. Even the catholics, conscious of the lenity and beneficence of her administration, gave her the most unequivocal testimonies of loyalty, during the Northern rebellion, in 1569<sup>24</sup>.

Military  
force.

The English navy can scarcely be said to have had any permanent existence before the year 1574. After the Spanish invasion of 1588, it began to assume a more settled form, and continued annually to receive augmentations; but, at the commencement of this reign, the whole number of seamen in Elizabeth's dominions, was not estimated at more than twelve thousand. Trading vessels, on occasions of danger, were converted into ships of war; and the queen gradually emancipated herself from the necessity, under which her father, Henry the Eighth, had found himself, of applying to the Hanse towns for assistance, when obliged to equip a fleet. The royal navy might be reckoned at about twenty large ships, and three galleys, which gene-

<sup>23</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 481 and 482.<sup>24</sup> Camden, p. 115.



C H A P.  
I.

1574.  
Commerce.

rally lay in the river Medway, near Gillingham-castle. They appear to have been constantly ready for service<sup>27</sup>.

The true principles of commerce were not sufficiently understood, at the period which we are reviewing, to receive from the government an effectual protection : monopolies, patents, and exclusive grants of various kinds, continually emanating from the crown, oppressed the genius of trade, and checked its progress ; but the spirit of discovery and enterprize, which characterised the sixteenth century, made ample amends for every impediment. The recent exploits and conquests of the Spaniards in the new world, and of the Portuguese in India, excited the emulation and exertions of England. The most important enterprizes were undertaken by individuals, who attempted to navigate the frozen ocean, and to find a passage round the northern pole, to America, and to China. However unsuccessful were these endeavours, new adventurers appeared, and channels of trade, hitherto unknown, were explored. That to Muscovy, was peculiarly beneficial, and received the greatest encouragement from the czar, John Basilowitz. It is scarcely credible, that as early as 1570, when commerce must still be regarded as in its infancy, the English undertook and executed plans so bold and hazardous, as scarcely to be exceeded in the present age. Besides the voyages of Frobisher, Davis, Hawkins, and many others, which were partly intended to discover, or colonize distant parts of the earth ; the traders to Russia ascended the river Duna, to Wologda ; transported their commodities by land, through the interior provinces, to Jaroslau ; and descending the Wolga, arrived at Astracan. They afterwards crossed the Caspian Sea, entered Persia ; and, notwithstanding the obstacles arising from the unsettled state of the country, as well as the deserts which they were compelled to pass, penetrated to the cities of Casbin, Teverin, and others, where they sold their goods. It was owing to the perpetual wars, which, under

<sup>27</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 480.

Amurath the Third, were made by the Turks, upon Persia, that fo  
 extraordinary and beneficial a mart was lost to the English nation ;  
 but, the very attempt evinces the ardor and spirit, which then pervaded  
 the middle ranks of society<sup>28</sup>. The gold trade with the negroes of  
 the coast of Guinea, had existed ever since the end of the reign of Ed-  
 ward the Sixth, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the court of  
 Portugal, which pretended to the sole and exclusive dominion of that  
 part of the globe. Elizabeth adjusted the differences, in 1571, by a  
 commercial treaty, which still left her subjects at liberty to carry on  
 their traffic to Africa<sup>29</sup>.

C H A P.

I.

1574

In 1563, Cardinal Granvelle, who conducted the affairs of  
 the Spanish Netherlands, under Margaret of Parma, had induced  
 her to prohibit the importation of the English cloths. In this  
 predicament, the city of Emden, in East Friezland, was chosen for  
 the mart or staple, to which the woollen manufactures of England  
 were sent. But soon afterwards, the original treaty, denominated  
 "the great intercourse," was revived, by the mutual necessities of  
 the two countries<sup>30</sup>. It was again completely suspended by the  
 quarrel, which took place in 1568, between the courts of London  
 and Madrid, on occasion of the seizure and detention of the Genoese  
 vessels, destined to carry pecuniary remittances to the duke of Alva.  
 Hamburgh then became, for some years, the channel of trade to  
 Germany, instead of Bruges and Antwerp ; but, early in 1573,  
 Philip the Second, whose Flemish subjects severely felt the privation  
 of the English commerce, consented to renew the ancient treaty be-  
 tween the two crowns<sup>31</sup>. The oppressions of that tyrannical prince  
 had already driven great numbers of his most industrious people to  
 abandon Flanders, and take refuge under Elizabeth's protection.  
 They settled, principally, in the eastern and southern counties, where  
 they introduced the art of manufacturing bays, as well as various  
 species of linen and woollen cloths, unknown before in England<sup>32</sup>.

<sup>28</sup> Camden, p. 105, 106.—and p. 86.<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 147.<sup>30</sup> Rapin, vol. vii. p. 248 and 249.<sup>31</sup> Rapin, vol. vii. p. 322 and 323. Cam-  
 den, p. 181 and 182.<sup>32</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 483.



CHAP.  
I.

1574.

As early as 1565, the parliament appears to have made the article of wool, an object of the most serious attention. An act passed, prohibiting, under penalty of forfeiture and imprisonment for the first offence, and on pain of felony for the second, the exportation of sheep. The annual amount of the woollen trade to Flanders was immense, and continued to be progressive, during all the reign of Elizabeth. The whole number of vessels, employed by the English, in trade, before 1574, seems not to have exceeded twelve hundred; and the greater part of these fell short of eighty tons burden<sup>33</sup>. Commerce itself must have been very precarious and insecure, since the English channel was infested with pirates, particularly French.

Manufac-  
tures.

If we except the woollen manufacture, most of the others appear to have been only in their infancy; and articles of elegance or luxury were fabricated in a much superior manner, by the Flemings and Italians, from whom they were principally procured. The knowledge of the process of making gunpowder, was recent; before 1561, it was imported from foreign countries. That of brimstone took place four years later<sup>34</sup>. Silk stockings were worn by Elizabeth, very early in her reign: it is to be observed, that they were knit, and of the colour of black<sup>35</sup>. Watches, coaches, and many other appendages of dress or splendor, were totally unknown among the English, till a later period than that which we are reviewing.

Population.

London, like the other principal cities of the kingdom, was composed of very mean buildings, constructed with wood, and faced with clay of various colours. Brick and stone edifices scarcely began to be known, among the highest nobility; and the use of glass for windows, was limited to the same class<sup>36</sup>. The foundation of the Royal Exchange, constructed by the celebrated Sir Thomas Gresham, was laid in 1566, and it was completed in the following year. Elizabeth evinced her protection of trade, by visiting it in

<sup>33</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 480.

<sup>34</sup> Rymer's *Fœdera*, tom. xv. p. 650.

<sup>35</sup> Howell's *Hist. of the World*, vol. ii. p. 222.

<sup>36</sup> Harrison, book ii. ch. 12.

1571, and giving it, by proclamation, the name which it still bears". CHAP.  
I.  
We may judge, however, of the slender intercourse between the English and other nations, by the small number of foreigners found in the metropolis. On an accurate inquest, taken in 1567, there were not so many as five thousand in London, from every country in Europe; and the majority of those were Flemings, either compelled to fly for refuge to Elizabeth, by the persecutions of Philip the Second, or induced to visit England from commercial motives". 1574.

It was to Gresham, one of the most distinguished characters of his time, that the crown was indebted for its emancipation from the necessity of recurring to Antwerp for loans, whenever money was wanted, on sudden or extraordinary emergencies. That opulent city, the greatest mart in the northern seas, could alone supply funds; and interest was exacted at the rate of ten or twelve per cent. By Gresham's example and exertions, London began to make these pecuniary advances; and parliament fixed the rate of legal interest, in 1571, at ten per cent.<sup>37</sup>

Scarcely any of those obvious and necessary precautions for the salubrity and cleanliness of the capital, or the safety and protection of its inhabitants, which we denominate police, were known at this period. London was infested with riotous, dissolute, and tumultuous vagabonds, against whom it was frequently necessary to proceed with the utmost rigour and promptitude of justice<sup>38</sup>. Similar, and even greater disorders, were common in the provinces, where troops of profligate and lawless persons frequently assembled, committed depredations, and set the laws at defiance. More than three hundred were executed every year, for theft and robbery only, in the various parts of the kingdom, during the commencement of Elizabeth's reign; a circumstance very unfavourable to the idea of simplicity or purity of manners, among the inferior orders of the people<sup>39</sup>. Internal police.

<sup>37</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 483.

<sup>38</sup> Haynes, p. 461 and 462.

<sup>39</sup> Hume, vol. vii. p. 476 and 483.

<sup>40</sup> Rymer, tom. xvi. p. 279.

<sup>41</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 469.



## C H A P.

## I.

1574.

Contagious  
distempers.

Gypsies were another nuisance, of an astonishing magnitude: their numbers, throughout England, were supposed to exceed ten thousand; and parliament, as early as 1563, rendered it felony to be seen or found for one month in their company<sup>42</sup>. The plague committed continual and terrible ravages; nor were any wholesome regulations adopted, to prevent its entrance. The garrison, which, under the earl of Warwick, had defended Havre-de-Grace, brought it to England in the summer of 1563; and more than twenty thousand persons were carried off by its attacks, in the city of London alone<sup>43</sup>. The use of coals, as an article of fuel, seems to have been almost totally unknown in the metropolis, before 1574. Wood was universally used for fires. It was not till the reign of James the First, that, from the immense and increasing consumption of wood, coals began to be substituted in its place.

Feudal grandeur.

Notwithstanding the progressive state of opulence and consideration among the commons, strong traces of the feudal grandeur and ancient magnificence of the barons, existed after Elizabeth's accession<sup>44</sup>. The earl of Leicester, her unworthy favourite, is said to have laid up arms for near ten thousand men, in Kennelworth-castle. Ramparts, moats, artillery, and dependants, ready to appear on the first summons, still distinguished the residence of the nobility. In 1569, the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland drew together an army, amounting to four thousand foot, and six hundred horse, at a very short notice, composed almost wholly of their catholic tenants, vassals, and retainers<sup>45</sup>. Personal servitude was not extinct till towards the close of this reign.

Learning.

It must be admitted, that the age was very learned; and that erudition was even more generally possessed, or diffused, especially among the highest classes of society, than in the present century. The enthusiasm, and almost idolatry, with which the great writers of

<sup>42</sup> Rapin, vol. vii. p. 248, note.<sup>43</sup> Camden, p. 51, 52.<sup>44</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 486, 487.<sup>45</sup> Camden, p. 115.

antiquity were received, on the revival of letters, had not yet totally subsided, or exhausted itself, before the middle of the sixteenth century. Elizabeth, her ministers, favourites, and even the ladies of the court, were familiar with the Greek philosophers, and Roman historians<sup>46</sup>. The queen, on many public occasions, evinced the facility which she possessed in the dead languages; and learning eminently conduced to preferment, or public employment<sup>47</sup>. But, pedantry infected the schools, the universities, and the palace. Taste had not yet manifested itself: the English language was far from having fixed its standard, or attained its perfection. History, poetry, philosophy, and all the delicate productions of refined and cultivated genius, were either unknown, or in their commencement. Bacon and Shakspeare had not passed the limits of childhood; nor had Spenser yet composed a stanza of his "Fairy Queen."

C H A P.

I.

1574.

Ireland, before the year 1574, can only be regarded as a barbarous province, nominally constituting a dependency of the English crown; but, in reality, productive neither of revenue, nor essential benefit of any kind, to Elizabeth. The fierce nature of its inhabitants; their ignorance, superstition, and servile reverence for the Romish see; the want of arts, manufactures, trade, and civilization; above all, the unlimited authority exercised by the great barons and nobility, over their vassals: these causes conspired to bereave the English princes of any advantage, from their titular supremacy over the island. It was, in fact, from the period of Elizabeth's accession to her death, in a state of perpetual revolt and commotion, open, or concealed. The province of Ulster gave her the most copious matter of alarm, occupied her attention, exhausted her finances, and frequently emancipated itself from her obedience. The queen exerted, in vain, her clemency, and her severity, by turns: no permanent tranquillity was established. Shan O'Neal, who had been created earl of Tyrone, by Henry the Eighth, and who denominated himself King of Ulster,

State of Ireland.

<sup>46</sup> Hume, vol. v. p. 490.<sup>47</sup> Ascham, p. 242.



CHAP.

I.

1574.

Barbarism of  
the great  
chiefs.

was a barbarian of no common species, and inaccessible to pity, generosity, or forgiveness. He was surnamed Bacco, or the *Lame*<sup>48</sup>. The description left us by Camden of his appearance and attendants, in the year 1562, when he came over to London, to implore pardon for his multiplied crimes and offences, is equally extraordinary and entertaining. "He was accompanied, says that historian, by a guard of gallowglasses, bearing axes, and bareheaded; their curled hair hanging loosely down, dishevelled. They wore yellow surplises, dyed with saffron, or urine; long sleeves, short coats, and hairy mantles. The English gazed at them with the same admiration, which they would now express at the sight of a Chinese, or an American<sup>49</sup>." O'Neal behaved with a sort of haughty and arrogant submission, towards Elizabeth, who pardoned, restored, and sent him back with honour, to his native country.

In return for so much lenity, he again took up arms in 1567. We may judge of the extent of his command, and the formidable power of such a rebel, by the troops or followers whom he levied, and retained under his standard. Besides his body-guards, amounting to seven hundred men, he had a force composing four thousand infantry, and a thousand cavalry<sup>50</sup>. Such was his unconquerable detestation of the English name and nation, that he offered the kingdom of Ireland, to Mary, queen of Scots, and strangled several of his own vassals, for no other fault, than feeding on English bread<sup>51</sup>. His end was such as his enormities justly merited. Driven from his morasses and forests, by sir Henry Sidney, the lord deputy, he threw himself upon the mercy of some Scottish insurgents, whom he had previously injured, by whom he was cut to pieces in their own camp.

It is difficult to find a parallel in modern history, to this savage chief, who reminds us of the fabulous robbers and banditti of ancient Greece. He not only seized, and deprived his father of his rightful

<sup>48</sup> Camden, p. 25—36.<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 48.<sup>50</sup> Camden, p. 87.<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

patrimony,

patrimony, and put to death his natural brother, but committed every excess. Like the Knipperdollings, and other leaders of the anabaptists in the empire, he retained numerous concubines for his pleasures. "A man, says Camden, most polluted with murders and adulteries; and so immoderately addicted to drunkenness, that, to cool his body when inflamed with wine and usquebaugh, he was accustomed to bury himself in the earth, or to wallow in mud up to the chin". We may conclude, that the inferior classes were equally uncivilized and ferocious.

CHAP.

I.

1574.

Munster became the scene of rebellion in 1569; and the facility with which Philip the Second could introduce supplies of men and arms into that province, which was not very remote from the coasts of Galicia and Biscay, rendered every insurrection peculiarly critical and alarming. The earls of Ormond and Desmond possessed in Munster an authority, similar to O'Neal's, in the northern parts of the island; but, they appear to have been more humane and tractable.

Frequency of rebellions.

In 1570, Connaught, where the O'Briens, earls of Thomond, were the most powerful barons, revolted; but it was speedily reduced to obedience. Even Leinster could not be retained in subjection by the presence of the lord deputy. These perpetual insurrections seem to prove, at least as much oppression and mal-administration on the part of the English, as they evince the refractory, or untamable character of the Irish. The greatest effort, made during this period of Elizabeth's reign, for the complete reduction of Ulster, was the one undertaken by Walter Devereux, earl of Essex, in 1573. He was accompanied by a numerous band of noblemen and gentlemen, on the expedition; to defray the expences of which, he borrowed of the queen ten thousand pounds, on a mortgage of his estate. She, in recompence, made him a liberal grant of the lands to be conquered; and he engaged to maintain, at his own charge,

Oppression of the government.

<sup>32</sup> Camden, p. 89.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 117, 118.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 130—164.



C H A P.

I.

1754.

Attempts at  
colonization,  
and civiliza-  
tion.

two hundred horse, and four hundred foot. The attempt was very unfortunate and ruinous to all the adventurers; but, to none more than to the commander, Essex, who injured his fortune, narrowly escaped with his life, and vainly implored Elizabeth's assistance. She appears to have paid little attention to his entreaties, or demands<sup>35</sup>.

Some endeavours to colonize and civilize the island, were made by sir Thomas Smith, in 1572. He was secretary of state; and his natural son conducted to the eastern coast of Ulster, a thriving colony. Every foot soldier received in fee, one hundred and twenty acres of land; and every horseman, two hundred and forty. These grants were very considerable, as the Irish acre was nearly or quite double that of England. Only one penny, annual quittance or rent, was exacted from the soldiers. But, the expedition was as unproductive, as lord Essex's proved in the following year<sup>36</sup>. Money seems to have been scarcely known among the native Irish: the possessions of the chiefs, like those of mankind in the patriarchal and primitive ages of the earth, consisted principally in cattle. Brian MacPhelim, who had usurped the territory of Clandeboy in 1573, had near thirty thousand cows, besides sheep and hogs<sup>37</sup>. Corn and grain were little cultivated. Wolves infested the country; and in 1575, a pestilence swept off vast numbers of the inhabitants<sup>38</sup>. It was not without reason, when we reflect on the state of Ireland, that we find Elizabeth regarding it as the most vulnerable quarter of her dominions; and as peculiarly open to invasion from the power of Spain, which, as early as 1569, made some insidious attempts to excite a rebellion in Munster<sup>39</sup>.

<sup>35</sup> Camden, p. 175—177.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid. p. 164, 165.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 175.

<sup>38</sup> Camden, p. 165—186.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 118.

## CHAP. II.

## SCOTLAND.

*Review of the Scottish History, from the death of James the Fifth, to the year 1574.—State of Scotland at that period.—Limited nature of the royal power.—Effect of the reformation.—Revenues.—Military force.—Manners of the nation.*

THE kingdom of Scotland, long plunged in domestic dissensions, and scarcely emerged from barbarism under the first princes of the house of Stuart, cannot, with propriety, be said to have assumed any place in the European system, till towards the commencement of the sixteenth century. During the reigns of James the Fourth, and Fifth, the Scots contracted the closest alliances with France; and the former of those kings fell a victim to his attachment to that nation; having perished, in the vigour of his age, with his bravest followers, at the battle of Flodden Field, gained over him by the arms of Henry the Eighth. James the Fifth, likewise, terminated his life by a premature end, caused from the conflict of indignation and shame, at being forsaken by his nobility, when on the point of invading England. His infant daughter, Mary, succeeded to his crown, and to the hereditary misfortunes of her family.

During the period of near nineteen years, which elapsed between the birth of Mary, and her return to Scotland, after the death of her husband, Francis the Second; that unhappy kingdom, abandoned to various governors, was plundered and ravaged by the contending factions.

CHAP.  
II.

State of Scotland before the death of James the Fifth.

1542—1561.



CHAP.  
II.1542—1561.  
Regency of  
Mary of  
Guise.

The earl of Arran, afterwards better known in history, by the title of duke of Chatelherault; a man of irresolute temper, and of very limited talents; was chosen regent, and exercised the office during eleven years. The intrigues and influence of the French court compelled him, at the end of that time, reluctantly to cede the dignity to Mary of Guise, widow of James the Fifth, and mother to the young queen. No princess was better calculated to have promoted the prosperity, and restored the tranquillity of Scotland, by her endowments of mind, and virtues of character; if she had not been propelled, from her deference to the counsels of her brothers, the duke of Guise and cardinal of Lorraine, upon violent measures, religious and civil. It became indispensable to sustain them, by the most odious and unpopular of all acts; the introduction of French troops: but, far from attaining the end proposed, she gradually alienated the affections of the nobility and people. Her government grew feeble; and being stained by repeated violations of faith, sunk into contempt. Insurrections against her authority were set on foot, in which religious zeal added fury to the other causes of complaint; and though repeatedly dissipated by the address or vigour of the regent, they perpetually revived.

1558.

Under these circumstances, Elizabeth succeeded to the throne of England; and shortly afterwards, Henry the Second of France was killed in a tournament, by the count of Montgomery. Few events could have been more injurious to the authority, or unpropitious to the projects, of the queen dowager. France, which, from that period, began to be involved in dissensions, that terminated in civil war, was rendered, in a great measure, incapable of interfering with energy in the concerns of Scotland. On the other hand, the new queen of England not only possessed talents the most indisputable for government; but every motive or principle, personal and political,

Robertson's Hist. of Scotland, vol. i. p. 95—168. *passim*.

tical,

tical combined to induce her to extend protection to the Scottish insurgents. It was requisite that no time should be lost in granting this assistance, the French having already entered, and fortified Leith; and though the nobles, who had taken up arms against the regent, proceeded formally to depose, and declare her deprived of all rightful power, they were by no means in a condition to enforce their sentence. They applied to Elizabeth, and she did not hesitate instantly to send a body of forces to their aid, preceded by a powerful squadron. Leith was besieged; and, after a long and vigorous defence, during the progress of which the queen dowager died, was surrendered by capitulation, to the united army of England and Scotland. A treaty followed, by which the French troops were compelled immediately to evacuate the latter kingdom; and Elizabeth, in the commencement of her reign, by so vigorous and successful an interposition, acquired an interest, and an ascendancy, which she never afterwards lost, in the Scottish affairs and counsels.

C H A P.  
II.  
1558.  
Troubles of  
Scotland.

1560.  
July.

The decease of Francis the Second, which took place a few months subsequent to these events, enabled, and in some measure compelled Mary, the young queen of France and Scotland, to revisit her native dominions. Her reign, which lasted scarcely seven years, to the time of her flight into England, and imprisonment, is so intimately connected with the history of Elizabeth, as to form an integral and inseparable part of it; nor, after the review which has been taken of the latter, is it necessary to enter here upon any discussion of the history of Scotland, during that period. The mal-administration of Mary, succeeded by the catastrophe of the king, her husband's death, and her marriage with Bothwell, excited universal abhorrence and indignation. Her captivity and deposition were the natural and inevitable consequences of these foul proceedings; and she only effected her escape from confinement, to incur a greater misfortune, that

December.

Reign of  
Mary.

1561—1568.

<sup>a</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 168—236.



C H A P.  
II.

1561—1568.

Regency of  
the earl of  
Murray.

of falling into the hands of her inveterate enemy and rival, Elizabeth.

As it became indispensable, after the imprisonment of Mary in Lochleven Castle, to elect a regent, who might represent the person of the sovereign, till the young king, then in infancy, should attain to years of discretion, the earl of Murray was chosen to fill the office. He was natural son to James the Fifth, in the vigour of life, and endowed with qualifications which rendered him worthy of such an elevation. The precarious tenure by which he held his dignity, and the number of adherents, who still waited only for a favourable occasion to restore the queen, compelled him, however, not only to have recourse to the support of Elizabeth; but, on many occasions, to sacrifice the honour and independence of the crown of Scotland, to his personal ambition. He condescended to become the instrument of her vengeance against Mary, at the conferences of York and of Hampton Court, which were successively held, with the pretended intention of restoring the captive queen of Scots to some portion of power; and, during his life, the predominance of England in the counsels of the latter country, was strongly marked.

1570.

The regency of Murray was of short duration: he was assassinated at Linlithgow, by a private gentleman, whom he had injured; and the kingdom relapsed anew into anarchy and confusion.

1571.  
Lenox.

The earl of Lenox, father to Henry Darnley, king of Scotland, and grandfather to James the Sixth, succeeded, after an interval of a few months, to the office of regent. Bound by every tie of obligation, to the queen of England, who had favoured his election; irritated against Mary, as the supposed murderer of his son; and destitute of talents, or force, to emancipate himself and his country from their dependence on Elizabeth; her influence was rather augmented, than diminished, during the administration of Lenox. But

<sup>3</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 441—514.

an act of violence, similar to that which had deprived the earl of Murray of his life, terminated the regency of his successor, in little more than a year from its commencement.

C H A P.  
II.  
1571.

The earl of Mar was chosen to supply his place, and held it nearly an equal time. Of a high and generous spirit, and of unimpeached integrity, he deeply lamented the calamities of his country, and vainly exerted himself to extinguish the inveterate factions by which it was divided. Less docile than his predecessor, he attempted to rescue Scotland from the state of servile insignificance into which it had fallen. But, unequal to the execution of so patriotic a plan, and impeded by his own party, in every effort to attain it, his mind sunk under the disappointment, and he fell a victim to the diseases occasioned by his sensibility \*.

1572.  
Mar.

After so rapid a succession of regents, the earl of Morton was raised to that office, without a competitor. Under his administration, the kingdom of Scotland was reduced to the lowest degree of political humiliation. Elizabeth, sustaining him with all her power, and uniting her forces to those of Morton, the siege of the castle of Edinburgh was formed; the last place of strength, which had continued to hold out for Mary. It was taken, after a long and gallant defence; but the regent tarnished the acquisition, by the cruel abuse which he made of it, and by his severity against the vanquished rebels \*.

November.  
Morton.

In 1574, Scotland, which, for successive centuries, had continually been the rival and the enemy of England, no longer appeared capable of molesting its repose. Exhausted by feuds and internal commotions, destitute of pecuniary or commercial resources, and governed under a regent, constituted by Elizabeth, and maintained by her bounty; few traces of the proud and martial spirit, which characterised the times of her ancient kings, are henceforward to be discovered. Scotland, notwithstanding some intervals of alienation or resentment, gradually

1574.  
State of  
Scotland.

\* Robertson, vol. ii. p. 1—37.

\* Ibid. p. 38—51.



C H A P. sunk into a state of subserviency, nearly resembling that of a province of England; and seemed to anticipate the final incorporation of the two kingdoms, which took place at the accession of James.  
 II.  
 1574.

Royal power.

The power of the Scottish princes, during the course of the sixteenth century, did not, by any means, advance with the rapidity, which marked the progress of the monarchical authority in most of the other European states. While France, under Lewis the Eleventh, had seen despotism fully established; and while in England, the subtle policy of Henry the Seventh, and the capricious tyranny of Henry the Eighth, had sapped, or overturned the privileges of the nobility; in Scotland, the antient foundations of the aristocracy seemed to bid defiance to every attack. The sovereign could scarcely be considered in any other light, than as the head and chief of his barons, from whom he was faintly distinguished by external pre-eminence and dignity<sup>6</sup>. Many causes had contributed to prolong, and to fortify the feudal system, among the Scots. The small number, and vast possessions of the nobles: the mountainous, or sterile nature of the country, difficult to penetrate and subject; the intimate connection between the lord and his vassals, strengthened by consanguinity, interest, and affection. But more than all these, the two minorities of James the Fifth, and of Mary, had relaxed the vigour of government, produced an oblivion, or contempt of the royal functions, and introduced every species of disorder into the different departments<sup>7</sup>. After the return of Mary from France, in 1561, the crown might, by management, time, and address, have gradually recovered, or extended its prerogatives. Her misconduct, followed by her crimes, her deposition, and flight to England, disconcerted every view of this nature. An infant prince, under the tuition of a regent, was placed on the throne, and possessed the nominal supremacy over a fierce and uncivilized nation. Of four noblemen,

Its limited nature.

<sup>6</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 25—32.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 32—39.

successively

successively elected to fill the office in the short space of five years, two had perished by assassination. The earl of Morton exercised only a precarious and ill-established power, sustained by the English influence, or treasures, under a minor king.

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II.

1574.

As if the combined operation of such multiplied causes, or circumstances, were not sufficient to humble, and almost extinguish the royal authority; another event, peculiar to Scotland, and capable, even alone, of shaking the basis on which monarchy itself rests, had recently taken place. The reformation, completed in 1560, had been conducted upon principles, widely different from those which actuated the English kings, who subverted the catholic faith and establishments. Edward the Sixth, and Elizabeth, while they corrected the abuses, retained many of the ceremonies and forms, of the Romish church; and far from destroying the ecclesiastical polity, or dignities, they admitted neither change nor innovation in that essential point. But, the ardent and republican spirit of the Scotch reformers was not to be repressed by the sanctity of usages, however venerable or judicious. After having rendered their doctrines triumphant, and seized on the lands of the clergy, they could not be satisfied without destroying the hierarchy itself. The democratic constitution, introduced by Calvin at Geneva, was imitated in Scotland; and by the substitution of deacons or presbyters, in the place of bishops, the crown was, in a great measure, deprived of one of its most essential supports.

Genius of the  
reformation.

In a single particular only, the kings of Scotland seem to have enjoyed a right, which, in times of subordination and repose, might have enabled them to surmount every barrier, and to trample on every restraint of law. The "Lords of Articles," a committee, elected from the various orders or estates of which the parliament was composed, and which possessed the sole privilege of admitting,

Lords of  
Articles.

\* Rapin's Hist. of England, vol. vii. p. 229. Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 20—30. and p. 37—39. Robertson, vol. i. p. 236—242.



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II.

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or precluding the discussion of all bills, were in the immediate nomination of the sovereign? But even this engine, formidable as it must be considered, could not enable the government to enforce, or execute the laws, among a haughty and turbulent people, accustomed to regard the orders of their chiefs as the only legitimate authority; and, with the exception of the Polish kings, those of Scotland may, perhaps, justly be regarded, in 1574, as the most limited, or destitute of power, of any in Europe.

Revenues.

The paucity of their revenues was proportionate to the severe limitations on their prerogative, and incapacitated them for any enterprize of expence or duration. The royal demesnes, or crown lands, were long considered as the only legitimate source from whence all supplies could be drawn; and any impositions, levied upon the people, were merely occasional, and granted for temporary purposes. Commerce was too limited, to admit of deriving an effectual assistance, from duties on merchandize; and before the death of James the Fifth, taxes, properly so denominated, and regularly exacted, were unknown<sup>9</sup>. Even in 1555, when Mary of Guise, the queen regent, ventured to propose in parliament, a contribution upon property throughout the kingdom, of the smallest description, the proposal was rejected with indignation<sup>10</sup>. Ten years later, Mary, queen of Scots, attempted, by virtue of the royal prerogative, to raise supplies. Fines and loans were demanded, with a view to enable her to maintain a body of forces against the rebels, who had openly insulted and attacked the throne; but she soon discovered the impracticability of enforcing her commands, and was necessitated to adopt other measures for raising money<sup>11</sup>. Nothing contributed more towards rendering the earl of Morton's regency odious, than his granting licences, or monopolies, for carrying on articular branches of trade; and laying taxes on commodities, in

<sup>9</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 77-79.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 17, 18.

<sup>11</sup> Robertson, p. 152.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 342.

order

order to supply the wants of the exchequer. These expedients, equally repugnant to the genius of the constitution, and to the usages of the nation, excited universal resentment".

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II.  
1574.

It may naturally be supposed, that, in such a state of society, kings, destitute of authority and of revenues, could not maintain any body of regular forces. James the Fourth and Fifth, only combated at the head of their nobility, who were attended to the field by their respective vassals: how feeble was their influence or command over such an army, may be judged, from the memorable action at Solway, in 1542; where the great barons, disgusted with their sovereign, chose rather to fall into the hands of their enemies, the English, and to sacrifice their liberty, than to submit to the general whom James the Fifth had thought proper to appoint". The conspirators, amounting only to an hundred and fifty, who assassinated the cardinal Beaton, in 1546, maintained themselves in the castle of St. Andrew's, and held it out against the power of the earl of Arran, then regent, for five months". Mary of Guise, during her regency, was constantly sustained by French troops, who appear, on some occasions, to have been carried to the number of six thousand, and scarcely ever to have fallen below three thousand. They were paid and maintained by Henry the Second, or his successor; and eminently contributed to support the precarious dignity, and to enforce the illegal or oppressive measures, of the queen regent". But, by the treaty of Edinburgh, concluded in 1560, these forces were compelled to evacuate the kingdom; and Mary, her daughter, when she returned to her dominions, in 1561, had no foreign army on which to rely. We find, that she was unable to retain more than six hundred cavalry, and about half the number of infantry, besides her ordinary guards. Even this small force exhausted her scanty

Military  
forces.

<sup>13</sup> Robertson, vol. ii. p. 52.

<sup>15</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 114.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 73, 74.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 180.

treasury;



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II.

1574.

treasury; as they received regular pay, and might be considered in the light of disciplined soldiers<sup>17</sup>. All the battles of Mary's reign were fought by the retainers of the barons, who followed their superiors to the field, with equal alacrity, either to attack, or to defend the crown. The nobles, who drove Bothwell to seek his safety by flight, and who afterwards deposed the queen, in 1567, never brought above three thousand followers, to effect so complete a revolution<sup>18</sup>. At the battle of Langside, in the subsequent year, which decided the fate of the Scottish queen, the two armies were entirely composed of the adherents of the Hamiltons, and other great lords, who had hastily joined Mary, after her escape from Lochleven castle, on one side; and on the other, of the vassals of the earl of Murray and his friends. No regular troops fought with either party<sup>19</sup>. We may reasonably conclude, that under the regencies which followed, the crown was not in a state to augment the military force, or to maintain any body of soldiers, however small. We find, in fact, that when the earl of Morton prepared to invest and besiege the castle of Edinburgh, in 1573, he had neither ammunition, men, nor money, for such an enterprize. Elizabeth, his ally and protectress, sent to his assistance fifteen hundred English, together with a train of artillery, which enabled him to become master of the fortress<sup>20</sup>.

Arts.

No traces of a navy are to be found during this period, nor does it seem as if the Scottish kings possessed any maritime force: commerce could not extend itself, nor arts and manufactures attain beyond the rudest efforts, among a people, poor, destitute of incitements to industry, and held in the severest vassalage by their superiors. Mary, educated in the French court, and accustomed to its magni-

<sup>17</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 341.<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 442.<sup>19</sup> Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. p. 127, 128. Robertson, vol. i. p. 453-457.<sup>20</sup> Robertson, vol. ii. p. 47.

ficcence,

ficence, endeavoured, not without success, to introduce some portion of that splendour and refinement among her subjects, though even these attempts were impeded, or censured, by the Scotch reformers; the severe and melancholy genius of whose religion was inimical to every species of innocent gaiety, or gallant diversion". After her imprisonment, scarcely any vestiges of a court were to be discovered, during the four successive regencies, till the majority of James the Sixth. Edinburgh was the capital of the kingdom; but could not be deemed the ordinary residence of the young king, who was principally brought up at Stirling. The manners of the nation continued to be fierce, rude, and, on many occasions, barbarous. They were affected by the morose and gloomy spirit of the reformation, which had, in a great measure, destroyed the hierarchy, and established a democratic form of ecclesiastical government and worship. Scarcely any thing, except the name, of the episcopal function, remained in 1572; and so completely were the revenues of the church sequestered by the crown, or seized and appropriated by the nobility, that the whole aggregate sum, annually appropriated to the support of the Scottish clergy, did not exceed nine thousand pounds sterling". Civil war, heightened by personal injuries and animosity, inflamed the two factions, and impelled them to acts the most sanguinary. The parties of Mary and James, in the names of their respective sovereigns, desolated the country, and carried their ravages over every part of Scotland. It is difficult to believe, that so late as 1572, during the siege of the castle of Edinburgh, the leaders, on both sides, had so totally obliterated, or extinguished, the sentiments of humanity, as to renew the massacres, committed near four centuries earlier, by Richard the First, and Saladin, in Palestine. The prisoners of war were inhumanly led out

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II.

1574.

Manners.

Ecclesiastical  
revenues.<sup>21</sup> Hume's History of England, vol. v. p. 51—53.<sup>22</sup> Robertson, vol. i. p. 392. and vol. ii. p. 38—41.



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II.

1574.

Letters.

to execution, without distinction of rank, or quality, to the number of fifty at a time; and a practice, which would disgrace the most savage people, long continued to be exercised <sup>23</sup>.

Uncivilized as the age must be regarded, it was not destitute of letters; and the beautiful Latin compositions of Buchanan, more especially those which are poetical, would alone be sufficient to rescue it from the imputation of ignorance. He was appointed preceptor to James the Sixth, and died at a later period, than that which we have reviewed.

<sup>23</sup> Robertson, vol. ii. p. 30, 31.

## C H A P. III.

## S P A I N.

*General review of the reign of Philip the Second, from the death of Charles the Fifth, to the year 1574.—Insurrection, and progress of the revolution, in the Low Countries.—State of the Spanish monarchy, in 1574.—Immense power and revenues of Philip.—Defects of the administration.—Public debt.—Trade.—State of the arts.—Religious persecution.—Decline of Spain.*

THE foundation of the Spanish monarchy, which became in a few years so formidable to the repose and liberty of Europe, was laid, by the marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella. The junction of the crowns of Castile and Arragon, on the heads of those powerful princes, was confirmed by the conquest of Grenada, and the expulsion of the Moors, who had reigned for several centuries, over the most fertile provinces of Spain. The discoveries of Columbus opened a new world to the avidity, and ambition of the conquerors of America. Goncalvo de Cordova acquired the kingdom of Naples, for Ferdinand. These vast dominions devolved, by the deaths of successive princes, to the emperor Charles the Fifth, in right of his mother, Joanna; and he added to them, his hereditary provinces in the Netherlands, as well as the duchy of Milan, on the extinction of the family of Sforza. The reign of Charles, clouded with some misfortunes, was, notwithstanding, during the greater portion of it, distinguished by the most brilliant success. The battle of Pavia; the capture of Francis the First; the sack of Rome; the expedition to

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III.Rise of the  
Spanish mo-  
narchy.1516—1556.  
Reign of  
Charles the  
Fifth.



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III.

1516—1556.

Tunis; and the victory of Muhlberg, by which he became, for a time, nearly despotic in the empire: these achievements had covered him with personal glory, and rendered him equally the admiration and terror of the European world. The evening of his life did not, however, correspond with the meridian, and justified the querulous remark, which fell from him; that "fortune only favoured the young." He was over-reached in policy, and driven to fly before the arms of Maurice, whom he had protected, and raised to the dignity of elector of Saxony. While smarting under the humiliation, inflicted by so unexpected an attack, and anxious to repair his honour, at the same time that he recovered Metz from the king of France, he met with a complete repulse before that city; and with difficulty saved the remains of his army from the ravages of pestilence, and the sword of an incensed enemy.

His abdication.

To these political misfortunes, were added the pressure of personal and mental infirmity. A premature decay of his bodily powers unnerved his mind, and left it open to the impression of various emotions, disregarded during the prosperity and splendour of his youth. After long revolving it in his thoughts, he determined to abdicate his crown, and to retire from the great situation, which he was no longer able to fill with energy and capacity. The most august and affecting exhibition of the inanity of human grandeur, which has been ever made, was that of Charles the Fifth, at Brussels, laying down the insignia of his dignity, before an immense audience, melted into tears. All his titles and possessions descended to Philip, his only son, with the exception of the imperial crown; which, after many vain efforts to transfer from his brother Ferdinand, to the prince of Spain, he was reluctantly obliged to yield to the former. Historians, reasoning partly from the nature of man, and partly from some grounds of discontent, which were given him by Philip, have doubted, whether the emperor did not find occasion speedily to repent his having made so vast a donation. He retired, however,

however, soon afterwards into Spain, and terminated, in a profound retreat, his memorable life. His end was accelerated by exercises of devotion and penance, too severe for his enfeebled frame; and which seem to indicate, that his mind had suffered by the approach of age, and was debilitated, in proportion with his bodily organs'.

Philip the Second, at his accession, was in the prime of life, and, unquestionably, the most powerful prince of the century in which he lived. The commencement of his reign was rendered peculiarly splendid, by the victories of St. Quintin, and of Gravelines, successively gained over the French by his generals, Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and the celebrated count Egmont, afterwards executed at Brussels. A peace, not less honourable than advantageous to the monarchy of Spain, followed these triumphs; and Philip, whose habits and manners were Spanish, and who was impatient at so long a stay in the Netherlands, embraced the first occasion of returning to his native kingdom. He possessed many qualities, which might have enabled him to promote equally his own glory, and the welfare of his people. His understanding was sound, and capacious; his thoughts, constantly occupied with the cares of government; and his vigilance unexampled, in directing his attention to the minutest details of administration. He superintended in person, and his interference was felt, over the immense extent of his dominions. In application, he has rarely been equalled, never exceeded; and his strength of constitution, aiding the activity of his mind, he dedicated whole nights to the labour of the cabinet, after having passed the day in the same painful exertion. Neither pleasure, nor indolence, relaxed his attention to business. His information of the intrigues, or measures, projected in foreign courts, was superior to that of any other cotemporary prince; as it was one of his maxims, that intelligence could scarcely be purchased at too high a price. He enforced the rigid execution of public justice,

C H A P.  
II.

1516—1556.

1556.  
January.  
Accession of  
Philip the  
Second.

His character.

Endowments,  
and virtues.

\* Mayerne Turquet's Hist. of Spain, passim.—Abr. Chronol. d'Espagne, vol. ii. passim.

and



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III.

1556.

and punished severely the infraction of the laws. He possessed discernment, and knew how to distinguish, and to call out great talents. His ministers and generals felt the eye and hand of a master always present, which investigated their conduct, and would rigorously appreciate its merits. Neither prosperity nor adversity altered his demeanour, nor were capable of affecting his external serenity. Seated at Madrid, in the center of his dominions, he from thence surveyed, and directed, all operations, not by delegates, but in person.

Vices and  
crimes.

These great endowments were, however, not only sullied, but even rendered pernicious to his subjects, by vices and prejudices singularly unfurmountable. His bigotry was swollen, sanguinary, and active to destroy. It was sometimes inflamed by the natural severity of his temper, and frequently made the vehicle, or the mask, of his ambition; but it never was mollified or extinguished, at any period of his reign. It produced the revolt of the Netherlands, and carried terror into every province of the Spanish monarchy: it shed torrents of human blood, during the insurrection of the Moors in Grenada, which it had originally provoked. Even the memory of his own father, and the persons of those who had been most dear to Charles the Fifth, were not secure from Philip's religious persecution. To this destructive principle, even more than to his insatiable love of power, are to be traced, and ascribed, the calamities of his reign, and the detestation with which posterity has marked his character. Scarcely any prince in modern times, has been pursued with such general abhorrence and antipathy. His private and domestic conduct afforded no extenuation for his political crimes. Envious, suspicious, vindictive, dissembling, and implacable; he was the tyrant of his family, as much as of his people. Accused of having hastened the death of his queen, Elizabeth of France; of his son, Don Carlos; and of his brother, Don John of Austria: even if these charges are not sustained by positive evidence, yet it will

will be still more difficult to exculpate him from the murder of Escovedo; the assassination of William, prince of Orange; and many other flagitious acts, performed by his command, or undertaken at his suggestion. Of boundless ambition, yet destitute of talents for war, and hardly esteemed to possess even personal courage, he delighted in all the machinations of the cabinet; and, from his closet, fed or fomented dissension in every surrounding kingdom. Capable of yielding to love, and of forming connections of gallantry, his furious passions, and relentless jealousy, rendered them fatal to his confidants, and dangerous even to the object of his affection. Dreaded in his own court, and capital; odious to foreign nations; not beloved, even by the see of Rome, to which he professed and evinced so entire a devotion; estranged from, and condemned by his own relations, of the house of Austria; dear only to inquisitors; his reign was marked by the rapid decline and extinction of that enormous power, which had menaced and terrified Europe. Spain, though sustained by the emulation and valour of the finest troops, and fed by the perpetual influx of wealth from the new world, yet was unequal to the vast expenditure, caused by Philip's projects of power and aggrandizement. He was disappointed in all his views upon France; repulsed by Elizabeth, in his attack upon England; and finally driven out of Holland, by the revolt of his subjects, which the oppressions of the duke of Alva had occasioned<sup>a</sup>.

Among the numerous provinces, which constituted the Spanish monarchy, there were none more commercial, populous, and important, than those of the Netherlands. They were, however, held by a tenure, less absolute than almost any other of Philip's hereditary dominions; and had retained, from the generous policy of their ancient princes of the house of Burgundy, many of the most valuable

C H A P.  
III.  
1556.

1556—1559.  
State of the  
Low Countries at Philip's accession.

<sup>a</sup> Bentivoglio's Wars of Flanders, folio, —458. Gregorio Leti. Vie de Philippe Se. p. 318. Mayerne Turquet, p. 1286—1288. cond. vol. vi. p. 396—443. De Thou, vol. Desormeaux Hist. d'Espagne, vol. iv. p. 191 xiii. p. 228—236.  
—195. Abregé Chron. d'Esp. vol. ii. p. 456



C H A P.  
III.

1556—1559.

Innovations,  
and acts of  
arbitrary  
power.

franchises and immunities, political and civil. Their inhabitants, the Flemings, had been peculiarly cherished by Charles the Fifth, who was himself a native of Ghent. They had, for the space of eighty years, been governed by women; and the mild administration of Mary, queen of Hungary, sister to the emperor, which was recently expired, rendered them more impatient of any rigorous controul. The new opinions of Luther and Calvin had found an easy introduction, and met with a welcome reception, among a wealthy people, fond of religious enquiry. The severe edicts, issued by Charles, to prevent all innovation, or promulgation of doctrines stigmatized as heretical by the church of Rome, had not produced any permanent effect; and the wars, in which that monarch was involved during almost his whole reign, had impeded their execution, or diminished their force. But, Philip, whose predominant passion was the extirpation of heresy, had no sooner concluded a peace with France, than he evinced his determination to enforce, by rigorous measures, his father's laws. To effect this point, and to suppress by the hand of power the first appearances of departure from the catholic faith; he, by virtue of a papal permission, and in violation of the ancient privileges of the Low Countries, augmented the number of bishopricks, and assigned them revenues. Not content with the assumption and exercise of a power, unacknowledged by the constitution, and odious in its nature, he openly avowed his intention to introduce into the Low Countries, the inquisition, as exercised in Spain. The affectionate loyalty of the Flemings, who had voluntarily made him a donation of a million of florins, immediately after the conclusion of the war, tended in no degree to mollify the zeal, or retard the resolution of Philip, upon a point, where his prejudices and his passions equally impelled him to perseverance. The seeds of disaffection, thus early sown, required only time and occasion, to ripen them into revolt; and which would, unquestionably, have manifested itself with more rapidity, if its progress

gress had not been retarded by the adherence of the nobility to the crown, and the attachment felt by all ranks of people, for the person, to whom, at his departure, Philip had delegated the government of the Netherlands<sup>3</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.

1556—1559.

Margaret, natural daughter of the emperor Charles the Fifth, and wife of Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, was selected by her brother, the king of Spain, for so delicate and arduous an employment. She was, at this time, in the thirty-seventh year of her age, and endowed with almost every quality which could enable her to maintain the repose, and augment the felicity, of the people entrusted to her care. She resembled her father, in the affability and condescension of her manners, so powerful in its operation, and so conciliatory of general affection. Her natural parts, vigorous, solid, and formed for government, had been cultivated by education, and matured by experience. She knew how to yield with dignity, and to deny with firmness. Born in Flanders, she had studied the character of its inhabitants, and adapted her administration to the genius, prejudices, and peculiar circumstances of the Flemings. Sincere in her profession and adherence to the catholic religion, her enlargement of mind, and superiority to narrow bigotry, induced her to oppose, though unsuccessfully, the furious zeal of Philip. Convinced by her own judgment, of the danger and impracticability of reducing to one standard of faith, a people, among whom the new opinions had taken so strong a hold; she yet, while she remonstrated, endeavoured to enforce the orders, transmitted to her from Madrid. Blending gentleness with the severity, enjoined by Philip; tempering, when necessity demanded it; and suspending or mitigating those edicts, which were calculated to produce a general insurrection; she preserved the veneration and love of the Flemings, even at the time that she was made the instrument of their oppression<sup>4</sup>.

1559—1561.  
Duchess of  
Parma, ap-  
pointed go-  
verness of the  
Netherlands.  
Her charac-  
ter.

<sup>3</sup> Strada, de Bello Belg. vol. i. p. 45—65. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 26—28.

<sup>4</sup> Bentivoglio, p. 8—12. Strada, vol. i. p. 67—81. Greg. Lett. vol. ii. p. 266, 267.



CHAP.  
III.

1559—1561.

Character of  
cardinal  
Granvelle.

Departure of  
the Spanish  
troops.

The jealous precaution of the king of Spain had induced him, at the time when he selected Margaret of Parma for governess of the Low Countries, to place near her person, and, in a certain degree, to associate with her, in the administration of the provinces, Anthony Perrenot, known in history by the title of cardinal Granvelle. He had been employed by Charles the Fifth, who had recommended his talents and services to his son Philip. No man of that century, so fertile in extraordinary and illustrious persons, was superior to Granvelle, in many of the most sublime endowments of the human mind; and peculiarly in those, which distinguish and characterise a statesman. Courage, secrecy, flexibility, penetration, fortitude; these qualities, even his enemies allowed him to possess. His application to business was unremitting; and such the comprehensive facility of his genius, that he could conduct and regulate, without confusion, matters of the most complex and intricate nature. Notwithstanding these talents, so fitted for the government of mankind, his implicit devotion to the councils of the court of Spain, and the warmth with which he prosecuted the unfortunate objects of Philip's religious hatred, rendered Granvelle universally odious to the Flemings\*. The departure of the Spanish troops from the Netherlands, had been loudly demanded by all ranks of men; and the long delay in carrying the measure into execution, which was attributed to the advice and influence of the cardinal, tended to complete his unpopularity. Even when, at length, those veteran and formidable bands, so obnoxious to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, were finally embarked from the ports of Zealand; the effect and benefit, which might have resulted from an act of that nature, were lost, by its taking place at a moment of distress, when Philip, having sustained a defeat at Gerbes, on the coast of Africa, was supposed to have yielded to necessity, rather than conceded to inclination\*.

\* Bentivog. p. 13, 14. Strada, vol. i. p. 128—141.

\* Strada, vol. i. p. 161—170.

At the head of the body of nobility, who had taken a decided part against cardinal Granvelle, in defence of the immunities of the Flemings, history places William, prince of Orange. Though he had scarcely attained to the maturity of manhood, yet his genius seemed to partake more of the sagacity and coolness of age, than of the intemperance natural to youth. His taciturnity was constitutional and habitual. Cautious, and ever apprehensive of danger, he met it, when unavoidable, with determined courage. The marks of capacity and virtue, which he exhibited at a very early period of his life, had endeared him to Charles the Fifth, who had disclosed his partiality for the prince of Orange, and given him the most distinguishing proofs of consideration and esteem. But, the predilection of the emperor had not recommended him to Philip; and the degree of ambiguity, which William observed upon the great article of religious belief and practice, still further alarmed and alienated the king of Spain.

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III.

1561—1563.  
Character of  
William,  
prince of  
Orange.

The recal of cardinal Granvelle, to which he at length reluctantly consented, might have extinguished the growing discontents of the Low Countries, if, at the time when he withdrew that minister, he had abandoned the system of religious tyranny, in which he had hitherto persisted. But, neither the repeated entreaties of the Flemish nobility, who deputed count Egmont to carry him their united supplications, to the foot of his throne at Madrid; nor the remonstrances and advice of Margaret, who represented to him, in the strongest language, the calamities which impended over the Netherlands, if he persisted to introduce the inquisition; could effect any beneficial change in Philip's determination. Sustained by his insuperable and bigotted prejudices; inflamed by the pastoral exhortations of Pius the Fifth, who had newly succeeded to the chair of St. Peter, and who was imbued with all the furious zeal of a Dominican monk; in

1564.  
March.  
Discontents of  
the Flemings.

<sup>7</sup> Strada, vol. i. p. 143—158. Bentiv. p. 5, 6.



C H A P.  
III.

1564—1567.

Conduct of  
Philip.

censed against his subjects, for presuming to reclaim, and defend their privileges; and not less irritated at the protection, extended to the common people, by the Flemish nobles: these conjoined motives rendered him deaf to every consideration of clemency, or even of interest<sup>2</sup>. He resisted, with equal pertinacity, the request which his sister, the governess of the Low Countries, continually urged, of imitating the example of the emperor Charles; who, on the first appearance of the sedition of Ghent, had immediately repaired in person to the scene of revolt, and crushed it by his presence, vigour, and activity.

This wise and salutary counsel met with insuperable obstacles, from the character and apprehensions of Philip; and though he not only felt its expediency, but, affected to make preparations for adopting it, yet, reasons still more powerful retained him at Madrid. He was averse to appearing personally at the head of an army, for which he was unqualified by any military talents; and he preferred the system, more analogous to his genius, of issuing his orders from the cabinet. He was embarrassed by the revolt of the Moors of Grenada; and he was necessitated to watch the motions of the Turks, in order to defend his coasts from their invasion. He dreaded the consequences of leaving behind him his only son, Don Carlos, of whom he had conceived the strongest suspicions: and when, after numerous delays, he at length granted permission to Margaret, to dismiss the inquisitors, and to modify, in some measure, the edicts against heresy, he fettered it with so many exceptions, or weakened it by such conditions, as to defeat its effects<sup>3</sup>. The Flemings, weary of expecting redress, secretly stimulated by the nobility, and believing that the governess was not capable of repressing them by force, in the unarmed condition to which she was reduced, by the departure of the Spanish troops; rose in tumultuary bodies. They committed the greatest excesses against the catholics,

Insurrections  
in the Nether-  
lands;

<sup>2</sup> Bentiv. p. 17, 18. Strada, vol. i. p. 254, 256.

<sup>3</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 59—63.

plundered

plundered the monasteries, and defaced the churches. Margaret, by her vigour and ability, joined to the universal affection which her wife and popular administration had conciliated, suppressed this dangerous insurrection. She obtained some decisive advantages over the insurgents, defeated, and dispersed them. The cities, which had joined their party, were besieged, and compelled to surrender. Her remonstrances, added to the consideration and respect which she inspired, induced even the prince of Orange and count Egmont to aid her in suppressing the revolt. The government derived strength from its temporary subversion; and every possible reparation was made to the catholic religion, and its ministers, for the outrages which they had sustained. The royal authority was maintained in all its force, and the followers of the new opinions were punished with exemplary severity. Margaret, after making her triumphal entry into Antwerp, restored a general calm to the provinces; and, notwithstanding the seeds of discontent which yet remained, her firm, but gentle, administration, would have gradually extinguished them, if Philip, from a spirit of vindictive despotism, had not overturned, and frustrated, her labours. Instead of embracing the humane and generous expedient, recommended by his sister of coming in person to the Netherlands, not as a sovereign, to chastise; but as a father, to forgive; he followed a line of conduct, more adapted to his disposition. He determined to send the duke of Alva, at the head of an army, to conquer and enslave his subjects; a resolution, to which may be justly ascribed the loss of a considerable part of the Low Countries, and the eventual ruin of the Spanish monarchy.

CHAP.  
III.  
1564—1567.

quelled by  
Margaret's  
prudence and  
lenity.

During the portion of Philip's reign, which elapsed between his departure from the Netherlands, and the beginning of the civil wars in that country, many signal events, in the conduct of which his

Policy and  
enterprizes  
of Philip.

<sup>20</sup> Bentiv. p. 19—45. Strada, vol. i. p. 263—449. passim. and vol. ii. p. 1—72. passim. Mayerne Turquet, p. 1126.

character



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1564—1567.

character and policy come forward eminently to view, took place in other parts of his vast dominions. In the survey of these, we every where discover the same watchful vigilance, the same bigotted devotion, and the same unrelenting severity, which characterized his government of the Low Countries. Among the principal objects, to which his attention was constantly directed, was the protection of the coasts of Spain against the ravages of the Turks. They were, at that time, governed by one of the greatest princes who has swayed the Ottoman sceptre, Solyman the Second; and notwithstanding that he was far advanced in years, the vigour of his mind, and his ambition of adding new provinces to his former conquests, seemed, in no degree, to be abated. Dragut, king of Tripoli, a lieutenant of the Turkish sultan, powerfully sustained the honour of his master's arms. In the commencement of Philip's reign, he had defeated a formidable naval armament, commanded by the duke of Medina Cœli, which had been sent by the king of Spain to the coast of Barbary. Not content with obtaining this advantage, he spread terror throughout the whole Mediterranean; captured a Spanish fleet near Sicily; and, landing on the island, carried off into captivity, a prodigious number of its inhabitants, as well as an immense plunder. In the subsequent years, he treated in a similar manner, the defenceless, and unprotected provinces of Calabria and Abruzzo, in the kingdom of Naples". Philip was not only unable to take any vengeance, or exact any reparation, for the insults on his crown, and the injuries sustained by his people: he was equally unfortunate in an attempt upon Penon de Velez, a fortress situate upon an island near the coast of Africa, whence the Moors committed continual depredations on the Spanish commerce".

" Mayerne Turquet, p. 1083—1085. and 1086—1093. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 352, 353. and p. 357. Leti, vol. ii. p. 311—319. and p. 386—389. and p. 393.

" Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 363.

These

These disasters were however compensated by the gallant defence, which the garrisons of Oran and Mazerquiver made, against the forces of Hascem, king of Algiers, who was compelled to retire, with loss and dishonour, from before both places. Penon de Velez, attacked a second time, by don Garcia de Toledo, was taken, and garrisoned, by order of the king of Spain<sup>23</sup>. But, the principal exploit in which Philip acquired renown, and by which he rendered a distinguished service to the christian world, was, in contributing to the relief of Malta, besieged by the Turks, and reduced, notwithstanding the heroic valour of the knights, to the last extremity. His fleet, arriving to their aid, obliged the enemy to make a precipitate retreat; and don Alvaro de Sande, who commanded the Spanish troops, landing on the island, gave battle to the Turks, and completed their destruction<sup>24</sup>.

CHAP.

III.

1564—1567.  
Expeditions  
in Barbary.Relief of  
Malta.

While Philip, as the common defender of the christian states, maintained a perpetual conflict with Solyman, and on some occasions, derived no inconsiderable degree of glory from his interposition; he did not neglect another object, which was ever present to his mind; the extirpation of heresy. Previous to his arrival in Spain from the Netherlands, the most rigorous punishments, by his express command, had been inflicted on those, who were suspected of having quitted the catholic faith. These cruel sacrifices, at which humanity shudders, were renewed on his return, and solemnized with a species of pomp and ceremony, in his presence. Forty persons of both sexes, and some among them, of condition, were committed to the flames, at Valladolid: in the subsequent year, no less a number than seventy, were publicly burnt at Seville<sup>25</sup>. The king expressed a barbarous satisfaction at the executions, suited to the gloomy and ferocious spirit of his religion. He was encour-

Persecuting  
zeal of Phi-  
lip.

<sup>23</sup> Turquet, p. 1112, 1113. Leti, vol. ii. p. 519—522, and 467—470. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 361—363. Desormeaux, vol. iv. p. 40 and 44.

<sup>24</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 21—48. Turquet, p. 1114—1119. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 371—374. <sup>25</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 291—294. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 348—350, and p. 354.

raged



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1564-1567.

raged to persist in them, by the see of Rome, which honoured him with every flattering encomium, as the champion of the church. Not content with extinguishing the new opinions in Spain, his indefatigable and vigilant zeal extended over every part of his dominions, with similar violence. Having received information, that in some obscure districts of Calabria, Calvinism had penetrated, he sent peremptory orders to the viceroy of Naples, which were literally executed, to put every individual to death". Even beyond the limits of his power, his exhortations and support were not spared, to induce other princes to imitate his example. The governor of the Milaneze was enjoined to aid Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, in the massacre of the peasants of the valley of Angrogno, who had committed no offence, except that of being protestants". The same ardent and sanguinary enthusiasm incited him to write a letter of compliment and acknowledgment to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, on that prince's having burnt several Jews, accused of impiety and profanation".

Severities of  
the Inquisition.

Such was the depressed state of the human mind, at this time, in Spain; so much had the tribunal of the inquisition impressed terror by its severity; and so despotic was Philip, that not a murmur was heard against these tyrannical acts. The archbishop of Toledo, a prelate of exemplary life, and in whose arms, the emperor Charles the Fifth had expired; on a suspicion of leaning to some heretical opinions, was arrested, and committed to a dungeon. The king declared, that "he would not spare his own son, if convicted of this unpardonable crime;" and no exertions were omitted, even by holding out inducements to the violation of the most sacred bonds of private amity and confidence, to discover, and deliver over to the inquisitors, every person who was believed to approve the doctrines of Luther and Calvin".

<sup>26</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 371, 372.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 372, 373.

<sup>28</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 112-114.

<sup>29</sup> Turquet, p. 1119-1123. Leti, vol. ii. p. 236.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the profound submission, with which Philip's commands were received and obeyed in the kingdom of Spain, he experienced the limits of his authority, when he attempted to introduce the same ecclesiastical tribunal, into the dependant branches of the monarchy. Even the college of cardinals disapproved his request to the sovereign pontiff, to permit its establishment, in the dutchy of Milan, and the Neapolitan dominions. But, the inhabitants of those countries, of every order, opposed more insurmountable obstacles to Philip's design, by declaring that they never would submit to so detestable an institution, and by their preparations to resist its entrance by force of arms. Convinced of the impracticability of this dangerous experiment, he at length reluctantly desisted from its prosecution<sup>20</sup>.

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The ardour, which, throughout his whole reign, he demonstrated in defence of the catholic religion, and which was the predominant feature of his character, did not, however, prevent him from attending to many objects of inferior moment, becoming a great monarch, and some of which reflect honour upon his government. He laid the foundation of the palace of the Escorial, after having transferred the royal residence from Toledo to Madrid, which latter place, began, under him, to be regarded as the capital of Spain. He expended the wealth of Peru, in the immense edifice of the Escorial, and enriched it with the choicest productions of art and genius<sup>21</sup>. Hermando, a celebrated naturalist, was sent by him to America, in order to make accurate drawings of the plants and animals of the new world: a commission, which he executed with uncommon skill. This invaluable work, contained in fifteen volumes, and compiled with incredible labour and expence, was, by the king's order, deposited in the Royal Monastery of St. Laurence, near his person, and under his immediate care<sup>22</sup>. The archives of the mo-

Beneficial  
and liberal  
institutions of  
Philip.

<sup>20</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 457—461, and p. 491, 492.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 446—449. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 354. Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 43.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 56—59.



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1564—1567.

narchy, and many of the most curious documents of state, which the negligence or ignorance of his predecessors had suffered to be lost, he collected, and commanded to be carefully preserved in the castle of Simencas. An example deserving of universal imitation, and which, in that century, had no precedent in any European kingdom<sup>23</sup>.

His treatment  
of Don John  
of Austria.

The Philippine islands were discovered, subjected to the Spanish crown, and colonized<sup>24</sup>. Philip evinced in his treatment of Don John of Austria, a degree of generosity and affection, which, had not his subsequent conduct effaced, might have entitled him to the praise of private virtue. This youth, who was the natural son of the emperor Charles the Fifth, had been brought up in ignorance of his birth and rank. The king recognized him publicly, treated him with fraternal regard, ordered him to receive the honours due to his proximity of blood, and superintended his education. Don John gave early proofs of that heroic courage, and those superior endowments, which, after having covered him with personal glory, eventually conducted him to a premature death, not without suspicions of its having been accelerated by his brother and sovereign<sup>25</sup>.

History of  
Don Carlos.

In the midst of these various occupations of foreign and domestic policy, a source of calamity, the most poignant and afflicting which human nature can experience, was slowly preparing to embitter the repose of Philip, and finally to involve his character in universal detestation. Don Carlos, his only son, and heir to the Spanish monarchy, had, from his infancy, betrayed symptoms of an intractable disposition, and a ferocious temper; if not of a depraved, and vicious mind. Elizabeth of France, daughter of Henry the Second, had been destined for his wife; but, Mary queen of England, dying before the completion of the treaty, Philip substituted himself in the place of the prince. It was commonly believed and asserted, that Don Carlos had expressed on the occasion, sentiments of resentment

<sup>23</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 59—63. <sup>24</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 522—525. <sup>25</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 472—477.

against

against his father, for having deprived him of a young and beautiful princess, whose age was much more suited to his own, and for whom he had conceived sentiments of affection. Philip, however, soon after his return to Spain from the Low Countries, caused Don Carlos to be solemnly acknowledged heir to all his dominions, in an assembly of the states, convened at Toledo. But, finding that, as his son advanced to manhood, he became more ungovernable, and evinced many dangerous propensities, the king sent him to the university of Alcala. In embracing this expedient, Philip not only meant to humanize and soften his manners, by the study of letters; but, to inspire him with emulation, from the continual presence and society of Don John of Austria, and of Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, who were nearly of his own age and quality. The success of the experiment did not answer the king's intention. Don Carlos preserved all the natural intractability of his character, and the violence of his passions was augmented, in proportion as the strength of his understanding was weakened, by the effect of a fall, which happened during this period of his life. He received a concussion of the brain; languished a considerable time, in extreme danger of his life; and, on his recovery, grew more outrageous.

The king, from this æra, seems to have meditated to leave the crown to another successor. He had no other issue, male or female; and apparently, with a view of setting aside his son, he invited into Spain the two arch-dukes, Rodolphus and Ernest, sons of Maximilian, king of the Romans. They complied with the summons, were received at Barcelona, by Philip, and resided several years in his court. As a further proof of his disgust to Don Carlos, he found excuses to delay, and finally to defeat the marriage of that unfortunate prince, with the arch-duchess Anne, to whom he had been promised. He did not conceal his aversion for his son, removed him from any participation in affairs of state or government, and entertained spies constantly near his person, who reported all his words

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III.

1564—1567.

Intractability  
of his cha-  
racter.



C. H. A. P.  
III.

1564—1567.  
Severity of  
Philip's con-  
duct towards  
his son.

and actions to Philip. Under such restraints and marks of alienation, on the part of his father, it cannot be matter of wonder, that Don Carlos conceived a reciprocal hatred for the author of his misfortunes. His temper, irritated by disgrace, broke out into the most violent excesses; and he is said, repeatedly to have pursued the king's ministers, sword in hand, with the intention of sacrificing them to his fury.

Death of Don  
Carlos.

1568.  
July.

Various crimes, of a heinous nature, have been laid to his charge, including in their most extensive sense, the guilt of treason, heresy, incest, and parricide. But, the only one which appears to amount to proof, is that of his having expressed disapprobation of his father's measures respecting the Flemings, and having plotted to withdraw himself from Spain, with a view to join the insurgents in Flanders. The unanimous testimony of historians renders this allegation highly probable, and it receives strength from various corroborating circumstances. Yet, the same darkness and uncertainty, which conceal the precise nature of Don Carlos's death, are, in a great measure, common to his crime. We know, however, with certainty, that he was arrested by Philip in person, in the night, and in his bed; that he was treated with extreme rigour as a criminal, confined under a strict guard for above six months; and finally, that he died in that state of imprisonment. Those authors who deny, or doubt, that the king imbrued his hands in the blood of his son, or ordered his execution, yet, admit, that the prince accelerated and produced his dissolution, from the effects of indignation and despair. The execration, with which Philip was loaded throughout Europe, as the supposed murderer of his son, evinced the general sentiments, entertained of his character<sup>26</sup>.

Death of the  
queen.

These suspicions and condemnations were renewed by the death of Elizabeth, queen of Spain, who only survived Don Carlos about two months, and whose end was accompanied with some circum-

<sup>26</sup> Turquet, p. 1126, and 1138—1136. Leti, vol. iii. p. 292—341. Abregé Histor. vol. ii. p. 384—386. Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 66, 67: Strada, vol. ii. p. 120—129.

stances,

stances, which afforded new subject for calumny or accusation. She was a princess of the most amiable character, and irreproachable manners; but her beauty, youth, and above all, the substitution of Philip as her husband, in the place of Don Carlos, afforded obvious scope for curious enquiry, and malignant conjecture<sup>27</sup>. Domestic calamities of so severe a nature, neither affected the internal tranquillity of Spain, nor diminished the king's application to affairs of state. Almost immediately after the decease of the queen, by whom, though she had left him two daughters, he had no male issue, a treaty of marriage was begun on the part of Philip, and a demand made of the arch-duchess Anne, daughter of the emperor Maximilian the Second, for his fourth wife. It was accomplished, and solemnized near two years afterwards; the king, by a fatality without example, having twice carried off the princesses, destined for his son<sup>28</sup>.

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III.

1567, 1568.

The duke of Alva, mean while, having been selected for the instrument of the king's vengeance on his subjects in the Netherlands, and having received his instructions, prepared to pass over into Italy, in order to transport himself, at the head of a formidable army, into that country. The inflexible severity and haughty arrogance of his character, rendered him peculiarly fit for so odious an employment. His great military talents, joined to his unconcealed detestation of heresy, inspired terror; and seemed to leave no alternative, except unconditional submission, or desperate resistance. Every effort was made by Margaret of Parma, to dissuade Philip from so unpopular a measure, which she predicted to him, would be followed by civil war. The emperor Maximilian the Second vainly added his expostulations to her's, and sent his brother, the arch-duke Charles, to Madrid, to deprecate the ruin which must ensue, from the introduction of Spanish forces into Flanders, under such a leader. Even in the council of Spain, the king's own confessor, and some of the

Duke of Alva sent to the Low Countries.

<sup>27</sup> Turquet, p. 1136. Leti, vol. iii. p. 342. <sup>28</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 196, 197. Leti, vol. iii. p. 493—494.



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1567, 1568.

most moderate of his ministers, urged every argument, to avert so injurious a resolution. The theologians themselves, consulted by Philip, gave it as their opinion, that, in the condition of Flanders, and with the prospect of a rebellion, a mitigated degree of toleration and liberty of conscience might be granted, without incurring any guilt, or participation of criminality. But the bigotry and prejudices of Philip, sustained by the natural hardness of his character, rendered him deaf to every suggestion of humanity. He did not hesitate to declare, that, "rather than reign over subjects of a religion different from his own, he was content to lose his crown;" nor could any motives, derived from considerations of policy, operate upon his mind<sup>29</sup>.

Resignation  
of Margaret  
of Parma.

The appearance of the duke of Alva in the Low Countries, at the head of the veteran bands of Spain, was immediately followed by all the calamities which Margaret had foreseen, but, which she could not prevent. Her resignation of the office of governess, was the prelude to these evils, and was regarded by the Flemings, as the greatest misfortune. Her inability to stop the oppressions which she saw exercised, her partial attachment to her native country, and her indignation at the extent of the powers, delegated by her brother to the Spanish general; these combined motives induced her warmly to solicit permission to resign a situation, which she could no longer fill with dignity, or exercise with benefit. Philip, with apparent reluctance, consented to her request; and she soon afterwards quitted Flanders, accompanied by the benedictions and regrets of every order of people<sup>30</sup>. On the arrival of the duke of Alva, she had been a reluctant witness to the first act of his duplicity and violence; that of arresting the counts Egmont and Horn, who were taken into custody, as they prepared to quit the council of state, at which they

Counts of  
Egmont and  
Horn, ar-  
rested.

<sup>29</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 63—73. Bentivog. p. 40—45. Leti, vol. iii. p. 122—138. Turquet, p. 1126, and p. 1129.

<sup>30</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 94—108.

had

had been summoned to assist. Many other persons of rank were at the same time seized, and committed to prison. But, the prince of Orange, the ablest and most formidable individual in the Netherlands, more cautious than his associates, and better instructed in the secret orders, entrusted by Philip to the duke of Alva, escaped the danger. He did not hesitate, on the approach of this general, to withdraw instantly into the empire, with his family and followers. Cardinal Granvelle, who, by experience, knew the extent of his capacity, and the depth of his resources; when he received the information of the prince having evaded the snare, expressed his concern, and asserted, that while William remained at liberty, nothing effectual was done by the capture of the other nobles<sup>31</sup>.

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III.  
1567, 1568.

Escape of the  
prince of  
Orange.

Every measure of the duke of Alva's government evinced to the Flemings, that their liberties were extinct, and that a systematical plan of oppression, violence, and confiscation, had been adopted by the court of Spain. A citadel was constructed at Antwerp, by the duke's command, in order to awe that wealthy and mutinous city. The council of blood, as it was denominated, consisting of twelve persons, named by the same power, took cognizance of all offences; and in contempt of the ancient usages of the national tribunals, decided in a summary manner, without appeal, upon the lives and fortunes of the citizens. All the expostulations of the emperor Maximilian, in favour of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, as relieving of the German empire, were rejected. The prince of Orange and his adherents were adjudged guilty of high treason, and the prisons were filled with victims, condemned to death. The palace of count Culembourg, in which the nobles had met at Brussels, when they presented their first petition to Margaret of Parma, was pulled down, as a house polluted by rebellion. In a word, the tyranny of the governor, sustained by an army of Spaniards and Italians, appeared to have

1568.

Tyranny of  
the duke of  
Alva.

<sup>31</sup> Bentivog. p. 46, 47. Leti, vol. iii. p. 148—176.



C H A P.  
III.

1568.

Entry of a  
German  
army into  
Friesland.

overcome all resistance; and to have reduced the Netherlands to the same prostrate condition, and abject obedience, with the other countries which composed the Spanish monarchy<sup>32</sup>.

This state of apparent calm was, however, of short duration. Louis, and Adolphus of Nassau, brothers to the prince of Orange, marched into the province of Friesland, at the head of a considerable force, composed principally of Germans. They were attacked by count Aremborg, whom they routed; and he himself, as well as Adolphus of Nassau, both fell in the action. The victors, elated by their success, laid siege to the city of Groningen<sup>33</sup>.

When intelligence of an event, so favourable to the insurgents, was carried to Brussels, the duke of Alva, more irritated than depressed by it, determined instantly to proceed in person against them, with the troops under his command; in hopes of being able to extinguish the rebellion, before it should become more formidable, by the additional strength which the prince of Orange was collecting in the German empire. But, previous to his quitting the seat of government and the interior provinces, his apprehension of the attempts, which might be made by a discontented and incensed people during his absence, induced him to adopt the resolution of executing the principal persons, detained in prison. The horror, excited by the numbers who successively were led out to die, and the cruelty which accompanied many of the punishments, were in a considerable degree lost, or swallowed up, in the indignation produced by the deaths of the counts Egmont and Horn. These two noblemen, of the most illustrious families of Flanders, and not less distinguished by their high endowments and virtues, than by their universal popularity, had been confined nine months, in the citadel of Ghent. They had both performed eminent services to the state, in peace, and in war: those of the former were even such, as it rarely falls to the lot of a subject to execute. Their

Execution of  
Egmont and  
Horn.

<sup>32</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 109—119. Bentivog.  
p. 48—53.

<sup>33</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 129—135. Bentivog.  
p. 54—56.

conduct,

conduct, during the government of Margaret of Parma, however, in some instances, it might appear equivocal, or favourable to the civil liberties of the Flemings, could not be regarded as disloyal and treasonable. Sentence was, notwithstanding, passed on them, by the duke of Alva, in consequence of directions from Philip; and it was carried into execution at Brussels, with a publicity and solemnity, more calculated to excite vengeance, than to impress terror. They were beheaded; and their deaths terminated the long list of eminent persons, offered up to the resentment of the Spanish court<sup>24</sup>.

No sooner was this scene closed, than the duke, instantly putting himself at the head of the army, directed his course towards Groningen, the siege of which was raised by the insurgents, before his arrival. Anxious to efface the dishonour and loss, recently sustained by the defeat of count Aremberg, he pursued Louis of Nassau, who retreated before him; and who, having occupied a very strong position, which was rendered still more difficult by art, waited for the duke of Alva's attack: but the valour and discipline of the royal troops, directed by so experienced a commander, surmounted every obstacle. A mutiny, which took place among the Germans, at the same juncture which the duke had chosen for beginning the action, gave him a complete, and almost, on his side, a bloodless victory. Six thousand of the enemy were left on the field, and Louis himself escaped with difficulty, by a timely flight<sup>25</sup>. The enormities and excesses, committed by a regiment of Sardinians, who wantonly set fire to a considerable district of Friesland, in revenge for the loss of some of their companions; though instantly and rigorously punished by the duke of Alva, yet augmented the general detestation borne to the Spaniards<sup>26</sup>.

C H A P.

III.

1568.

Alva marches  
against the  
insurgents.Victory of  
the Spaniards.

<sup>24</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 230—252. Strada, vol. ii. p. 152—160. Bentiv. vol. ii. p. 136—151. Bentiv. p. 56. Abregé p. 58—60. Leti, v. iii. p. 253—256. Chron. vol. ii. p. 388. Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 69—71. <sup>25</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 163—165.



C H A P.  
III.

1568.

Prince of  
Orange in-  
vades Flan-  
ders.He retreats  
again into  
Germany.

Having received a reinforcement of men and money, conducted by his son Frederic, he lost not a moment in returning to protect the provinces of Brabant and Hainault, menaced with an invasion by the prince of Orange. Notwithstanding the vigilance and skill exerted by the Spanish general, William successively crossed the Rhine, and the Meuse; having, by his boldness and address, in surmounting the difficulties of the passage across the latter river, extorted involuntary eulogiums from his adversary. No endeavours on the part of the prince, could, however, induce him to hazard a general action, or to commit the safety of the Netherlands, to the contingency of a battle. Superior to every insult, and on his guard against every stratagem, he waited the effect of time. He knew, how odious the Spanish government was become, and how readily the Flemings would embrace any occasion of testifying their sense of its severity. He was well informed, of the numerous sources of discontent and division existing in the army of William. Adhering, therefore, pertinaciously to his plan of avoiding an engagement, he contented himself with following the enemy, harassing and intercepting their parties, hovering on their rear, and frequently cutting to pieces exposed detachments. This cautious system was attended with complete success. The prince of Orange, disappointed in his expectations of a general revolt, frustrated in his attempt upon every fortified city, and destitute of means to pay or subsist his army, at an advanced season of the year; after exhausting his political and personal resources, abandoned the project. He retreated into Germany, disbanded the greater part of his forces, already considerably diminished by an unfortunate campaign, and reserved himself to renew the war, under more propitious circumstances.

The duke of Alva, victorious without bloodshed, and as admirable for his caution when opposed to the prince, as he had been for his promptitude and decision against Louis of Nassau, returned to Brussels, and entered it in triumph. The hatred of the Flemings was overcome by their terrors: not a symptom of revolt appeared in the

Low

Low Countries; and the despotism of Philip, sustained by his troops, established a profound, though a short and fallacious calm, in every part of the provinces".

C H A P.  
III.

1568—1570.

The attention of that prince was too much occupied, during the present period of his reign, by a rebellion in the kingdom of Spain itself, to permit of his visiting the Netherlands in person, even had his inclinations prompted him so to do, without manifest danger to the very existence of the monarchy. Severely as the tyranny of the duke of Alva was felt by the inhabitants of Flanders, his oppressions were light, when compared with the inhuman policy, and acts of violence, exercised against the Moors of Grenada. This people, the remnant of those conquerors, who had reigned for several ages, over the fairest provinces of Spain; after their reduction by Ferdinand and Isabella, had given few proofs of their antient intrepidity. Charles the Fifth governed them by very severe and intolerant laws: under Philip, a system appears to have been formed, not only for their complete subjection; but, by heaping on them wanton indignities, and contumely, for compelling the nation to a general revolt, and thereby furnishing a pretence for their dispersion and extermination. In consequence of this principle, every right of humanity was invaded, and every permission, usually accorded even to slaves, was denied, or taken from them. Prohibitions, or edicts, dictated by capricious cruelty, invaded their most sacred privileges, and by violating their prejudices and customs, stimulated them to rebellion. They were not only disarmed, but, by a new order of the court, it was enjoined, that they should instantly renounce their language, dress, and manners; conforming, in every article, to those of Castile. Though the execution of such a law was, in itself, to a certain degree, impracticable on the part of the Moors, it was followed by others, if possible, still more afflicting. They were obliged to profess the catholic religion, to practise all its ceremonies without reserve, and to deliver

Insurrection  
of the Moors  
in Spain.

Tyrannical  
treatment of  
the Moors by  
Philip.

<sup>47</sup> Bentiv. p. 61—63. Strada, vol. ii. p. 166—180. Leti, vol. iii. p. 257—262.



C H A P.  
III.

1568—1570.

Rebellion in  
Grenada.

They de-  
mand suc-  
cours of Se-  
lim the Se-  
cond.

up their children, to be educated in the Romish faith. Yet, to these extraordinary acts of legislation, they submitted. Their names were then taken from them; and they were compelled, though not without symptoms of the utmost repugnance, to renounce their Moorish, and to assume universally, Spanish titles and denominations. To complete the code, Philip commanded the abolition of the practice of bathing, and the immediate demolition of all the baths throughout Grenada. They ventured to remonstrate against the edict, not only as depriving them of a gratification, indispensable in a sultry climate; but, as being of a nature, which could neither militate against the catholic religion, nor against the duty and obedience due to the crown. Their entreaties were supported by the marquis of Mondejar, captain general of the kingdom of Grenada, and by other great officers of state; but Philip was inflexible, and enjoined submission. Driven to despair, the Moors resolved to resist, took up arms, elected a sovereign from among themselves, and endeavoured to expel their tyrants.

During the progress of a war, which they maintained against the united power of the Spanish monarchy, for near two years, and in which unequal contest they betrayed great resources, the utmost rage of military violence was exercised towards all, who fell into the hands of the Spaniards. No quarter was given to those found in the places captured, and the most solemn capitulations were broken. Near twelve hundred women were massacred in one castle; and the enormities, practised in the new world by Cortez and Pizarro, were renewed, in the unprovoked attack, of a disarmed and innocent people. Though the Moors had failed in an attempt to carry by surprise the city of Grenada, which might have decided on the success of their arms, and though they were frequently vanquished in their engagements with the enemy; yet, sustained by despair, animated with enthusiasm, and continually supplied with fresh troops from Algiers, and the Mahometans on the opposite coast of Africa, they made an obstinate resistance. They loudly implored protection and support from

from the sultan, Selim the Second, and sent a deputation to Constantinople, in order to represent to him, how much he was bound, by motives religious and political, not to be a passive spectator of their entire destruction. But Selim, though he neither wanted ambition, nor enmity to Spain, yet declined to engage in their defence. If he had taken a decisive part in their favour, it is not improbable, in Philip's embarrassed state, that he might have had reason to repent of his unprovoked attack on the Moors.

CHAP.  
III.

1568—1570.

Even, when abandoned to their own force, they rendered the final issue of the war, doubtful and tedious. Their new sovereign possessed courage, and made every effort for the emancipation of his subjects. In this state of affairs, Philip called into action the talents of his brother, Don John of Austria. The age of the prince, which did not exceed twenty-three years, seemed to disqualify him for so arduous a commission; but the king, notwithstanding, named him to the supreme command against the rebels. The motives for the selection, whether arising from regard and favour, or whether originating in profound jealousy and malignity, on the part of Philip, have actuated the curiosity of historians, and must for ever remain problematical. The great and early indications of courage and ambition, exhibited by Don John, the character of his brother, and the subsequent conduct which he observed towards the prince, certainly afford grounds for suspicion of the purity of Philip's intentions. Don John embraced with ardour, so glorious an occasion for the display of his talents; and, after many desperate encounters with the Moors, in one of which he was routed, and narrowly escaped with his life, he terminated successfully the war. The vanquished Mahometans were dispersed by the conqueror, throughout Castile, and reduced to the lowest degree of abject humiliation<sup>33</sup>.

Desperate resistance of the Moors.

They are vanquished by Don John of Austria.

<sup>33</sup> Turquet, p. 1138—1156. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 390—408. Leti, vol. iii. p. 289—291, and 366, 367, and 495. Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 60, 61, and p. 67, 68, and p. 71—74, and p. 80.

While



CHAP.  
III.1568-1570.  
Occupations  
of Philip.

While Flanders and Grenada thus exhibited a scene of oppression and depopulation, Philip, constantly resident in the center of Spain, and rarely removing to any considerable distance from his capital, divided his time, between the fatigues of government, and the amusements of gallantry. Notwithstanding the obstacles, and even prohibitions, issued from the Vatican, he proceeded slowly to complete a very important object; that of ascertaining the number, and revenues, of all the ecclesiastical foundations, of every kind, in his vast dominions. This enumeration descended to the minutest detail, and embraced all denominations of the clergy. The result, when submitted to him, is said, in magnitude, to have surpassed his belief. Not stopping here, Philip caused researches of a similar nature to be made, relative to the employments, military, civil, and judicial, either immediately conferred by the crown, or in the gift of his viceroys and governors. Such enquiries were certainly worthy of a great monarch, and they were peculiarly analogous to the genius of the prince by whose command they were made; of which, vigilance, application, and inspection, were the leading characteristics."

Gallantries of  
Philip.

Among these occupations of state, his heart, which seemed to be little formed for the impressions of love, was inflamed by the beauty and accomplishments of Anne de Mendoza, princess of Eboli, and wife to his favourite, Ruy Gomez de Sylva. This passion, like almost every other of Philip, produced in the event, very tragical consequences. The princess, solicited to yield by her own husband, and not averse to gratify the wishes of her royal lover, interposed scarce any obstacle or delay to his desires. Philip, who affected to mingle a degree of religion even in his vices, and who scrupled to seduce the wife of one of his subjects, was liberated from the restraint on his inclinations, by the convenient facility of Ruy Gomez: yet, cautious, secret, and mysterious in his amour, he confided to

" Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 78, 79. Leti, vol. iii. p. 436-438.

Antonio

Antonio Perez, secretary of state, his wishes and irresolution. The minister, happy to render so delicate a service, conducted, with profound silence, the princess of Eboli, to Philip. She soon obtained over him, the most unbounded ascendancy: the intrigue became public, and caused no small scandal throughout Europe. Nothing, indeed, could have been more incompatible with the gloomy devotion, and austere piety, of which Philip so loudly made profession, and which served him as a veil to conceal his projects of ambition. Perez himself, from being the confidant, became afterwards the rival of his sovereign; but his success was fatal to himself, and to the princess<sup>40</sup>. Magnificence occupied Philip's leisure as much as love. Besides the continuation of the Escorial, in which immense sums were expended, he constructed the palace of the Pardo, near Madrid, and adorned it with costly monuments of art. The castle of Segovia was raised by his order; the aqueduct of Toledo built; and many other edifices of general utility or convenience, completed, in different provinces of Spain<sup>41</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.

1568-1570.

If the duke of Alva had used with moderation, and improved by clemency, the victory which his arms had obtained over the prince of Orange, the Netherlands might have remained entire to Philip, notwithstanding the past severities, exercised in his name, and under his authority. But the presumption of the Spanish general, augmented by prosperity, disdained all limits; and he regarded the Flemings as a vanquished people, already accustomed to despotism. Not content with having enslaved, he proceeded to insult them, by the construction of a statue, which was placed in the citadel of Antwerp; and where he was represented in the act of trampling under his feet, the liberties of the Flemish nobility and people. Even his master was displeased at so injudicious and indecent a display of arrogance and vanity, in which the merits of the general,

Violence of  
the duke of  
Alva, in Flan-  
ders.

<sup>40</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 416-431. Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 26.

<sup>41</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 496-498.



C H A P.  
III.

1568—1570.  
Amnesty  
published by  
command of  
Philip.

were more conspicuously exhibited than those of the king<sup>42</sup>. After a long and impolitic delay, the duke of Alva at length promulgated, with ostentatious solemnity, the pardon and amnesty of all past offences committed against the crown of Spain, since the origin of the troubles in the Netherlands. This boasted act of oblivion contained, nevertheless, so many exceptions, and the vehicle through which it was dispensed, had become so universally odious or suspected, that it produced no effect or benefit. The season of reconciliation and obedience was past, though that of revenge was not yet arrived<sup>43</sup>.

New oppres-  
sions of Alva.

Meanwhile, the governor, fearful of new commotions, ardently solicited his recal; but was refused the permission, by the king: yet, conscious how detestable to his Flemish subjects, and how injurious to his own interests, the duke of Alva's administration was become, he meditated to send him a successor. The same procrastination and irresolution, which attended almost all the measures of Philip, prevented the execution of his design, and completed the destruction of the Spanish power in the Low Countries<sup>44</sup>. The necessities of the duke; the arrears due to his troops; and the seizure of a sum of money, on its passage to Flanders, destined for that purpose, by Elizabeth, queen of England: these united causes impelled him to commit exactions, and to issue edicts, so oppressive and intolerable, that, when remonstrance and supplication were found to be vain, a general resistance succeeded. He demanded the tenth upon moveables of every kind, as often as they should be sold; the twentieth upon immoveables; and the hundredth, upon all commodities. The clamours of the Flemings, and the damage sustained by an inundation of the sea in Friesland, retarded, but did not prevent the collection of the taxes. The revolt, which all the cruelties of Alva had not excited, was instantly produced by his attack upon personal

Universal re-  
volt in the  
Low Coun-  
tries.

<sup>42</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 181—185. Bentivog.  
p. 68, 69. Leti, vol. iii. p. 367—370.

<sup>43</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 194—196.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 197, 198.

property.

property. A party of desperate men, who infested the coasts of Flanders, and whom Elizabeth had compelled to quit the English ports, in consequence of applications from the ambassador of Philip, headed by the count de la Marck, surprized the town of the Brill, in Holland. Their unexpected success was the signal of an universal insurrection, which no exertions of valour or ability, on the part of the Spanish commander, were ever able to subdue.<sup>43</sup>

CHAP.  
III.  
1568—1570.

So general was the disaffection, that almost every place of consequence, in the northern provinces of Holland and Zealand, instantly declared for the prince of Orange, expelled their garrisons, and renounced all allegiance or subjection to Philip. Amsterdam remained nearly alone in its adherence to that prince. The duke of Alva, who was ready to enforce by military execution, the pecuniary impositions recently published, suspended his resentment, and prepared to extinguish the rebellion, while yet in its infancy. But, before he could interpose with effect, new commotions engaged his attention, and demanded his presence. Count Bergues entered Guelderland, and made a rapid progress in the province, as well as in the adjoining ones of Zutphen and Overijssel. A still more alarming event, was the surprize of the city of Mons, the capital of Hainault, by Louis of Nassau, who was aided in the enterprise, by a body of French Hugonots. In this embarrassed situation of affairs, and among such multiplied disasters, Philip's general betrayed no symptoms of terror or apprehension. Esteeming the French invasion to be the most formidable, as originating from the prevalence of Coligni and his adherents in the counsels of Charles the Ninth, he, without delay, bent his efforts to that quarter, and detached his son Frederic to form the siege of Mons; leaving the suppression of the revolt in the other provinces, to a more favourable juncture. The baron de Genlis, who con-

1571.

Progress of  
the insur-  
gents.

Conduct of  
Alva.

<sup>43</sup> Bentivog. p. 69—72. Strada, vol. ii. p. 201—208.



C H A P.  
III.

1571.  
Prince of  
Orange in-  
vades Flan-  
ders anew.

ducted some troops to the aid of the besieged, was defeated by the Spaniards, himself taken prisoner, and Mons closely invested. In order to succour his friends, already reduced to extremity, the prince of Orange, at the head of a formidable army, crossed the Rhine, and entered Flanders a second time. He was received with joy by the Flemings. Louvain ransomed itself from pillage; Mechlin opened its gates to him, and many inferior places imitated the example. Brussels remained firm in its allegiance. The prince, advancing towards Mons, appeared in sight of the Spanish lines, and attempted to compel the duke of Alva to an action: but that general, strongly entrenched, defied his utmost endeavours, and pressed more vigorously the siege<sup>46</sup>.

Such was the position of the two commanders, when the demonstrations of joy in the camp of the duke, occasioned by the reception of the news of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which had taken place at Paris, communicated the fatal intelligence to the prince of Orange. Conscious of the injurious consequences necessarily resulting from it, as well as of its effect upon his troops, William, after again vainly exerting himself to force the enemy to a battle, determined on a retreat. No hopes of any assistance from France remained, Coligni and his friends having perished in the carnage.

He is com-  
pelled to re-  
tire to Delft.

Having, therefore, signified to his brother Louis, the necessity of his renouncing the present enterprize, he marched back to Mechlin, harassed and pursued by a party of the enemy, who beat up his quarters, penetrated even to his tent, and had nearly killed, or made him prisoner. He retired to Delft, to wait for a more propitious moment, in which to renew the war; while Louis, having no longer any expectation of succours, surrendered Mons by capitulation, and withdrew into Germany. The duke of Alva dishonoured and sullied his victory, by the acts of violence which he committed, and the pil-

<sup>46</sup> Bentivog. p. 74—82. Strada, vol. ii. p. 211—218.

lage to which he abandoned the cities, attached to the prince of Orange. Mechlin was exposed, during three days, to all the excesses of a ferocious and insolent soldiery; and though every part of Flanders submitted to the Spanish yoke, yet the abhorrence, excited by such oppressions, prepared the inhabitants for new commotions<sup>47</sup>.

C H A P.  
III.

1571.

A more honourable triumph, and a more beneficial one, if it had been wisely improved, attended the arms of Philip, in another part of Europe. In this, as in almost every other brilliant atchievement of the early part of his reign, Don John of Austria was eminently distinguished; and the lustre of the action was in the present instance augmented, by its being of a nature not confined to a single kingdom, but, equally glorious and useful to all the christian states. The Turks had recently attacked, and rapidly subjected, the island of Cyprus, one of the most valuable possessions of the republic of Venice. The barbarities, committed by their troops, and sanctioned by their commanders, after the capture of Famagosta and Nicosia, the two principal cities, excited general indignation, and loudly demanded vengeance. To retrieve the honour of the allied powers, and to stop the alarming progress of Selim; Pius the Fifth, and the Venetians, who had previously formed a league for their common defence, with Philip, exerted the greatest efforts to equip a formidable fleet. After many delays, and various obstacles, the armament was accomplished; and the supreme command was delegated to the king of Spain, who named to the employment, Don John of Austria. The prince, assembling the combined forces at Naples, sailed from Messina in Sicily, at the head of above two hundred galleys, to seek the enemy. He found them near the entrance of the gulph of Lepanto, on the coast of Greece; and he did not hesitate to give them battle, in defiance of the remonstrances of Requesens, commander of

Turkish war.

Christian  
fleet, under  
Don John,  
set sail.

Victory of  
Lepanto.

<sup>47</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 219—223.



C H A P.  
III.

1571.

Castile, whom the king of Spain had sent to moderate his ardour. Few victories were ever more complete: the Ottoman admiral, Ali Bacha, perished in the engagement, and his ship was taken. Above one hundred gallies fell into the hands of the conquerors. Uluc-ciali, who distinguished himself in the action, effected his retreat, and saved thirty gallies from the general destruction, with which he reached Constantinople, and brought the first account of the disaster. That capital was in the utmost consternation, and incapable of sustaining a vigorous attack<sup>a</sup>.

Inactivity of  
the allies.

But, the irresolution and inaction of the allied powers, after so signal a success, was as conspicuous as their courage and conduct in its achievement. It is said, that Don John, with the decision and energy which characterized him, exhorted to pursue the flying enemy, and to present themselves, while the terror, excited among the Turks was yet recent, before the passage of the Dardanelles, where they would find no impediment to their progress. It is matter of curious speculation, though not of historical enquiry, to consider what consequences might have resulted from so magnanimous and bold a measure, had it been immediately carried into execution. The Ottoman empire, it is probable, might have received a deep and lasting wound; and the rapidity of their conquests have been retarded, if not completely prevented.

Far from improving the advantage obtained, the allies separated almost instantly, without effecting any object beneficial to the common cause. Ostentatious triumphs, and exhibitions of joy, occupied the various powers, who lost the occasion of humbling the Turks. Philip received the intelligence of the victory, with that phlegm and apparent tranquillity of temper, which he affected equally, in prosperous or adverse fortune. He even expressed some doubts of the prudence of Don John, in having exposed to the hazard of war, the

<sup>a</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 445—490, and p. 503—560. Turquet, p. 1157—1170.

great interests committed to his charge; and he betrayed in these censures, the jealousy with which he was actuated<sup>49</sup>.

CHAP.  
III.

1572.

Continuation  
of the war.

The ensuing campaign produced no event of moment, and the league had already lost its firmest support, and bond of connection, by the death of Pius the Fifth. His successor in the chair of St. Peter, Gregory the Thirteenth, was well affected to the cause; but, he wanted the active zeal of the deceased pontiff. Though Don John was continued in the station of generalissimo, yet, the king his brother long refused him permission to assume the command in person; and when, at an advanced season of the year, orders from Madrid authorized him to join the Papal and Venetian fleets, the favourable time was elapsed. Ulucciali, raised to the dignity of captain bacha, and instructed by the experience of the preceding campaign, avoided any general action, and amused the allies by skirmishes, which could be of no decisive effect. The duke of Sessa, by Philip's direction, accompanied Don John, and pertinaciously opposed every hazardous enterprise. An ineffectual cannonade between the two squadrons, took place, on the coast of the Morea; after which the Turkish commander retired under the cannon of Modon. But, the allies did not wait to take advantage of his distressed situation: they separated, and allowed Ulucciali to conduct the fleet of Selim in safety to Constantinople.

The Venetians, unable to support so expensive a war, and disgusted with the conduct of the king of Spain, withdrew from the alliance, and concluded a peace with the Porte, in the following year. Don John, to whom the christian inhabitants of Albania, Macedonia, and Greece, impressed with admiration at his heroic endowments and military renown, had sent a deputation to offer him the sovereignty of those fertile countries, was compelled, by the jealousy of Philip, to renounce so advantageous a proposal<sup>50</sup>.

Venice withdraws from  
the confederacy.

1573.

<sup>49</sup> Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 411—413. Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 84—86.

<sup>50</sup> Turquet, p. 1171, 1172. Leti, vol. iv. p. 4, 5, and p. 36—54. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 414—417. Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 86, 87.

That



C H A P.  
III.1573.  
Capture of  
Tunis by  
Don John.

That monarch, though left to his own resources, and destitute of any ally, yet, determined to prosecute the war, and to carry it into Africa. The recovery of Tunis, which had recently fallen into the possession of the Turks, formed the first object; and the expedition was committed to Don John, who embarking at Trapani in Sicily, landed on the coast of Barbary, at the head of a powerful fleet, after a short and favourable passage. Tunis was abandoned by the Turks with precipitation, on his approach, and he took possession of the city, as well as of the neighbouring one of Biserta, almost without opposition. In order to secure his new acquisition, he constructed a fort, which being situated between Tunis and the fortrefs of the Goletta, might give additional strength, or extend continual assistance, to both garrisons. Having placed on the throne a Moorish prince, with the title of viceroy, and provided for the protection of the conquered country, by leaving behind him a numerous body of Spanish troops, he returned in triumph to Naples. The rapidity and brilliancy of the enterprize, which was so naturally compared with that, atchieved by the emperor Charles the Fifth on the same spot thirty-eight years before, increased the popularity, and raised still higher the reputation of Don John of Austria. But, Philip, whose distrust augmented in proportion with his brother's success, complained that his orders and intentions had been disobeyed, by the construction of the fort, and by the preservation of Tunis, which he had commanded to be dismantled, and destroyed. His dislike was strengthened, by the display of ambition which Don John made, in requesting to be allowed to assume the title of king of Tunis; a demand which, notwithstanding that it was strenuously supported by pope Gregory the Thirteenth, and, if rendered effective, might have been highly beneficial to the interests of Spain, was rejected by the king, with indignation<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Turquet, p. 1173, 1174. Leti, vol. iv. p. 55-58. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 417, 418.

The acquisition of the kingdom of Tunis, though every precaution had been taken by Don John for its security, was eventually a source of mortification and disgrace to the arms of Spain. In the following year, it returned to the Mahometan yoke. The bashaw Sinan, and Ulucciali, having under their command a formidable force, undertook, and achieved its reduction, before any assistance could be sent to its relief. The city of Tunis was hastily evacuated on their first approach; and the Goletta, vigorously attacked, was carried by assault, notwithstanding the efforts of Porto Carrero, the Spanish governor, for its preservation. Encouraged by so prosperous a commencement, the Turks, without loss of time, turned all their efforts against the new fort, in which Serbelloné commanded. That officer sustained with great intrepidity, the attempts of a superior and indefatigable enemy; but his garrison, diminished considerably, was unequal to the contest. Sinan entered the fort by storm, and put to the sword all those whom he did not reserve for slavery. Serbelloné and Porto Carrero were among the latter number; and after being compelled to assist in the demolition of the Spanish fortifications, they were chained to the oar, and conducted by the conquerors, to Constantinople.

Such was the fate of the kingdom of Tunis, which affected deeply the honour of the king of Spain, while it diminished his consideration in the eyes of all the European powers. Don John, detained by contrary winds in the ports of Sicily, yet does not appear to have totally escaped some degree of censure, on account of its loss. The choice of the commanders, left in charge of the African forts, was blamed; and it was thought, that greater expedition might have been used for the relief of Tunis. A circumstance, peculiarly memorable, is, that a body of four thousand Jews, who had been expelled, in common with the Moors, by the intolerance of Philip, from Grenada, embarked under Sinan, on this expedition. Their national inaptitude and aversion to war, which so strongly characterize



C H A P.  
III.

1574

Progress, and  
cruelties of  
the Spaniards  
in Holland.

them as a people, was surmounted by their antipathy to the crown of Spain; and they took a bloody revenge on their native sovereign, for his cruelty in having compelled them to bear arms against their country. It is the only instance, recorded in modern history, of a similar nature<sup>52</sup>.

These disasters in the Mediterranean, were not compensated by any beneficial acquisitions in the Low Countries. The prince of Orange, though compelled to evacuate Flanders, sustained himself in the northern provinces, and derived resources from the abuse which his enemies made of their victories: while the duke of Alva, abandoning the inhabitants to the rage of his son Frederic, carried his barbarities to the utmost length of unbridled fury. Zutphen was taken, and sacked by the soldiery: at Naarden in Holland, a massacre of every individual, of both sexes, and of every age, took place. The city was burnt, and the walls razed. So atrocious a conduct, far from inspiring terror, produced the contrary effect, of animating the people to defend themselves to the last extremity.

Surrender of  
Haarlem.

During the siege of Haarlem, which was continued for eight months, the acts of wanton outrage and savage animosity, continually committed by the Spaniards, produced retaliations on the part of the besieged, equally repugnant to humanity. All the limits, which policy and civilization have affixed to the horrors of war, were mutually broken down and violated. Frederic, despairing of success, and ready to raise the siege, was prevented by his father's reproaches, from carrying his design into execution. The inhabitants, after sustaining the most severe extremities with undaunted resolution, surrendered at discretion; and the garrison, reduced from four thousand to sixteen hundred, was treated by the victor with the same cruelty, which he had exhibited on similar occasions. Nine hundred perished in the Spanish camp, by the hand of the executioner, and completed the detestation universally entertained towards that nation.

<sup>52</sup> Leti, vol. iv. p. 87—98. Turquet, p. 1174—1176. Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 94.

The advantage was dearly purchased on the part of the conquerors, who lost not only a considerable number of foldiers, but many of their most able and experienced officers. It seemed to be the boundary of the success of the duke of Alva. His son Frederic was repulsed from before Alcmaer, and reduced to retire with disgrace. Symptoms of mutiny appeared among the Spaniards; and the unconquerable spirit of the Dutch, was still more confirmed by a signal victory, obtained at sea, in which their fleets, after an obstinate resistance, captured the admiral's ship, and the count of Bossu himself, her commander. Some inconsiderable acquisitions of the Spanish troops, in the province of Holland, faintly balanced these important losses.

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Such was the situation of affairs, when Requesens arrived from Milan, to supersede the duke of Alva, as governor of the Netherlands. The latter general returning to Brussels, immediately quitted a country, in which his name was held in execration, and which, having found loyal and peaceable, he had driven into rebellion, by a series of impolitic and systematic oppression. He was, notwithstanding, graciously received by Philip, on his arrival at Madrid.

Arrival of  
Requesens to  
succede Alva.

His successor was eminently distinguished by the humanity of his character, as well as by the talents of a statesman; and he had evinced equal capacity in the command of armies. But, no combination of endowments, or acts of clemency and conciliation, could repair the injury committed, or restore obedience. The provinces of Holland and Zealand, enriched by the spoils of the Spaniards, began already to feel their strength; nor would the prince of Orange trust to the forgiveness of Philip, and renounce his independence, purchased with such toil and bloodshed. It was in vain, that Requesens, by offers of oblivion, and by the popular act of demolishing the statue of the duke of Alva, which had justly excited such general indignation, endeavoured to awaken the allegiance, or recover the affections

Ineffectual  
efforts of Re-  
quesens, to  
restore tran-  
quillity.

<sup>33</sup> Strada, vol. ii. p. 223—234. Bentiv. liv. vii. p. 89—101.

<sup>34</sup> Leti, vol. iv. p. 59—63.



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Continuation  
of the war.

of the people committed to his care. Every overture was rejected with disdain; and the letters of the new governor, addressed to the Zealanders, and couched in terms the most calculated to produce an effect, were completely unsuccessful.

Finding the attainment of peace impracticable upon terms honourable to the crown of Spain, he made, therefore, the most vigorous exertions to reduce the rebels by force of arms. But, fortune was unfavourable to the execution of his designs: and a numerous squadron, which sailed from the Schelde to the relief of Middleburg, being invested by the enemy, was defeated. The Spanish vessels were either burnt, driven on shore, or captured; and Requesens was himself a spectator of the disaster, from an eminence near Bergen-op-Zoom. The surrender of Middleburg by capitulation, followed the defeat of the naval armament sent for its support<sup>35</sup>.

Defeat of  
Louis, count  
of Nassau.

While the prince of Orange, by so important a victory, was laying the foundation of his own elevation, and that of the infant republic of Holland, his affairs sustained a severe reverse in another quarter. Louis, count of Nassau, and Henry, a younger brother of the same illustrious house, aided by Christopher, prince Palatine, entered Guelderland, having under their command an army of Germans. But, before they could effect any object of importance, Sancho d'Avila attacked and routed them, near the city of Nimeguen. The three princes perished in the action; by what species of death is uncertain, their bodies having never been found. The cannon and baggage fell into the hands of the conquerors, together with a prodigious plunder.

Mutiny of  
the Spanish  
troops.

The effect of so signal a success, might have been very beneficial to the arms of Philip, if it had not been lost by the mutiny and sedition of the victorious soldiery. Irritated at the continual delay in paying them their arrears, tired with ineffectual expostulations, and

<sup>35</sup> Bentiv. p. 102—104. Strada, vol. ii. p. 243—248.

arrogant from their late triumph, they disclaimed any further appeal except to the sword. Renouncing all subjection to their commander, and refusing to listen to the offers of Requesens, they marched in a considerable body, to Antwerp, which they entered without resistance. Yet, in the midst of their contempt of subordination and military obedience, they preserved, and severely enforced, private discipline among themselves. The city was protected from pillage; and the Spanish governor, conscious that their demands were just, having found means to satisfy them, published a general pardon. They returned to their duty, and were sent to the siege of Leyden; while Requesens again caused an amnesty of all past offences to be read, in the name of his sovereign, though with as little effect as from that formerly offered by the duke of Alva<sup>56</sup>.

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Such was the aspect of affairs in the Low Countries, in the summer of the year 1574. It is requisite, at this period, to take a general, but succinct view of the Spanish monarchy, as it then existed, in order to form a clear estimate of its magnitude, strength, and resources. When we consider the number of kingdoms and provinces which composed it, situated in the most fertile and commercial parts of Europe, and subjected under one head; the terror which such extensive dominions excited, ought not to affect us with surprize. If the ambition and talents of Philip had been allowed to act, unbiassed by the intolerance and bigotry of his character, it seems difficult to judge what limits could have been affixed to his power and enterprizes; since, labouring under these impediments, and having a continual war to maintain for so many years, against his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, he conquered Portugal, and had nearly atchieved the reduction of France and England. Italy was, virtually, in his possession. Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, Milan, and Placentia, were part of his hereditary, or acquired dominions. The patrimony of St. Peter,

State of the  
Spanish mo-  
narchy at  
this period.

Power and  
dominions of  
Philip.

<sup>56</sup> Turquet, p. 1575. Bentivog. p. 104—110. Strada, vol. ii. p. 249—260. Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 95. 96. Leti, vol. iv. p. 98—107.



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and the dignity of the Holy See, were protected by Spain. Tuscany had been, in a great degree, conferred by his father, the emperor, upon Cosmo of Medicis; and Philip still retained the principal ports of the duchy in his own hands. Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, was his vassal; and Genoa owned him for her protector. Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who was indebted to his powerful interposition, for the restoration of all his patrimonial territories, looked to Spain for their preservation. Even Venice trembled at the enormous influence and proximity of so dangerous a neighbour.

Military and  
naval forces.

The German branch of the house of Austria was constantly subservient to the policy and views of the cabinet of Madrid, which it aided and sustained on every occasion: while the treasures of the new world, regularly transmitted to Philip, enabled him to equip fleets, or maintain armies, far superior to those which the comparatively slender resources of any other cotemporary prince, could support. He had at one time, near a hundred thousand men in the field, and a hundred and fifty galleys at sea<sup>37</sup>. Louis the Fourteenth, in the last century, it is true, made far greater exertions; but, the king of Spain alone, before 1570, had given the example of so vast a naval and military force. His revenues, in 1569, did not fall short of twenty-five millions of ducats; a sum not only of incredible magnitude in that age, but surpassing the aggregate amount of the revenues of all the other European sovereigns<sup>38</sup>.

## Revenues.

## Royal power.

The power of the crown, augmented and confirmed by the two preceding reigns of Ferdinand the catholic, and Charles the Fifth, had, in a great measure, extinguished the liberties of the subject in every part of the Spanish dependencies, except in the Low Countries. In Naples, Sicily, and Milan, the orders of Philip were as implicitly obeyed, as in the kingdom of Castile. Arragon alone continued to preserve some traces of its antient freedom. The prodigious influ-

Patronage of  
the crown.<sup>37</sup> Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 79.<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 79.

ence,

ence, necessarily resulting from such unlimited authority, may be in some measure appreciated by the patronage immediately vested in the king. Philip, in his own person, named and appointed eighty-three thousand officers, civil, military, criminal, and of finance, in the different provinces of Europe, and America. Neither Augustus, nor Trajan, probably enjoyed a more extensive power of conferring benefits. Three hundred and sixty-seven thousand inferior, or subaltern employments, were distributed by the viceroys, chancellors, and governors, throughout his dominions. To these offices, we must add the ecclesiastical preferments; amounting to fifty-eight archbishoprics, six hundred and eighty-four bishoprics, besides eleven thousand, four hundred abbeys<sup>19</sup>. So vast a source of honours and emoluments had never been concentrated in one prince, since the extinction of the Roman empire; and when it is considered that Philip, to a restless and insatiable ambition, joined so many qualities fitted to give energy and activity to that passion, it is evident, that Europe never appeared to be so near falling under the authority of a single man, as at the period under our review.

Many causes and circumstances, however, either obvious or latent, contributed to diminish the disproportionate greatness of the Spanish monarchy; and insensibly to reduce it nearer to a level with the surrounding states. Philip's grandeur was more apparent and ostensible, than real; it was unwieldy, disjointed, and subject to the inconveniences, attached to the distance and separation of its component parts. The population of Spain bore no proportion to its size, and was annually diminishing, by the emigrations to America, as well as by persecution. The inhabitants, estimated under Ferdinand the catholic, at near twenty millions, had diminished above a third, since his decease; and the whole European territories of Philip were not supposed to contain above that

Causes of the  
decline of  
Spain.

<sup>19</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 436—438. Desormeaux, *ibid.* p. 78, 79:

number,



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number, in 1570<sup>60</sup>. Agriculture was neglected; manufactures declined; and the internal sources of vigour were drying up; while a fallacious prosperity and wealth, caused by the annual arrival of the flotas and galleons from the new world, spread a false lustre, and concealed the decay of the exhausted monarchy. Even the Spaniards, who returned from Peru and Mexico, imported the vices to which they had been habituated; and by their luxury, tended to extinguish the virtues of frugality, industry, and simplicity of manners, in their native country.

Numbers,  
and celibacy  
of the eccle-  
siastics.

The number, and the celibacy of the clergy, was no inconsiderable cause of the depopulation of Spain. It appeared, from the result of the inquest made by Philip, in 1569, that in the whole extent of his dominions, there were not less than three hundred and twelve thousand priests; two hundred thousand clerks, in the subordinate ecclesiastical offices; and above four hundred thousand of the monastic orders, of both sexes<sup>61</sup>. Their revenues were proportionately ample, and amounted to the sum of two millions sterling<sup>62</sup>. The imposition of a tenth, which Pius the Fourth, in 1561, permitted the king to levy on the property of the clergy during five years, was estimated at fifty thousand ducats a year, for the kingdom of Spain only<sup>63</sup>. The cruel and unprovoked hostilities, commenced and prosecuted against the Moors of Grenada, had not only deprived the kingdom of a race of men, industrious and laborious; but had transformed them from subjects into enemies, either open or concealed.

Depredations  
of the Turks.

Immense sums were expended by the king of Spain, in the protection of his coasts, against the depredations of the Turks, Algerines, and other African corsairs. Dragut and Ulucciali were successively the scourge of Naples, Sicily, and the whole Mediterranean. Notwithstanding the victory of Lepanto, the repulse which the Ottoman

<sup>60</sup> Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 78. *Abregé*  
*Chronol.* vol. ii. p. 324.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.* Leti, vol. iii. p. 437.

<sup>62</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 437, 438.

<sup>63</sup> Deformaux, vol. iv. p. 38.

arms sustained before Malta, in 1565, and some gallant exploits performed by various Spanish commanders, against these enemies of the christian name; Philip was very unsuccessful in his enterprizes to stop their progress. The bashaw, Piali, in 1558, carried off fifteen hundred captives, from Sorrento, near Naples, and ravaged Procida: sailing thence to Minorca, he put the garrison of Port Mahon to the sword, and destroyed the place itself by fire<sup>64</sup>. Three years afterwards, Dragut landed in Sicily and Calabria; from which unfortunate provinces he bore away six thousand persons of both sexes, and a spoil amounting in value to above two millions of crowns<sup>65</sup>. Constantinople was full of Spanish prisoners, captured in the defeats at the island of Gerbes, in the fort of the Goletta, and at Tunis; many of whom were of the highest condition. The Abruzzo, and all the eastern coast of the kingdom of Naples, was again desolated and plundered, by the Turks, in 1566, notwithstanding the exertions of Don Garcia de Toledo, viceroy of Sicily, who had under his command a fleet of eighty-five gallies<sup>66</sup>. It became indispensable to arm against these invaders, who continued to infest the shores of Italy, and even of Spain. Don John of Austria, in 1568, joined his forces to those of the Pope and of Florence, for their common defence.

The numerous garrisons, maintained by Philip on the coast of Barbary, demanded continual supplies of men and money, to prevent their falling into the hands of the Moors. The ardent zeal of that monarch for the extirpation of heresy, impelled him to send troops to the aid of the king of France, and to expend his treasures in enabling Charles the Ninth to vanquish the hugonots; though at the same time, his own Flemish provinces were in rebellion, and his soldiers on the point of mutinying for want of their arrears. He lavished enormous sums on monasteries, palaces, and public edifices. The

Vast sums expended by Philip.

<sup>64</sup> Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 340.

<sup>65</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 357.

<sup>66</sup> Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 376, 377.  
Leti, vol. iii. p. 89-92.



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Public debt  
contracted.

Severe taxes  
and exactions.

Barriers opposed to Philip's conquests.

Escorial alone cost five millions of pounds sterling<sup>67</sup>: the convent of the Jesuits, constructed by his order at Cusco in Peru, two hundred thousand crowns; and that of the barefooted Carmelites, at Madrid, nearly as much money. His benefactions to other religious purposes, and, in particular, to the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, exceed any calculation<sup>68</sup>. The united effect of all these causes was, notwithstanding, inferior to the revolt, and civil wars in the Netherlands, towards producing the destruction of the Spanish greatness. In that abyss, were swallowed up the forces and revenues of Philip the Second. In 1574 he had already contracted an immense public debt, amounting to near seventeen millions sterling, upon which he paid twenty-one *per cent.* interest: to relieve the crown from so oppressive a burden, he, in the following year, discharged the capital, but deprived his creditors of the interest; and this species of fraudulent bankruptcy was fatal to his credit<sup>69</sup>. We may judge how great were the pecuniary embarrassments of Philip, by his exacting from his Spanish subjects, in 1574, the tenth of all goods or property whatever. Such a tax necessarily produced some murmurs, notwithstanding the profound submission established throughout the kingdom, and the extinction of every spark of freedom. A gentleman of St. Maria del Campo, named Presillas, who ventured to express his indignation at the exactions of the king, and to condemn, with asperity, his maxims of administration; was committed to prison, and adjudged to die, by the council of state, as guilty of treason. But Philip, with much magnanimity and wisdom, ordered him to be set at liberty; observing, that "a sovereign is never more secure from the resentment of his subjects, than while their discontent is allowed to exhale in complaints"<sup>70</sup>.

Some accidental circumstances contributed to give strength to the principles of decay, already enumerated. The vigour and capacity of

<sup>67</sup> Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 43.

<sup>68</sup> Leti, vol. iv. p. 75—80.

<sup>69</sup> Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 79. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 346, 347.

<sup>70</sup> Leti, vol. iv. p. 125—128.

Elizabeth,

Elizabeth, queen of England, seemed to be opposed as a barrier to the inroads of the power of Spain, towards the north. The warlike and enterprising character of Solyman, the Turkish emperor, checked the arms of that crown in Africa and the Levant. More than either, the genius and resources of William, prince of Orange, rendered ineffectual all the efforts of the duke of Alva, sustained by the veteran troops, and treasures of his master. The very position of the Low Countries, separated from all the other branches of the monarchy, and so conveniently situated for receiving support from France, Germany, and England, should have induced a cautious prince to pause, before he invaded their privileges, and compelled them to resistance. Philip overlooked, or despised these obvious impediments, and commenced a war, which survived the limits of his life and reign.

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The commerce of Spain with the colonies of North and South America, was, at this period, carried on exclusively from the port of Seville, in Andalusia. When Philip visited the city for the first time, in 1570, the inhabitants gratuitously presented him six hundred thousand ducats, as a testimony of their attachment, on his approaching nuptials with the arch-duchess, Anne<sup>71</sup>. No other place in Europe could have given to its sovereign, a similar mark of liberality. The galleons, which annually sailed and returned from Peru and Mexico, to Seville, rendered it the most opulent city in the world. But, the kingdom was little enriched by the American trade, and manufactures of every kind experienced a rapid decline.

Commerce of  
Spain.

It is from the year 1560, that Madrid may be considered as the capital of Spain, Philip having transferred thither his court. Toledo was the antient metropolis of Castile, and the usual residence of the kings; but Charles the Fifth had already, in a great degree, abandoned it, constructed a palace at Madrid, and traced the plan of a

Transfer of  
the capital of  
Madrid.

<sup>71</sup> Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 81.



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Encourage-  
ment of the  
arts by Phi-  
lip.

town, which his successor continued and completed<sup>72</sup>. All the fine arts found in Philip a liberal patron, and protector. John Baptist de Toledo, and his disciple, John d'Hemera, two celebrated architects, were employed in the construction of the Escorial<sup>73</sup>. The superb aqueduct, which conveyed water to the palace at Toledo, was built by his order; and he adorned the kingdom with numerous monuments of magnificence and utility<sup>74</sup>. The drawings, executed at his expence, by Francis Hermando, and which comprehended every object of natural history, together with the dresses and ceremonies of the inhabitants of the new world, formed one of the most costly and curious works, ever undertaken by the command of any prince, and did honour to the elegance of his taste<sup>75</sup>. Neither the elder Cosmo, nor Lorenzo de Medicis, the encouragers of genius and the sciences, exhibited a stronger proof of munificence and well-directed enquiry. It is doubtful whether this invaluable collection still exists, or whether it perished in the fire which consumed a part of the Escorial, in 1671, under Charles the Second of Spain<sup>76</sup>.

To Philip's zeal for the catholic faith, and not to his protection of letters, we must attribute another splendid work, begun in 1562, and not completed before 1577; the Compleet Bible, enriched with commentaries, notes, and various readings. It was printed at Antwerp, by Christopher Plantinus, under the direction and superintendence of the greatest theologians in Europe, aided by various persons celebrated for their erudition in the Oriental languages. The council of the inquisition, as well as the universities of Alcala, Louvain, and Paris, were consulted relative to it; and the expence, amounting to fifty thousand ducats, was defrayed by the king<sup>77</sup>.

Severity of  
the inquisi-  
tion.

Notwithstanding these munificent proofs of his love of religion, and attention to the arts; the bigotry of Philip, and his intolerant

<sup>72</sup> Deformeaux, vol. iv. p. 34.<sup>73</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 446—449.<sup>74</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 496, 497.<sup>75</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 56—59.<sup>76</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 449.<sup>77</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 442, 443.

spirit,

spirit, banished learning, extinguished genius, and degraded the very character of the Spaniards. The terrors of the inquisition, and the frequency of its executions, altered the manners of the people, and rendered them distrustful, silent, and gloomy<sup>78</sup>. No rank, virtues, or even ecclesiastical dignity, protected from the researches of the holy office. Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, the first prelate in Spain, was arrested, thrown into prison, and confined during many years, only upon some pretended doubts respecting the orthodoxy of his faith<sup>79</sup>. Philip had no sooner landed in his dominions, from Flanders, in 1559, than he demanded the spectacle of an Auto da Fé, at Valladolid, though the inquisitors had recently celebrated one in that city, where thirty persons had perished in the flames. We can scarcely conceive it possible, that the king, accompanied by his sister, and all the ladies of the court, assisted at so horrid a ceremony, as an act of state. More than forty unhappy persons, of both sexes, and some among them of noble extraction, were burnt to death, under the eyes of their own sovereign<sup>80</sup>. On the 22d of December, 1560, seventy people, men and women, were consumed to ashes, at Seville, in another of these acts of faith<sup>81</sup>. It is easy to imagine the horror and consternation, which such human sacrifices must have impressed on the whole nation. The Jews and Mahometans were compelled to assume the catholic profession, in order to avoid death, and confiscation<sup>82</sup>. It is said, that in almost every action fought by the Spaniards, during Philip's reign, on inspecting the dead bodies left upon the field, numbers of them were found to be circumcised: a striking proof of the unfortunate necessity, to which the followers of Moses and Mahomet were reduced, of dissembling and concealing their real religion. It may justly be questioned, whether the Mexi-

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Public punishments of  
heretics.<sup>78</sup> Turquet, p. 1119—1123.<sup>79</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 449—457.<sup>80</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 291—294. *Abregé Chron.* vol. ii. p. 348—350. *Deformaux*, vol. iv. p. 32, 33.<sup>81</sup> *Abregé Chron.* vol. ii. p. 354.<sup>82</sup> Leti, vol. iii. p. 285, 286.



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State of let-  
ters.

cans, accused of offering human victims to their deities, ever sacrificed as many, as Philip the Second.

Neither history, poetry, nor polite letters, had attained to any degree of eminence in Spain, before the conclusion of the period under our review. Since the death of Garcilasso de la Vega, who flourished under Charles the Fifth, and who perished by the chance of war, in the course of the unfortunate invasion of Provence by that emperor, in 1536; no poet of superior genius had arisen among his countrymen. Garcilasso enriched and ornamented the Spanish language by his productions in verse. His odes, from their sweetness and delicacy, were compared by his contemporaries with those of Horace, and rendered him celebrated throughout Europe<sup>33</sup>. Cervantes, who has eclipsed the fame of all his predecessors, and who contributed above any other person of the age, to spread the knowledge and cultivation of his native tongue beyond the limits of the Spanish monarchy, cannot with propriety be said to have commenced his literary career before 1574. He fought, indeed, at the memorable battle of Lepanto, three years earlier, where he received a wound in his left hand; but, having been soon afterwards captured by the Moors, and carried to Algiers, he remained a prisoner in Africa, during several years. The earliest effusions of his genius are of a later date than the portion of time before us; and, "Don Quixote" belongs even to another century. It did not appear till the reign of Philip the Third, in 1605<sup>34</sup>. Mariana, the father of Spanish history, was still unknown; and his voluminous work, though compiled under Philip the Second, was not published before the year of that monarch's decease, in 1598<sup>35</sup>.

General re-  
flexions.

If we were to name the period, in which the Spanish grandeur was at its highest point of elevation, and from which it began to decline, there can be no doubt that we should date it from the

<sup>33</sup> Biogr. Dict. vol. v. p. 542, 543.<sup>35</sup> Ibid. vol. ix. p. 77.<sup>34</sup> Ibid. vol. xi. p. 174.

peace of Cateau en Cambresis, in 1559, to the beginning of the hostilities in Flanders, in 1567: a space of about eight years. The acquisition of Portugal, in 1580, with all its dependencies in Asia and Africa, however prodigious, could not counterbalance the irreparable injury which Philip had sustained, by the revolt of the Flemings. At the time of the death of Charles the Ninth, he maintained the first situation among the European princes; and his ambition, added to the possession of so many kingdoms, and treasures so inexhaustible, inspired general apprehension. The Spanish nation derived consequence from the grandeur of the monarchy. Their language, modes, and dress, obtained universally; and this consideration did not cease or diminish, for many years subsequent to the period of which we are now treating.

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## C H A P. IV.

## P O R T U G A L.

*Survey of the Portuguese discoveries before the death of Alfonso the Fifth.—Accession, and reign of John the Second.—Prosecution of naval enterprizes.—Accession of Emanuel.—Discovery of the passage to India, by Vasco de Gama.—Conquests of Albuquerque.—His recal and death.—Decease of Emanuel.—Reign of John the Third.—Magnitude of the Portuguese empire in Asia.—Accession of Sebastian.—State of Portugal, in 1574.—Power of the crown.—Revenues.—Military force.—Navy.—Letters.—Review of the Portuguese exploits in Asia.—Difficulty of the navigation to India.—Courage and atchievements of the first adventurers.—Virtue and disinterestedness of the Portuguese, contrasted with their vices and crimes.—Oppressions and cruelties, exercised on the Asiatics.—Pernicious effects of their religious zeal.—Conclusion.*

C H A P.  
IV.

1412—1460.

State of Portugal before the middle of the fifteenth century.

TOWARDS the middle of the fifteenth century, the human mind, which had remained, in a great degree, torpid and inactive during the space of near a thousand years, since the destruction of the Roman empire in the west; appeared to awaken, and to exert itself, in every part of Europe. Its efforts, in the southern kingdoms, were, however, much more powerful, than in those situated nearer the pole. In Italy, as if congenial with the soil and climate, the arts gradually unfolded themselves, and painting led the way to sculpture and architecture. But, no country, at that memorable æra, attracted more of the admiration of its cotemporaries, or lays stronger claim to the gratitude and curiosity of posterity, than Portugal.

Portugal. Its situation, open to the Atlantic, and the number of ports which it possessed on the ocean, seemed eminently to qualify the inhabitants for naval enterprizes. The vicinity of the southern provinces to the African coast, and even the perpetual hostilities, in which, from religious zeal or from policy, their kings were engaged with the Moors of Fez, contributed to give the Portuguese some information respecting the extent, and productions of that vast continent. Yet, so contracted was their knowledge on these points, that, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, the geography of the western shore of Morocco was utterly unknown, beyond the twenty-eighth degree of northern latitude; and the name of Cape *Non* was given to the head-land itself, which terminated their discoveries, from the supposed impracticability of passing, or navigating beyond that limit.

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IV.  
1412—1460.  
Ignorance of  
navigation.

The genius and exertions of a single man soon removed, or surmounted these imaginary obstacles. Henry, fifth son to John the First, king of Portugal, was one of those extraordinary persons, whom Providence seems to produce, for the purpose of illuminating mankind, and diffusing knowledge. From his youth, he evinced the strongest ardor, and the most indefatigable industry, in pushing his researches along the coast of Africa, which was the most obvious and natural field for maritime skill and enterprize. He bestowed his time and his revenues almost wholly in the attempt, regardless of the numerous impediments, which ignorance, prejudice, and error continually presented, to check his endeavours: and though near ten years elapsed before the navigators, whom he employed, had advanced from Cape *Non* to Cape *Boyador*, a space of only about thirty leagues; yet, the spirit to which he had given birth, acquired vigour as it proceeded.

Discoveries  
effected by  
Prince  
Henry.

In 1418, the island of *Porto Santo* was discovered; and the more valuable acquisition of *Madeira* was made, two years afterwards.

<sup>1</sup> Lafitan, *Descouvertes des Portugais*, vol. i. p. 7, 8.



C H A P.  
IV.

1412—1460.

Canary  
islands.Coast of  
Africa.Death of  
prince  
Henry.Reign of  
Alfonso the  
Fifth.

Prince Henry, not satisfied with merely discovering them, caused sugar-canes to be procured from Cyprus and Sicily, as well as some of the choicest vines of the Greek islands in the Archipelago, and transplanted them to Madeira<sup>2</sup>. The Canaries, already known to the Castilians, were visited by the Portuguese, as they advanced southward<sup>3</sup>. The shore of Africa was explored: Cape Blanco, and Cape de Verd, were successively doubled, before the year 1444; and a fort was begun in the island of Arguin, on the coast of Negroland, for the protection of commerce. Gold, in very considerable quantities, was found, and brought into Portugal. The kingdom, enriched by these discoveries, engaged in them with enthusiasm: the popes gave their sanction to enterprizes, calculated to diffuse the catholic faith over countries plunged in idolatry; and confirmed to the crown of Portugal the exclusive supremacy and possession of all the regions, which their courage should acquire. At the death of Prince Henry, in 1460, he had laid open to his countrymen, and to the world, a prodigious tract of the continent of Africa, extending to the frontier of Guinea; and had given activity and energy to the pursuit of knowledge<sup>4</sup>. His beneficence and liberality were equal to the enlargement of his views; and in whatever light we survey him, it is impossible to refuse him our veneration, or to rank him among the most illustrious men, to whom modern ages have given birth.

The reign of Alfonso the Fifth, nephew to Henry, was unpropitious to the prosecution of naval discoveries, which languished for some years. Alfonso was engaged during the former part of his reign, in perpetual and successful wars against the Moors of Fez and Morocco; from whom he took the cities of Arzyle and Tangier, which acquired him the glorious surname of "the African." The latter portion of his life was passed in a ruinous contest with Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, which desolated his dominions, and

<sup>2</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 9—11.<sup>3</sup> La Clede, Histoire de Portugal, vol. i. p. 17—23, and p. 28—30.

p. 401, 402.

<sup>4</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 406. Laftau, vol. i.

impo-

impoverished his subjects'. The crown descended to his only son, John the Second, then in the twenty-sixth year of his age. It is with his accession, that the history of Portugal becomes equally interesting, and copious in events deserving attention. John found the kingdom in that situation, which England exhibited at the extinction of the Plantagenets; in which France stood, when Louis the Eleventh ascended the throne; and of which every country in Europe then partook. The sovereign was the head, and leader of a powerful aristocracy, who were not only possessed of an immense landed property, but, every individual of which body assumed a species of independent and uncontrollable jurisdiction over his vassals. The royal authority, checked and restrained by the nobles, could exercise no act of supremacy on their estates, nor venture on any such general regulations, as affected the particular immunities of that class, who were scarcely to be denominated subjects. It was the irrevocable determination of the king, to liberate himself from fetters so severe; and the vigour of his mind rendered him equal to the magnitude and difficulty of the attempt.

He began by revoking every donation, extorted from him by importunity, or conceded by inexperience, previous to his accession. Commissaries were sent by his direction, through all the provinces, to enquire into abuses. The administration of public justice was reformed; and the irregularities of various kinds, to which the facility and profusion of his father Alfonso had given rise, were corrected. Proceeding to the great object of his regulation, he next altered the oath, taken by the nobility at every coronation; in such a manner, as to render it far more binding and coercive, than it had been by the form previously administered. He demanded the titles of such of their lands as were held of, or had been conferred by his predecessors; annulled their courts of criminal justice, in which sentence of life and death was pronounced without appeal; and ordered

CHAP.  
IV.

1481.

State of Portugal, at the accession of John the Second.

Limited nature of the royal authority.

Augmentation of it by the new king.

<sup>3</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 425—481. *passim*. Vasconcellos, Vie de Jean Second, p. 36—123. *passim*.

<sup>4</sup> Vasconcellos, p. 155—160.



C H A P.  
IV.

1481.

his own officers to enter upon, and to determine finally every cause of a capital nature. Their number was proportionably augmented; and men of letters, versed in the laws and jurisprudence of their country, were substituted, in place of the nobles, who had been accustomed to take cognizance of all crimes, and to proceed to execute their arbitrary decrees<sup>2</sup>.

1482:  
Dissatisfac-  
tion of the  
nobility.

Innovations so unprecedented and comprehensive, spread universal alarm, and excited instant opposition. The principal nobility, intimidated by the promptitude of the king's measures, contented themselves with complaining: Ferdinand, duke of Braganza, alone, as head of the order, not only entered a protest against the violence committed upon their privileges; but, warmly remonstrated with his sovereign, in a personal conference. This nobleman, who descended by a natural son, from John the First, was in the vigour of his age; of a character equally calculated to excite respect, and to conciliate affection. His possessions and revenues were immense; and his consideration among the people was sustained by his liberality, valour, and courtesy. Three younger brothers, who occupied high situations about the throne, added to his consequence, and rendered him formidable.

Duke of Bra-  
ganza's con-  
duct.

Incensed at the obstacles which the duke of Braganza's firmness opposed to his designs, John appears to have determined on his destruction. The punishment of so illustrious a person, allied by blood and by marriage to the crown, would, naturally, he conceived, strike universal terror, and operate, in the most effectual manner, to extinguish all further resistance. Concealing, however, his intention, under the veil of profound dissimulation, and waiting for a pretext to justify so hazardous a measure, the king suspended the blow. Some papers, of a nature approaching to criminal, contained in a correspondence, that the duke had carried on with Ferdinand and Isabella of Castile, and of which John became possessed, furnished him with a plausible pretence for coming to extremities. He

<sup>2</sup> Vasconcellos, p. 160—167: La Clede, vol. i. p. 485, 486.

caused

caused the duke to be arrested in his own palace and presence; and having commanded the royal council of justice to take cognizance of the cause, proceeded, without regard to the accustomed formalities, to pronounce sentence. The articles of accusation were ambiguous and equivocal; but, the tribunal condemned the prisoner to lose his head, and to forfeit his estates to the crown. It was in vain that he declined, in the hope of mollifying the royal indignation, to enter on any defence, or extenuation of the crimes imputed to him: John was inexorable, and had marked him out as a victim, and an example. He suffered with exemplary fortitude and calmness\*. It is impossible to regard him as other than a sacrifice to the system, laid down by the king, on his accession, of humbling the formidable power of the Portuguese nobility. The brothers of the duke, on the first intelligence of his seizure, had retired into Castile; and all the ample possessions of the family were immediately confiscated. John, who knew and practised the arts of popularity, proceeded, after so bold an act of power, to visit in person the provinces, in which the patrimony of the house of Braganza was situated. He took possession of their castles; fortified the frontiers towards Spain; and above all, he lent an ear to the complaints of the people, redressed their grievances, and endeavoured to reconcile them to their change of masters\*.

The innocence of the duke of Braganza was, however, so generally understood; and the apprehension, excited by the king's conduct, among the nobility, was such, as soon to produce a serious and real conspiracy. It had for its object, the death of John; the seizure of Alfonso, his only son, and heir to the crown; and to place on the throne, James, duke of Viseo, cousin to the king, and first prince of the blood. Several noblemen, eminent for courage and talents, entered into the plot. The duke of Viseo himself was

CHAP.  
IV.  
1482.  
His seizure,  
and execu-  
tion.

1483.  
Conspiracy  
against the  
king, formed  
by the duke  
of Viseo.

\* La Clede, vol. i. p. 487—499. Vasconcellos, p. 171—175, and p. 258—280.

\* Vasconcellos, p. 303—316. La Clede, vol. i. p. 502.



C H A P.  
IV.

1483.

the conductor of it, ensnared by his ambition, and deluded by the predictions of astrologers. He was in the bloom of youth, adorned with many qualities of mind and body, formed to acquire partisans, and to attach the multitude: his love of pleasure, his prodigality of disposition, and his affability, rendered him popular, as well as dangerous.

The vigilance of the king, and the spies which he entertained about the persons of all those who were suspected by him, procured him speedy information of the danger. Having augmented his ordinary guard, and taken other precautions, he waited for more manifest indications of their guilt, before he inflicted punishment; and the conspirators, emboldened by the delay, were repeatedly on the point of carrying their design into effect. Being, at length, determined to take exemplary vengeance, and even to execute it in person, he sent to command the attendance of the duke of Viseo at St. Ubes, where the court then resided. That prince, who was on a visit to the Infanta, his mother, at the castle of Palmela, only a league distant, immediately obeyed. He had no sooner arrived at the palace, and entered the royal presence, than three persons instantly secured the door of the apartment. The king abruptly demanded of him, what punishment he would inflict on the man who should attempt his life; and the duke, in confusion at such a question, replying, "Sire, I would kill him, if I was able;" John answered, "You have pronounced your own sentence." Drawing his poniard at the same moment, he plunged it into the duke's breast, and repeated the blow till he expired<sup>10</sup>.

His death.

Severe, and  
vigorous  
measures of  
John.

This extraordinary and tragical scene was followed by the seizure and execution of the principal accomplices. Notwithstanding the genius of the age, little accustomed to the regular formalities of justice, and familiarized to acts of violence; yet, the conduct of John,

<sup>10</sup> Vasconcellos, p. 319—344. La Clede, vol. i. p. 503—506. Abregé Chronol. de Portugal, vol. i. p. 716—718.

in assuming the right of putting his cousin to death with his own hand, unheard, excited severe animadversions. To justify his treatment of the duke, he therefore not only caused the proofs of the treason meditated against him, to be rendered public and incontestible; but, he issued a declaration, setting forth the reasons which had necessitated him to adopt so unusual a mode of punishment, and stating the hazard annexed to bringing so illustrious a culprit, before the ordinary tribunal for crimes of state".

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1483.

Such was the vigour of his administration, and so completely were the Portuguese nobility humbled by the king's decision and severity, that no traces of disaffection were discovered. John, satisfied with the example which he had held out, in the person of the first prince of the blood, treated his younger, and only surviving brother, with affection and generosity. He was then in the fifteenth year of his age, and afterwards ascended the throne, by the name of Emanuel. The king, in order to obliterate the remembrance of the crimes and misfortunes of the duke of Viseo, changed his title to that of Beja; conferring on him the dignities of grand master of the military order of Christ, and constable of Portugal, as well as all the estates, which his brother's treason had forfeited to the crown".

He protests  
Emanuel,  
duke of Beja.

These private acts of liberality and munificence, were followed by institutions of the most beneficial nature to his subjects. Agriculture received every encouragement, and commerce enjoyed a distinguished protection. The duties on articles of trade were diminished; and foreigners were invited to settle in Lisbon. The coin, which had been debased, was restored; and all the regulations, which a wise and enlarged system of government could dictate, for the prosperity of the people, were adopted. Portugal, though desolated by the plague, yet began already to enter upon that period of its history, which has been commemorated by the epithet of "the golden age".

Able admin-  
istration.

" Vasconcellos, p. 344-349.

" Ibid. livre iv. p. 16-22.

" Ibid. livre iv. p. 3-5.



CHAP.  
IV.

1484.  
Prosecution  
of naval dis-  
coveries.

Conquests in  
Africa.

Precautions  
for the secu-  
rity of com-  
merce.

The commotions and conspiracies which had hitherto disturbed the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, had not, however, been able to divert the king's attention from prosecuting the discoveries along the coast of Africa. Within a few months after his accession, he sent Mendez to complete the fort in the isle of Arguin, begun by command of the celebrated prince Henry. Notwithstanding the opposition, which these enterprizes underwent in the council of state, Diego de Azambuya, at the head of a considerable squadron, set sail from the Tagus; and advancing to the coast of Guinea, landed in the territories of a prince, named Caramanza, with whom he entered into a treaty<sup>24</sup>. A fortress and settlement, named St. George de la Mina, were constructed in consequence of the negotiation; and a most lucrative commerce was established. Gold mines were opened and worked, which produced a prodigious profit to the crown, and to the adventurers, who engaged in the undertaking. A town was gradually formed, and rapidly peopled. It was soon garrisoned by above five hundred regular troops, and became the capital of a tract of country, subjected to the crown of Portugal, extending seventy leagues along the sea-shore. John already assumed the title of Lord of Guinea, which his successors have retained<sup>25</sup>. Such were the advantages arising from this possession, that every exertion was made by the king, not only for its protection and preservation; but, as far as possible, to preclude the other European nations from attaining any knowledge of its situation. The difficulties of the voyage and navigation were studiously exaggerated; at the same time that a veil was drawn, and silence enjoined, upon every circumstance respecting the discoveries. Nor did the jealous precautions of John stop here. Having been informed, that the duke of Medina Sidonia, a subject of Castile, had obtained permission from Edward the Fourth, king of England, to equip an armament in his ports, the destination

<sup>24</sup> Vasconcellos, p. 183—200.

<sup>25</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 31—37. La Clede, vol. i. p. 511—516. Vasconcellos, liv. iv. p. 33—40.

of which was for the coast of Guinea, he dispatched two embassadors to London. They represented to Edward, the injustice of the attempt, in so forcible a manner, and insisted so strongly on the sanctity of the exclusive grant, made by the popes to the Portugueze princes, of all lands discovered by them; that he immediately issued a proclamation, enjoining his subjects, under severe penalties, not to give any aid to the duke of Medina Sidonia<sup>16</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1484.

The improvements which were made upon the invention of the quadrant, at this period, greatly facilitated the navigation of the Atlantic: they were due to the studies and genius of three very able mathematicians, employed by John, and who rendered that instrument common, as well as generally useful. The Portugueze, joining nautical skill to intrepidity, ventured, the first of any modern nation, to quit the coasts; and with their new astronomical guide, to entrust themselves at a distance from land, on the unknown ocean<sup>17</sup>.

Notwithstanding the active and enlightened attention which the king evinced relative to every proposition, that tended to promote the further discovery of the earth, he lost the most glorious occasion of immortalizing his name and reign, by rejecting the offers of Columbus. That extraordinary man, arriving at Lisbon, made proposals to him for sailing in quest of the western continent. They were submitted for examination, to the ablest cosmographers in Portugal, who treated them as absurd and visionary. But, John, not satisfied with their decision, caused the propositions of Columbus to be agitated and discussed, in a convocation of the prelates and grantees of the kingdom. After vehement disputes, it was finally determined in the assembly, on account of the vast expence annexed to such an undertaking, and the improbability of its success, to decline

Rejection of  
the offers of  
Columbus.

<sup>16</sup> Vasconcellos, liv. ii. p. 200—206.

<sup>17</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 51.



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IV.

1484.

Reflections on  
it.

engaging in it; but, rather, to pursue with augmented industry, the prosecution of the discovery of a passage to the East Indies, by doubling the southern point of Africa. Columbus was dismissed with this reply. If we reflect upon the small extent and limited population of Portugal, it must be confessed that the determination, however inglorious, was wise and prudent. Neither the revenues, nor the forces of the kingdom, were adequate to such an enterprize; the fruits of which, if successful, must have been gathered, or divided, by a more powerful nation. Spain, or France, were the only European states, in that age, competent to so great an attempt, or to the preservation of the countries discovered and subjected. We may, perhaps, find, on mature consideration, reason to applaud, and approve, rather than to condemn, the decision of John, upon this point<sup>18</sup>.

1484—1488.  
New at-  
tempts to  
prosecute  
discoveries.

As if anxious to rescue himself from the imputation of having relaxed in the pursuit, the king fitted out two squadrons, which sailed, under separate commanders, with orders to penetrate into the southern hemisphere. The first of these, conducted by Diego Can, passed the equinoctial line, and advanced near twenty-three degrees of latitude beyond it; having, in the course of the voyage, landed in, and formed some connexions with the inhabitants of the kingdom of Congo. They were, like all the other nations of the African coast, in a state of barbarism<sup>19</sup>. Aveiro, who led the second armament, discovered the country of Benin, situated between the last-men-

Conversion of  
Congo.

tioned one, and Guinea. The sovereign of Congo was induced to renounce the practice of idolatry, and to embrace the christian faith; in which he was imitated by many of his subjects. But, these new converts, incapable of understanding the mysteries of the religion which they had hastily assumed, and still less willing to submit to the renunciations which it enjoins, appear to have speedily relapsed

<sup>18</sup> Vasconcellos, liv. iv. p. 25—33. La Clede, vol. i. p. 509—511.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 33—38. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 37—48.

into

into error. The hope and prospect of extending the light of christianity, to nations sunk in ignorance, added, however, fresh incentives to those, which already stimulated the Portuguese sovereign and his people. The papal benediction and encouragement, liberally bestowed on the persons engaging in so holy an undertaking, roused an enthusiasm, highly favourable to every attempt, and rendered the enterprize itself, in some measure, sacred <sup>20</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.  
1484-1488.

Encouraged by the prosperous success of the fleets, which had ranged the coast of Africa, Bartholomew Diaz was sent out with two ships; and after struggling with difficulties of many kinds, he effected the principal object of his expedition; having reached, though he could not double, the southern extremity of the continent of Africa. It is well known, that he named it, from the storms by which he was assailed in approaching it, "The tempestuous Cape;" and it is equally certain, that the king, animated with the expectation of speedy realizing his views of a passage to the East Indies, round that promontory, changed the name, given it by Diaz, and caused it to be called "The Cape of Good Hope".

Naval expedition of Diaz.

Impatient at the delay interposed to his wishes, and indefatigable in the prosecution of the enterprize, John attempted by another channel to ascertain its practicability. Abyssinia, at the conclusion of the fifteenth century, had exercised the curiosity, and powerfully attracted the attention of all Europe. Fabulous, or uncertain accounts of a supposed christian prince, who reigned in that country, stimulated to enquiry respecting him, and added a degree of religious fervor to the other motives which actuated the king. So problematical was even the existence of Abyssinia, that geographers were divided in opinion respecting its local situation; some placing it in the centre of Asia, while others asserted that it belonged to, and was contained in Africa. To clear up, if possible, this interesting fact, and at the same time, to

Attempt to discover Abyssinia.

<sup>20</sup> Vascos. p. 38-40. <sup>21</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 51-53. Vascos. p. 40-42.



C H A P.  
IV.

1481—1488.

Success of it.

1488—1490.  
Domestic oc-  
currences.

obtain new information relative to India, John embraced an expedient, which forcibly evinces the energy of his mind, and the judicious researches which he had made, respecting the formation of the earth. He dispatched two gentlemen of his household, Covillan and Payva, with instructions to penetrate into Abyssinia, as well as to proceed to India, by way of the Red Sea. They parted at Tor; and Payva pursuing his journey towards Nubia, perished in the attempt: but, Covillan, more fortunate, reached Aden in Arabia; from whence embarking, he arrived safely on the coast of Malabar, the principal cities of which he visited. Passing over to the eastern side of Africa, he proceeded to Sofala, and returned again to Cairo, before he entered Abyssinia, which he, at length, successfully effected. But, previous to his quitting Egypt, he transmitted to the king, his master, the result of his information, and the most indubitable attestations, obtained at Sofala, of the certainty of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope. Such a confirmation of his hopes and conjectures, naturally impelled him to new and greater exertions for its complete attainment; and it must be owned, that, in whatever point of view we consider it, no object more sublime, or more calculated to immortalize the prince who undertook, while it enriched the nation which achieved it, could be presented to their ambition and love of glory."

The attention of posterity, powerfully attracted towards an event, which, in its consequences, opened to the human mind a vast career, and produced a revolution in manners and commerce throughout Europe; is feebly excited by the domestic transactions or misfortunes of Portugal, at this period. It is not the internal history of a small monarchy, dismembered from Spain, which, at the end of three centuries, we desire to peruse; but the relation of those steps, by which a maritime and enterprising people, conducted by a sovereign

<sup>22</sup> Vascou. liv. iv. p. 43—45. Laftau, vol. i. p. 48—51.

of superior attainments, gradually approached, and at length accomplished a discovery, of such magnitude and importance, as the passage to India. John the Second is, notwithstanding, equally distinguished in every part of his character, and merits as much admiration in his domestic policy, as in his attempts to enlarge the sphere of industry, knowledge, and navigation. Opposed to Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, the most politic and dexterous princes of the age, he was neither intimidated by their power, nor overreached by their subtilty, and contempt of the ties of treaties. By a spirited and judicious exhibition of his resources, and by some demonstrations of resentment at a critical juncture, he compelled the king and queen of Castile to accomplish the marriage of Isabella their eldest daughter, with Alfonso, prince of Portugal, his only son; which had been stipulated under his predecessor's reign.

CHAP.  
IV.

1488—1490.

The premature death of the young prince, not long after the celebration of his nuptials, disappointed the hopes entertained from the union of the two royal houses; and opened a passage to the throne for Emanuel, duke of Beja, notwithstanding the partial attachment of the king to Don George, his natural son, whom he vainly attempted to call to the succession. The court of Lisbon was divided between the two candidates; but, the nation, almost unanimously, and enthusiastically, adhered to Emanuel, as the only legitimate heir, and regarded his pretensions as indisputable.<sup>23</sup>

1491.  
Death of Alfonso, prince of Portugal.

We may easily conceive with what emotions, a prince of the character, and elevation of mind, which distinguished John the Second, the predominant object and measure of whose reign had been to prosecute discoveries, must have beheld the return of Columbus, from his successful attempt to ascertain the existence of a new world beyond the Atlantic. That celebrated and illustrious person, whose proposals the king of Portugal had rejected, driven by tempestuous weather, was

1492, 1493.  
Return of Columbus from the new world.

He enters the Tagus.

<sup>23</sup> Vascon. liv. iv. p. 100—103, and p. 168—182, and p. 190—197. La Clede, vol. i. p. 528—533. Abregé Chron. vol. i. p. 729—732.



CHAP.  
IV.

1492, 1493.

obliged to take refuge in the Tagus. John received him, notwithstanding, with uncommon honours, conversed with him on the unknown countries which he had visited, and viewed with wonder the natives of America, whom he had brought over. It is asserted, that, in a council, held upon the subject, in presence of the king, there were found persons, who attempted to prove, that the newly-discovered continent and islands belonged of right to Portugal, as being comprehended in the original grant, made by the popes, to the crown, of all lands which might be discovered. They were even base enough to advise their sovereign, to cause Columbus to be assassinated; but John rejected, with indignation, counsels so pernicious, and permitted him to pursue his voyage, unmolested<sup>22</sup>.

1494.

Line of mar-  
cation, drawn  
by the popes.

In consequence of his success, it became, however, indispensable, to fix some limit to the respective pretensions and dominions of the sovereigns of Spain and Portugal, which, it was now for the first time foreseen, might otherwise interfere with each other. This necessity gave rise to one of the most curious facts, in the history of mankind. The popes, from whom, as the vicars of Christ, all delegations of authority were then supposed to derive the only legitimate right, prescribed boundaries to the two monarchs, by drawing an imaginary line from north to south, at the distance of an hundred leagues to the west of the islands of the Azores, situated in the Atlantic ocean. All the lands to the east of this supposed limit, denominated "the Line of Marcation," were to belong to Portugal: those west of it, to Spain. New disputes afterwards arose upon the interpretation of the treaty, which resulted from the ignorance common to both nations, respecting the figure and formation of the globe; nor had the successors of St. Peter, who thus divided the planet of the earth in equal portions, any philosophical knowledge or comprehension of the extent and nature of their own donation. They were far from

Reflexions on  
that event.

<sup>22</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 540, 541. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 66—68. Vascon. p. 321—325. Neuville, Hist. Gen. de Portugal, vol. i. p. 605—607.

conceiv-

conceiving, or imagining, that the navigators of the two countries, in prosecuting their respective discoveries, must infallibly meet, and give rise to the necessity for a new limit, called "the Line of Demarcation." It must be owned, that among all the extraordinary pretensions, arrogated by the Roman pontiffs, and acquiesced in by the princes or nations of Europe, none conveys a higher idea of the plenitude of their apostolic power, than the act of conferring by their sole decree, so vast a portion of the earth".

CHAP.  
IV.  
1494.

Stimulated by the recent success of Columbus, the king of Portugal, though declining in health, and attacked with the symptoms of an incurable disease, endeavoured to complete the work of discovering a passage to India, which from the beginning of his reign had actuated his mind. A fleet, destined for its accomplishments, was fitted out, and the command given to Vasco de Gama: but John's encreasing infirmities retarded its departure, and the glory of realizing the enterprize, was reserved for his successor. Finding his end approach, he abandoned the project of placing on the throne his natural son, though not without reluctance; and named Emanuel heir to the crown. Retaining not only the possession of his intellectual powers to the last moment, but, exerting himself to perform the functions of a king, he only ceased to reign, when he ceased to live".

1495.  
New projects  
of discovery.

He was surnamed, from his extraordinary endowments, "the perfect Prince;" and in the art of reigning, he has, undoubtedly, had few equals. It is related, that Henry the Seventh, king of England, having asked a nobleman of his court, who was recently returned from Portugal, what he had there seen most deserving of attention; "a king," replied he, "who commands all, and is commanded by none." Even his enemies did justice to his eminent

Death of  
John.

Character.

<sup>33</sup> Vascon. liv. vi. p. 325—332, and p. 335—339. Laftau, vol. i. p. 68, 69. La Clede, vol. i. p. 542, 543. Neuville, vol. i. p. 607, 608.

<sup>34</sup> Vascon. liv. vi. p. 372—436. La Clede, vol. i. p. 547—549. Neuville, vol. i. p. 620—623.

qualities,



C H A P.  
IV.

1495.

qualities, and expressed their admiration of his superior talents. From system, as much as from character, he extended his peculiar protection to the inferior orders of his subjects, by whom, in return, he was idolized. Portugal, under his reign, became powerful, wealthy, and illustrious; prosperous, at home; and respected, abroad. But, if regarded as an individual, it will be difficult to applaud, or even approve many of his actions. The death of the duke of Braganza can only be considered as a sacrifice to his thirst of power, and determination of humbling the nobility: even his treatment of the duke of Viseo, can scarcely be justified. His intention of placing his natural son on the throne, from which he desisted with extreme reluctance, was manifestly unjust, and must have involved Portugal in civil war. Notwithstanding these vices or defects, he will always be ranked in the list of great princes; and if he did not actually effect the discovery of a passage to India, he prepared and accelerated that event, which took place under his successor.

October.  
Accession of  
Emanuel.

Emanuel succeeded to the throne in the prime of life; and with the dominions, he seemed to inherit the inclinations and passions of John the Second. Equally intent on immortalizing himself, and enriching his subjects, by accomplishing the object so nearly attained; after the precautions indispensable for securing internal tranquillity, he directed his whole attention to naval affairs; and disdaining the objections which were made in the council of state, he hastened the departure of Gama.

1497.  
Expedition of  
Vasco de  
Gama.

That celebrated commander quitted the Tagus, at the head of a squadron consisting of four ships, and accompanied by the fears, hopes, and prayers of an immense multitude of his countrymen, who regarded the expedition as devoted to inevitable destruction. After surmounting impediments, only inferior to those which Columbus had experienced in his discovery of America, he attained, and

<sup>27</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 549—552. Vascon. liv. vi. p. 437—447. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 20, 21. Neuville, vol. i. p. 625, 626. Oforio's History of Emanuel, vol. i. p. 5—8.

passed the Cape of Good Hope; remounted the eastern shore of the continent of Africa; escaped the numerous dangers of that unknown and inhospitable country; and ultimately arrived in the harbour of Calicut, on the coast of Malabar<sup>28</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

1497.

New obstacles to the lucrative commerce, which was the leading inducement and reward of the enterprize, awaited Gama, when he had effected the discovery of a passage to India. The exclusive trade of Calicut, had, for ages, been monopolized by the Mahometan and Arabian merchants. Exasperated at the unexpected appearance of such formidable competitors, they exerted every endeavour to alienate from the Portuguese the minds of the sovereign and inhabitants; but, the wisdom, valour, and caution of Gama extricated him from their snares. He returned to Europe by the same course, and entered the Tagus in triumph, after having, in the space of two years, completely attained the object of his voyage, and opened to mankind a new and immense field for industry, courage, and ambition. More fortunate than his rival and contemporary, Columbus, he was not repaid for services so eminent, by imprisonment, or neglect: Emanuel, sensible of his merit, raised him to honours and dignities; while Portugal, hitherto of little consequence among the states of Europe, prepared to burst from obscurity, and by rapid gradations, to effect the conquest of the most fertile and commercial countries of Asia<sup>29</sup>.

1498, 1499.  
Discovery of  
a passage to  
India.

Gama's re-  
turn to  
Lisbon.

During the time that these great events were transacting, Emanuel, who, soon after his accession, had married Isabella, widow of Alfonso, the late prince of Portugal; accompanied by his queen, set out for Spain; to which country he was invited by Ferdinand and Isabella, with the view of declaring them heirs to the Spanish monarchy. The pregnancy of the queen of Portugal, renewed the hopes of her parents,

Domestic  
transactions.

<sup>28</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 18—21, and p. 31—43. Osorio, vol. i. p. 32—36; and p. 46—61. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 73—96. La Clede, vol. i. p. 555—559.

<sup>29</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 563—568. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 105—118. Osorio, vol. i. p. 61—66, and p. 71—83. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 43—47, and p. 50—59.

after



CHAP.  
IV.

1498, 1499.

after the failure of their male issue, in the person of their only son. An oath of allegiance was solemnly taken by the states of Castile, at Toledo; and though the deputies of the Arragonese hesitated, and even refused to acknowledge Emanuel and Isabella for their future sovereigns, without the previous confirmation of all their ancient privileges, which Ferdinand had abolished; yet the birth of a son extinguished all further opposition. The queen expired immediately afterwards: but, the young prince was instantly proclaimed heir to the two kingdoms of Castile and Arragon; as he was, under certain limitations, to that of Portugal, on the return of Emanuel into his own dominions. The life of this infant, who appeared to be destined to reign over all the provinces between the Pyrenees and the Atlantic, was, however, short. He died in the second year of his age; and made way for the succession of the house of Austria, by the marriage of the arch-duke Philip with Joanna, the second daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella<sup>30</sup>.

1500.  
Expedition of  
Cabral.

Its success.

Encouraged by the prosperous issue of Gama's voyage, Emanuel prepared to send out a more numerous and powerful fleet to India. Thirteen ships were committed to the care of Cabral; who navigating the Ethiopic ocean, and being carried far to the westward, discovered the coast of Brasil, which forms a portion of the vast continent of South America. He landed on it, took possession of the country, in the name of the king and crown of Portugal; and, pursuing the track of his predecessor, arrived safely at his destination<sup>31</sup>. The Samorin, or king of Calicut, influenced more by his terrors than his inclinations, granted Cabral permission to establish a factory there; and though the persons composing it, to the number of fifty, were soon after massacred by the Mahometan merchants, with the connivance of the Samorin himself; this outrage

<sup>30</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 22—30. Osorio, vol. i. p. 36—45. La Clede, vol. i. p. 556.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 59, 60, and p. 67—74. Osorio, vol. i. p. 84, 85, and p. 96—105. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 120—125.

was

was severely punished by the Portugueze commander. The princes of Cochin, and of Cannanore, on the coast of Malabar, contended for the honour of Emanuel's alliance. A valuable cargo was provided for Cabral's fleet; and he returned to Lisbon, bringing a confirmation of those vast expectations, which Gama's discovery and success had originally opened to the Portugueze sovereign and nation<sup>33</sup>.

C H A P.

IV.

1500.

The affairs of Africa, during the whole course of Emanuel's reign, engrossed much of his attention; and while he seemed to direct his principal force and views to the acquisition of territory in the Indies, and to the establishment of a permanent commerce with that country, he scarcely ever intermitted his military exertions in Fez and Morocco. Hostilities, accompanied with various success, were almost constantly carried on, along the coast of Barbary; and the king repeatedly made preparations for passing over in person, and leading his troops against the Moors<sup>34</sup>. Nor would the marriage, which he contracted with Mary, princess of Spain, daughter of Ferdinand of Arragon, and younger sister to his first wife Isabella, have been an inducement sufficiently powerful, to prevent the execution of his design, if motives of a political nature had not interposed to suspend it. The Venetians, who, in that age, were justly regarded as the bulwark of Christendom; menaced by Bajazet the Second, emperor of the Turks, implored the aid of the king of Portugal. Thirty ships were dispatched by Emanuel to their assistance; and though the combined fleets performed no action of renown, they preserved to the republic of Venice her possessions in the Mediterranean, and compelled Bajazet to postpone his plans of conquest, to a more favourable occasion<sup>35</sup>.

Transactions  
in Africa.

1501.

<sup>33</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 125—139. Oforio, vol. i. p. 105—121. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 75—85.

<sup>34</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 61—66. Oforio, vol. i. p. 86—94.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 61, and p. 65, 66. Oforio, vol. i. p. 85, 86, and p. 87, 88.



CHAP.  
IV.1502.  
Second voyage of Gama.

His exploits in India.

Gama, meanwhile, prepared again to revisit India, at the head of a powerful squadron; and the same brilliant success, which had attended his first voyage of discovery, accompanied him in this expedition of conquest. The kingdom of Quiloa, on the eastern coast of Africa, was reduced to the obedience of Portugal, and rendered tributary: factories were settled at the cities of Mozambique and Sofala. Arriving in the Indian Seas, he captured a vessel belonging to the sultan of Egypt; defeated the Samorin of Calicut in repeated naval engagements; and cannonaded his capital. The king of Cannanore sued for Emanuel's alliance; and Gama entered into the closest connexions of policy and commerce with the prince of Cochin, whose devotion to the Portuguese nation was unbounded. His return to Lisbon was marked with the same triumphant festivity, which his former arrival had occasioned<sup>35</sup>.

1503, 1504.

Samorin of Calicut, vanquished.

Fortune seemed to combine with the valour and energy, exhibited by the Portuguese, and to aid them in laying the foundations of that extensive empire in Asia, which they subsequently attained. The Samorin of Calicut having invaded the dominions of Cochin, was on the point of inflicting the most exemplary vengeance on the ally of Emanuel. Abandoned even by his new friends, who deserted him in his distress, he found protection in the desperate bravery, and consummate military skill of Edward Pacheco, a Portuguese officer; who, assisted by a few of his countrymen, maintained a long and successful conflict, against all the fleets and armies of the Samorin. That prince was ultimately vanquished, after incredible exertions, which Pacheco sustained with undaunted intrepidity; and the attempt to subvert Emanuel's power, only served to add new lustre to his name and arms<sup>36</sup>. Already he began to regard the peninsula of India, as forming a dependancy of his crown; and Francis

<sup>35</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 139—152. Osorio, vol. i. p. 121, 122, and p. 130—138. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 85—98.

<sup>36</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 153—195. Osorio, vol. i. p. 143—152, and p. 163—167, and p. 179—207. Neuville, vol. i. p. 118—132.

Almeyda, a nobleman of the highest rank, was sent out in the following year, accompanied by a naval and military force, to assume the government of those extensive and fertile regions, with the title and dignity of viceroy<sup>37</sup>. Alarmed at the rapid progress of the Portuguese, the Samorin, unable to oppose to them any sufficient barrier, called on Campson Gauri, sultan of Egypt, to aid him in repelling such formidable invaders. Their common attachment to the Mahometan faith, as well as every motive of private interest, induced him to listen to the Samorin's request. An alliance was formed, the avowed object of which was to limit the conquests of Emanuel; and the Venetians, unmindful of the succour so recently extended to them by him, joined the confederacy, and sent the most effectual support to the Egyptian sultan<sup>38</sup>.

CHAP.  
IV.

1505.  
Almeyda sent  
viceroy to In-  
dia.

Attempts of  
the Oriental  
princes to  
overturn the  
Portuguese  
empire.

During these transactions in Asia, the internal government of Portugal was marked by some calamitous events, though it was not disturbed by any foreign hostilities. The birth of a prince, who afterwards succeeded to the throne by the name of John the Third, diffused universal satisfaction: but, the demonstrations of national joy were damped by a contagious distemper and famine, which desolated the capital and the country. Earthquakes, to which Portugal, in every period of its history, seems to have been peculiarly subject, and which appear to have equalled in violence those, with which that kingdom has been afflicted in the present century, augmented the ravages caused by the plague<sup>39</sup>. Bigotry and ferocity exercised the most unrelenting barbarity upon the Jews, who were massacred at Lisbon, during one of those paroxysms of popular fury, common in every age. Emanuel severely punished the authors of the commotion, and deprived Lisbon of all its immunities. Yet, such was the sanguinary spirit of the times, that, only three years afterwards, similar, and even greater cruelties, were exercised against the Jews; who, to the number of four thousand, were slaughtered by

Events in  
Portugal.

Earthquakes.

Massacre of  
the Jews.

<sup>37</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 205.

<sup>38</sup> Neuville, vol. i. p. 137—140. Oforio, vol. i. p. 215—220.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 85; and p. 89, and p. 143.



CHAP.  
IV.1506, 1507.  
Conduct of  
Almeyda.

the people, though they had made open profession of christianity, and lived under the protection of the laws, civil, and religious<sup>40</sup>.

These domestic scenes of anarchy and disgrace, did not, however, retard the prosecution of Emanuel's views and conquests. Almeyda, after ravaging, or subjecting the eastern coast of Africa, continued his voyage to India, and constructed forts on various parts of the Malabar shore, favourable to the purpose of retaining the country in subjection. The prince of Cochin acknowledged himself tributary to Portugal, and publickly received his crown from the hand of the viceroy. Every effort, made by the Samorin, to repel the invaders of his dominions, was ineffectual, and accelerated his final subjugation. He was repulsed by the obstinate valour of Britto, from before the fortrefs of Cannanore, which he had besieged, and even reduced to the last extremities of famine. Wearied with so many unsuccessful struggles, he solicited and obtained peace from Almeyda<sup>41</sup>.

1508.  
Defeat of the  
Portugueze  
on the coast  
of Malabar.

The Portugueze arms nevertheless, soon afterwards sustained a temporary defeat from the powerful combination of the sultan of Egypt and the Samorin, to whom were added Mahmud, king of Cambay. A numerous fleet, on board of which were fifteen hundred Mammelukes, sailed out of the Red Sea, and arrived before Diu in Guzurat, where they were joined by Mahmud's admiral. Confident from their superiority, they ventured to attack the viceroy's son, Laurence Almeyda, who lay at anchor with a squadron, in the harbour of Chaul, upon the coast of Malabar. After a long and desperate combat, under every disadvantage, the young Almeyda was killed, his vessel sunk, and the remaining ships were compelled to abandon precipitately the scene of action. The viceroy severely revenged the disgrace in the subsequent year, by a signal victory, which he obtained under the walls of Diu, in which the combined fleets were totally overcome, and the king of Cambay's admiral was reduced to accept terms of peace, dictated by Almeyda<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Oforio, vol. i. p. 224—227. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 143—145, and p. 188, 189. La Clede, vol. i. p. 579.

<sup>41</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 212—238. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 172—178.

<sup>42</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 299—313; and p. 318—325. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 198—203, and p. 243—252.

Eminent as were the civil and military qualities, displayed by the viceroy, a more illustrious person was about to appear on the theatre of Asia. Alfonso Albuquerque, whom Emanuel had sent to succeed to the government, possessed endowments which have equalled his reputation with those of the greatest characters of antiquity. Capable of forming, and of executing the most daring resolutions, yet the solidity of his judgment prevented him from undertaking any enterprise, to which his forces were unequal. Ardent for glory, and desirous of founding his fame on the aggrandizement of the Portuguese nation, he acted uniformly and exclusively to that object. While under the orders of Almeyda, and stationed as the commander of a little squadron near the mouth of the Red Sea, his vast mind conceived the project of attacking and subduing Ormus. This celebrated city, situated on a small and sterile island at the entrance of the gulph of Persia, and the center of the Arabian and Indian commerce, at the commencement of the sixteenth century, was under the dominion of a prince, tributary to Ismael, sophy of Persia, named Zeyfadin.

Quitting, therefore, this station, where no object presented itself worthy of his courage, Albuquerque coasted the eastern shore of Arabia; took, and plundered the city of Muscat; and, arriving before Ormus, summoned the king to put himself instantly under the protection of Emanuel. After a long negotiation, which gave time to assemble a naval and military force, Atar, the minister of Zeyfadin, haughtily rejected the proposition, and prepared for resistance; but, vanquished in a general engagement, he submitted. The Portuguese commander fixed the amount of an annual tribute to be imposed, and began the construction of a citadel, which might secure the future obedience of Ormus. The murmurs of his own soldiery, and their impatience of subjection, nevertheless, frustrated his intentions. By the delays which intervened in the completion of the fortress, Atar was enabled to renew hostilities. Albuquerque, reduced to the necessity of again attacking the city, was on the point of subduing it by

CHAP.  
IV.

1508.  
Arrival of  
Albuquerque.

His great  
qualities, and  
projects.

He lays siege  
to Ormus.



CHAP.  
IV.

1508.  
Is compelled  
to abandon  
the attempt.

Albuquerque  
is appointed  
governor of  
India.

Unsuccessful  
attack of Calicut.

1510.  
Siege, and  
capture of  
Goa.

by famine, when three of his captains basely abandoned him, and failed with their ships for India.

Thus baffled a second time, he retired; and having wintered at the island of Socotra, in the straits of Babelmandel, he returned anew before Ormus. But, Atar, profiting of the absence of the Portuguese, had completed the citadel, and defied his utmost efforts. Reserving himself, therefore, for a more favourable juncture, he set sail for Cannanore, on the coast of Malabar; and at his arrival, received the royal commission, constituting him governor of India in the place of Almeyda<sup>42</sup>. Peremptory as the orders of the court were, upon this point, Almeyda refused compliance with them; and even proceeded to acts of violence against Albuquerque. The Portuguese were divided into two factions, by the disunion of their chiefs; and the most fatal consequences must have ensued, if they had not been soon terminated by the voluntary surrender, on the part of Almeyda, of the supreme command, and by his subsequent departure for Europe.

The commencement of the new governor's administration was unfortunate. From his deference to Coutigno, who had mediated an accommodation between him and his predecessor, he engaged in an enterprize against the city of Calicut: they landed their forces, and became masters of the Samorin's capital and palace, after a faint resistance. But, the jealousy and rashness of Coutigno, in contempt of Albuquerque's remonstrances, proved fatal to himself, and to the expedition. He was killed; and the Portuguese were compelled to retreat to their ships, with considerable loss<sup>43</sup>. This disaster was speedily obliterated by the conquest of Goa. The city and island of that name, were then subject to Sabagee, a prince who had

<sup>42</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 215—242. Oforio, vol. i. p. 316—341. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 269—291, and p. 314—316. La Clede, vol. i. p. 587—589.

<sup>43</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 243—255, and 226—259. Oforio, vol. i. p. 355—363. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 317—341.

repeatedly

repeatedly evinced dispositions the most hostile to the Portuguese. Its central situation, on the coast of India, in the province of the Decan, and its commodious harbour, seemed to point it out as the proper capital of the empire, which Albuquerque projected to attain for his sovereign. The government of the place was vested in Idal Cawn, who had taken every precaution for its security and preservation: but, the viceroy, whom obstacles only stimulated and impelled, caused the two forts, constructed at the entrance of the river, to be attacked at the same time. They were rapidly carried; and Albuquerque, profiting of the consternation spread in Goa, entered the city by capitulation. Having taken such measures for its defence and protection, as the exigency admitted, he declared his intention of constituting it the seat of the viceroys, and the metropolis of the Portuguese acquisitions in India<sup>43</sup>.

C H A P.

IV.

1510.

February.  
It is made  
the metropo-  
lis of the Por-  
tuguese con-  
quests.

While he was thus engaged, Idal Cawn assembling a body of forces, prepared to deprive him of his conquest. The inhabitants, ashamed of the late hasty surrender, aided their antient sovereign; and the Portuguese officers, from the dread of the severe discipline for which their commander was distinguished, acted either with indifference or treachery. Idal Cawn having, after a severe action, landed on the island of Goa, Albuquerque retreated into the city; and when driven from thence by superior numbers, he made a long and obstinate defence in the citadel. Yielding at length to the irresistible and united pressure of famine and of force, he quitted the place, and retired to his vessels, abandoning his late acquisition. New and greater embarrassments attended him on the water, from want of provisions; and though he extricated himself, in some measure, by storming, and retaking from the enemy, the two forts at the mouth of the river; yet, the disobedience of his officers, the mutiny of his troops, and the severity of the monsoon, compelled him reluctantly to desist from the enterprize, and to repair to Cannanore. But, no sooner had

Besieged by  
Idal Cawn.

It is evacu-  
ated by Al-  
buquerque.

<sup>43</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 361—372. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 269—272. Olorio, vol. ii. p. 1—5.

he



C H A P.  
IV.

1510.  
Retakes Goa.

he received reinforcements from Europe, than he returned before Goa, and carried it by storm. While his vast and active mind already projected and anticipated new conquests, he secured the one which he had made, by every precaution, and by the most parental protection of the newly-subjected people. The splendor of his achievements, and the high reputation which he had so justly attained, drew universal consideration; and he received embassies from almost all the princes in India, to congratulate him on his late success<sup>46</sup>.

1511.  
Enterprize  
against Ma-  
lacca.

Malacca was, at that time, one of the most wealthy and commercial cities of India beyond the Ganges. Its position was so happy and so favourable, that it drew to itself, as to a common centre, the trade of China, Japan, and of all the eastern Archipelago. Mahmud, a prince who had shaken off his allegiance to the king of Siam, reigned at Malacca; and Sequeira, at the head of a small squadron of Portuguese ships, had made a treaty with him, and established a factory in the place. But, the same spirit of rivalry, which had produced the misunderstanding between Gama and the Samorin of Calicut, was successfully exerted by the Mahometan merchants, to alienate the king of Malacca, from Sequeira. Regardless of the faith which he had pledged, he attempted to massacre the Portuguese commander, and to destroy his vessels. The plot was only discovered in the moment before its intended execution; and Sequeira, unable to resent so flagrant an act of perfidy, quitted the harbour, and returned to Lisbon<sup>47</sup>.

Motives of just resentment concurred, therefore, with his passion for glory, in the resolution which Albuquerque formed, of undertaking the conquest of Malacca. The place was destitute of fortifications; but, garrisoned by near thirty thousand troops, and provided with every thing necessary for a long defence. Regardless of these im-

<sup>46</sup> Neuville, vol. i. p. 273—287, and p. 295—305. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 5—20, and p. 25—34. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 373—408.

<sup>47</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 350—358. Osorio, vol. i. p. 368—376.

pediments,

pediments, the viceroy quitted Goa; the government of which he confided to Rabelo: embarking at the head of a small squadron, and having under his command near eight hundred Portuguese, and two hundred Indian soldiers, he crossed the bay of Bengal, and arrived before Malacca. After a fruitless negotiation, in which Mahmud evinced his former duplicity, Albuquerque had recourse to arms. His first attempt was unsuccessful, and he was under the necessity of retreating to his ships. But, having renewed the attack, he entered the place, sword in hand; and though the king made a vigorous resistance, he was driven from his capital. It was abandoned to the avidity of the soldiers during three days, and the riches found in it, exceeded even those which fell into the hands of the Portuguese at Goa. The fifth part of the booty, reserved for Emanuel, amounted to two hundred thousand cruzadoes of gold<sup>48</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.1511.  
Albuquerque  
arrives before  
the place.  
Capture of  
Malacca.

Albuquerque, far from relaxing in his efforts, instantly began the construction of a citadel, which might awe the inhabitants, while he conciliated their affection by regulations, equally just and beneficial. Not content with these internal dispositions for defence, he marched a body of troops against Mahmud, who had fortified himself, at the distance of eight leagues from Malacca. Having surprized him, that unfortunate prince was again routed, and compelled to seek for safety in a precipitate flight. An unsuccessful attempt, to produce a revolt, and to introduce Aladin, the son of Mahmud, into the city, was punished by the viceroy, who seized the principal conspirator, and caused him to be beheaded. Three vessels, under the command of Abreu, were dispatched, to discover, and to open a commerce with the Molucca islands; and Albuquerque, having committed the government of Malacca to Britto, and omitted no precaution for its preservation, embarked again for the coast of Malabar. In his voyage,

Albuquerque  
returns to  
India.

<sup>48</sup> A sum not very short of fifty thousand pounds sterling. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 47—60. La-  
fitau, vol. i. p. 409—424.



C H A P.  
IV.

1511.

Siege of Goa,  
by Idal Cawn.

Enemy re-  
pulsed.

1512.  
Ineffectual  
attacks of  
Malacca.

he was shipwrecked upon the shore of Sumatra; his vessel, laden with the precious spoils of his late conquest, was swallowed up in the waves, and he himself narrowly escaped<sup>49</sup>.

His absence from Goa, however glorious and beneficial to his country, had almost proved fatal to that settlement. No sooner had he engaged in the expedition against Malacca, than Idal Cawn, availing himself of the favourable occasion for recovering his lost possessions, sent a considerable military force, to form the siege of Goa. Rabelo, the governor, repelled the invaders for a short time; but, having effected their landing on the island, they soon obliged him to retire into the city; and his precipitate valour betrayed him into a snare laid for him by the enemy, in which he perished. Vasconcellos was elected to fill his place, and proved himself worthy so honourable a distinction. He repulsed the forces of Idal Cawn in the breach; sustained the severest attacks with firmness, and surmounted all the horrors of famine, during several months. A supply of provisions was at length procured: the enemy, baffled in their attempts to become masters of the place, retired from before it; and taking post at Benasterin, where the island communicates with the continent of India, they left the city in repose<sup>50</sup>. Nor was Malacca, after the departure of Albuquerque, less exposed to every effort of internal treachery, and of external attack. Repeated exertions were made by the adherents of Mahmud, to reduce it under the dominion of its antient sovereign. Fleets and armies besieged, and even reduced the place to extremities. But, the spirit of the viceroy survived in his delegates, and such was the unconquerable genius of the Portuguese in that age, that danger and difficulty seemed only to call out their resources, and to augment their courage. Britto, who commanded in the city, and Andrada, to

<sup>49</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 425—434, and p. 447—449. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 354—363.

<sup>50</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 338—351. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 434—447. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 63—72.

whom the charge of the fleet was committed, defeated and dispersed the numerous forces of the enemy<sup>31</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1513.

Albuquerque, having been strengthened by considerable reinforcements from Europe, at length prepared to revisit Goa; and he was received on his arrival, as its guardian and protector. The siege of Benasterin was immediately formed, and the place closely invested, notwithstanding the vigorous defence made by the general of Idal Cawn, who repulsed the assailants in their attempt to carry the fort by storm: but, a breach having been at length effected, the enemy capitulated. Benasterin was evacuated, and Idal Cawn appeared to have lost all prospect of recovering his late possessions. So vast and important an acquisition, by which his preceding conquests were secured, impressed the princes of Asia with astonishment, while it elevated Albuquerque to a point of personal glory almost unequalled. Goa resembled the residence of a great monarch: ambassadors from the kings of Persia, Cambay, Vissapour, Ormus, and Abyssinia, came to offer alliance, or congratulation. Lesser princes, in various parts of India, sent tribute to Emanuel, and did homage to the crown of Portugal. The viceroy betrayed the most refined policy and conciliation, in his treatment of the different sovereigns; but, he delayed any conclusive treaty with them, till his return from a new expedition, which he meditated, and for which he made immediate preparation<sup>32</sup>.

Capture of  
Benasteria.

This enterprize, which he undertook in consequence of positive orders from the court of Lisbon, rather than from the dictates of his own judgment, was principally directed against the sultan of Egypt; and it was the only unfortunate one, in which Albuquerque engaged, after his nomination to the supreme command in India. Sailing from Goa, at the head of a powerful fleet, he steered his course for the Red Sea. Arabia Felix, which, from its remote, and almost inaccessible situation, had successfully resisted the Roman

Expedition of  
Albuquerque  
to the Red  
Sea.

<sup>31</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 454—473. Oforio, vol. ii. p. 80—83.

<sup>32</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 473—482. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 369—375. Oforio, vol. ii. p. 84—89.



C H A P.  
IV.

1513.

Unsuccessful  
attempt upon  
Aden.

legions, seemed to be on the point of submitting to the arms of Portugal. The impetuous valour of his officers and troops, was the principal cause of their repulse before the city of Aden, near the Straits of Babelmandel ; the walls of which they attempted to scale. They even entered the place, and drove the enemy from the works ; but, neglecting to use the requisite precautions for securing their prize, they were in turn reduced to fly with precipitation. Albuquerque retreated to his ships, and continued his voyage towards Jedda and Suez. The difficulties of the navigation in the Red Sea, with which the Portuguese were unacquainted, the murmurs of his soldiery, and the want of every kind of refreshment, compelled him, nevertheless, without meeting any enemy, to abandon the project. He returned, therefore, before Aden ; but, finding it in a state of complete defence, he reluctantly desisted from renewing his attack ; nor was he more successful in his exertions to obtain permission to build a citadel at Diu, in Guzurat. Instructed by the example of Idal Cawn, and of the Samorin, the king of Cambay rejected every offer and solicitation for the establishment of a settlement in his dominions<sup>51</sup>.

His enemies, meanwhile, were occupied in unremitting endeavours to procure his recall, and to awaken the jealousy of Emanuel, or to misrepresent the conduct of Albuquerque. To such a degree had these calumnies operated, that peremptory directions were transmitted from Europe, enjoining the evacuation of Goa, and its restitution to Idal Cawn ; as an acquisition more onerous and expensive, than beneficial, to Portugal. But, the council, to whom the governor communicated the mandate, had sufficient magnanimity to refuse compliance with an order, so contrary to the interests of their sovereign, and the execution of which must have been attended with the subversion of his empire in Asia. It speedily appeared that the failure of the enterprize against Egypt and Arabia, had neither diminished Albuquerque's exertions to serve his country, nor injured his reputation among the monarchs of India. The Samorin of Calicut,

<sup>51</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 399—403. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 112—118.

renoun-

renouncing the alliance of the Egyptian sultan, declared himself tributary to Emanuel, and voluntarily permitted the viceroy to construct a citadel in his capital. The princes of Cochin and Cannanore acted with equal submission; and the greater part of the coast of Malabar, from Goa to Cape Comorin, was already reduced to the obedience of Portugal<sup>34</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1513.

To complete the achievements of Albuquerque, it only remained for him to chastise the king of Ormus, and to add so important a conquest to his other acquisitions. The citadel which he had begun, and in part constructed, had not only been withheld and occupied by Zeyfadin; but, the Portugueze were even refused permission to establish a factory in the place. Such was the indignant recollection which the viceroy had always retained of the desertion of his officers, and the consequent necessity of his desisting from the siege of Ormus, at the moment when it was ready to fall into his hands; that he had religiously adhered to the vow which he then swore, never to cut his beard till he had taken vengeance for the affront. Stimulated by these considerations, he set sail for the gulf of Persia, having under his command, twenty-seven ships, and a great body of forces. His arrival before Ormus spread such terror, that the new king, Torun-Sha, who had succeeded to his brother Zeyfadin, after a short negotiation, surrendered the citadel, and displayed the banner of Portugal on his palace. Hamed, his first minister, endeavoured to excite a commotion, and to assassinate the viceroy; but, he was anticipated by the vigilance of Albuquerque, seized, and instantly put to death. This stroke of vigour was followed by the demand, on his part, of all the artillery, contained in the city; and the requisition met with instant obedience. Ormus became subject to Portugal, and the king consented to receive his crown from Emanuel<sup>35</sup>.

1514, 1515.  
Enterprize  
against Or-  
mus.

Capture of  
Ormuz, by  
Albuquerque.

<sup>34</sup> Lafitau, vol. i. p. 483—498. Oforio, vol. ii. p. 119—120.

<sup>35</sup> Oforio, vol. ii. p. 162—173. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 439—449. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 509—514.

But,



C H A P.  
IV.

1515.  
Recall, ill-  
ness, and  
death of Al-  
buquerque.

But, the splendid career of Albuquerque drew towards its close.

A dysentery, with which he was attacked, soon reduced him to extremity: having, however, with his accustomed energy of mind, made every provision for the tranquillity and security of his late conquest, he embarked for Goa. Scarcely had he entered the Indian ocean, when a vessel, dispatched from Diu, brought him the intelligence, that Emanuel had superceded him; that Soarez, his successor, was already arrived; and that many of his personal enemies were named to posts of eminence. His great mind sunk at first, under so unexpected and unmerited a disgrace. He burst into severe reproaches against the ingratitude of princes; frequently repeating, "To the tomb, unhappy old man! it is time! To the tomb!" But, soon recovering his fortitude, he dictated, with composure and dignity, his last letter to the sovereign, whose power and dominions he had so greatly augmented. He issued every necessary order, without omitting the most minute detail; and then calmly expected his final dissolution. It took place, near the mouth of the harbour of Goa, where he expired, in the sixty-third year of his age<sup>36</sup>.

December.  
His character,  
and exploits.

Such were the actions of this extraordinary and illustrious person, as to supercede the necessity of attempting accurately to delineate his character. His conquests extended from the entrance of the Persian gulf, to the islands of Java and the Moluccas: nor are we less penetrated with admiration, at the rapidity with which he effected them; scarcely six years having elapsed between the commencement and the termination of his government. His love of justice, his contempt of injuries, and magnanimous superiority to revenge, excited affection mingled with veneration. The talents of Albuquerque were equally adapted to the cabinet, as to the field; and he never appeared in a more elevated point of view, than as a legislator, cultivating the arts of tranquillity and peace. His death spread universal sorrow among every

<sup>36</sup> Oferio, vol. ii. p. 193—196. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 459—463. Laftan, vol. i. p. 515—518.

class of people; and the native inhabitants of Indostan held his memory in such reverence, that they were long accustomed to assemble at his tomb, and to invoke his shade for protection and redress, against the exactions and oppressions of his successors. If, in some instances, he appears to have sullied the lustre of his exploits, by acts of cruelty, or, at least, of extreme severity; yet, on a close examination, it will be found that even these were dictated by an imperious necessity: his nature was mild, gentle, and beneficent. Emanuel can scarcely be justified for recalling such a subject: but, his fame and victories had raised him to so high an eminence, that his enemies were enabled to infuse suspicions of his aspiring to independence. Portugal produced no man, in this age so fertile in heroes, who equalled, or can be placed in competition with Albuquerque. At his death, the richest maritime cities of Asia, a vast tract of sea-coast, numerous princes, and some millions of subjects, were reduced to the obedience of Emanuel. The philosopher and the historian cannot reflect, without emotion, that his end was accelerated by disgrace, and embittered by the privation of that power, which he himself had founded and cemented. His fame alone was beyond the reach of malignity. Emanuel was sensible, when too late, of his error, in having dismissed Albuquerque, and testified his concern, by the protection which he extended to the viceroy's natural son, whom he had recommended to his sovereign before he expired<sup>37</sup>.

During the interval of time which elapsed between the departure of Albuquerque from Portugal, and his death, the domestic transactions of Emanuel's reign and government afford little matter for historical narration. The war with the Moors of Fez and Morocco, continued almost unremittingly, with various success; but, the hostilities were merely depredatory, and marked by few interesting events. Arzyla, which had been besieged, was relieved; and Azamor was added to the number of Emanuel's fortresses on the

Domestic  
transactions,

<sup>37</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 608, 609. Oforio, vol. ii. p. 196, 197. Laftau, vol. i. p. 518—522. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 466.



C H A P.  
IV.1515.  
Felicity of  
Portugal.1516—1518.  
Events in  
Asia.Danger of  
Goa.

coast of Barbary; but, every attempt to extend his dominion into the interior provinces of Africa, was defeated by the obstinate valour and resistance of the Mahometans. The kingdom enjoyed profound, and nearly uninterrupted repose. Wealth flowed into the Tagus; and the Indian fleets began regularly to transmit to Lisbon all the valuable productions of the East. The court of Emanuel was one of the most magnificent in Europe; and the respect in which he was held by foreign princes, completed the felicity of his reign<sup>18</sup>.

The glory of the Portugueze name and arms in India sustained, however, a temporary eclipse, by the death of Albuquerque. Soarez, the new governor, succeeded to his dignity; but, not to his talents, or reputation. The grandeur of design, and vigour of execution, which had characterized the late government, were extinct. Disgrace, disappointment, and timidity attended every enterprize. The princes of Asia soon perceived the alteration, and began to evince symptoms of alienation; or, of open hostility. Even, the Portugueze themselves, no longer conducted by a superior genius, sunk into inactivity, or sullied the lustre of their past achievements. The pertinacity, with which the court of Lisbon prosecuted the attempt against Egypt, and the reduction of the city of Aden, involved their affairs in disgrace and confusion. By order of Emanuel, Soarez again undertook an expedition to the Red Sea, having under his command, forty-seven ships, and a great body of forces. The experiment was not only unsuccessful; but, during his absence, the crimes and rashness of Montroi, to whom the government of Goa was committed, had nearly involved the settlement in ruin. His desire of revenge upon an individual, whom he had previously injured, prompted him to violate the peace subsisting with Idal Cawn. That prince defeated him, invested Benaferin, and might have recovered Goa itself, the garrison of which had been much diminished by Soarez, if timely supplies had not fortunately arrived from Europe.

<sup>18</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 287—289, and 351—354, and 376—393, and 405—420. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 120—143, and p. 173—187.

Malacca, attacked by the king of Bantam, was exposed to equal, or greater danger; and had, repeatedly, suffered the last extremities of famine; but, it was saved by the exertions of the garrison, till Meneses came to its relief, and compelled the enemy to retire. The Portuguese, who had already established themselves in the empire of China, were driven out by the insolence and folly of their commander. The reduction of the island of Ceylon, so important from its exclusive production of cinnamon, formed a counterpoise to these numerous misfortunes".

CHAP.  
IV.

1516—1518.

Reduction of  
Ceylon.

It is not one of the least singular circumstances of Emanuel's reign, that a prince, who so well knew how to select and to reward talents, should have driven from his dominions, a man inferior neither to Gama, nor to Albuquerque, in ability to serve his country. Ferdinand Magellan, like Columbus, withdrew into Castile, disgusted with the refusal of an inconsiderable addition to his appointments, which he had experienced from the court. Having formed the most decided and judicious opinion, relative to the formation and figure of the planet of the earth, he undertook to conduct the Spaniards by a new, and opposite course, to the Molucca islands; which, he asserted to be situated beyond the imaginary "line of demarcation," by which the popes had divided the eastern and western hemispheres, between the kings of Spain and Portugal. Cardinal Ximenes, whose enlarged mind enabled him to conceive, and whose attention to the glory and interests of his sovereign, induced him to profit of the offers of Magellan, was then regent; during the minority of Charles the Fifth. He hesitated not to accept the proposal, and in defiance of the remonstrances of the court of Lisbon, sent him out, at the head of five vessels. Magellan discovered the celebrated Straits, near Cape Horn, which bear his name; surmounted the greatest dangers in his passage, between Patagonia and Terra del Fuego; entered, and navigated the great Pacific Ocean,

1519.  
Rejection of  
the offers of  
Magellan.

He enters  
the Pacific  
Ocean.

<sup>39</sup> Neville, vol. ii. p. 467—470, and p. 481—495, and p. 497—513. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 225—239, and p. 243—255. Lafitau, vol. i. p. 523—560.



C H A P.  
IV.

1519.

Disputes be-  
tween the  
crowns of  
Spain and  
Portugal.

1519—1521.  
Expedition of  
Sequeira.

which Columbus could never effect; and having landed in one of the Ladrone islands, was there killed in an action between the natives. His followers did not less pursue the object of the expedition; and to the astonishment of the Portugueze, who little expected such intruders, they arrived in the islands of Ternate and Tidor, two of the Moluccas, occupied by Emanuel's subjects. We cannot reflect without amazement, or contemplate without admiration, the genius which could first form and execute a project so vast, so complicated, and so hazardous, as that of sailing round the globe; nor forbear making a comparison of the exploits of Magellan, with the expedition of the Argonauts; the conductors of which were regarded by antiquity as demi-gods, and almost raised to divine honours. In consequence of Magellan's voyage, the Spanish crown asserted a right to the Moluccas; and it was not till the subsequent reign, that Charles the Fifth, on receiving from John the Third a considerable loan of money, at a very critical juncture, consented to suspend his pretensions. Columbus had taken as severe a revenge on John the Second, for refusing to employ him in the discovery of the new world<sup>60</sup>.

The government of Sequeira, who succeeded Soarez in India, was not more glorious to his country, than that of his predecessor. The empire of the Mammelukes in Egypt, had been overturned by Selim the First, emperor of the Turks; who reduced the kingdom into the form of a province, after the execution of the last sultan, Toman Bai, as Augustus had done, after the death of Cleopatra. Succeeding to the political enmities, with the dominions of the Mammeluke princes, Selim prepared to set limits to the Portugueze acquisitions in India; and it was against the Ottoman fleet, that Sequeira principally undertook a new expedition to the Red Sea. Like the two preceding ones, under Albuquerque and Soarez, it was accompanied with disappointment, and attended with misfortunes, result-

<sup>60</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 523—530. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 265—272. La Clede, vol. i. p. 626, 627.

ing,

ing, in a great measure, from the ignorance of the Portuguese, respecting the currents and navigation of that dangerous gulph<sup>61</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1519—1521.  
Progressive  
augmentation  
of the Portu-  
guese power  
in Asia.

The procrastination and irresolution of Sequeira, were equally fatal to another favourite measure of the court of Lisbon; that of obtaining permission, either by force or negotiation, to construct a fort at Diu; a place which, from its position, at the southern extremity of the province of Guzurat, was admirably calculated for connecting Persia with Indostan, and for extending protection to Goa, and to Ormus. Melic Jaz, who commanded in the city under the king of Cambay, not only rejected his requests, and resisted all his attempts; but, obtained some signal advantages over the Portuguese themselves. Yet, even under these adverse circumstances, Emanuel's power and territories continually augmented. An insurrection, of a serious nature, in the Gulf of Persia, which menaced Ormus, was quelled. The province of the Balaghaut, on the western side of the Peninsula of India, and important from its vicinity to Goa, was voluntarily ceded to Mello, governor of that city. In Ceylon, Britto vanquished the natives, who had attempted to expel him from the island. Ormus was completely reduced into subjection, after a vigorous and nearly successful effort on the part of Torun Sha, to become master of the citadel. Coutigno, aided by some naval forces, maintained so long a resistance, that the enemy in despair abandoned their project, and quitted the island itself. Torun Sha was soon afterwards strangled by his minister Hamed; and a son of Zeyfadin, named Mahmud, was declared his successor, who concluded a peace with the Portuguese, by which he anew acknowledged himself a vassal of Emanuel<sup>62</sup>.

Unsuccessful  
attempt to  
retake Or-  
mus.

Such was the prosperous situation of affairs in Asia, at the termination of that monarch's reign, who expired at Lisbon, in the fifty-third year of his age, after a distemper of short continuance. He was

1521.  
December.  
Death, and  
character of  
Emanuel.

<sup>61</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 538—543. Laſitau, vol. i. p. 575—586. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 286—290.

<sup>62</sup> Laſitau, vol. i. p. 586—616. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 566—581, and p. 595—602. Oſorio, vol. ii. p. 319—332.



C H A P.  
IV.

1521.

Grandeur of  
Portugal.

furnamed the Great, and the Fortunate; titles, to which he seems to have had an equal pretension. If, in abilities, he was inferior to John the Second, he far excelled that prince in virtue and benignity. His reign is not stained with the execution of a duke of Braganza, or the assassination of a duke of Viseo. In humanity, justice, liberality, and affection for his people, he is scarcely exceeded by any prince in history. Portugal enjoyed, under his mild and equal sway, a felicity, unparalleled in modern times; and which can only be compared with the tranquillity and happiness of Rome, under the Antonines. The inferior orders of the people were peculiarly dear to, and protected by Emanuel; in whose reign, it was commonly said, that poverty and distress were banished from Portugal. The epithet of "the Golden Age," was revived, to commemorate the blessings of his domestic administration and government; while the external success of his arms, the discoveries of Gama, and the conquests of Albuquerque, combined to elevate the Portuguese sovereign and nation, to the most envied pre-eminence among the European States. Their fleets navigated, and triumphed, from Persia and Arabia, to the Moluccas, and the confines of China. A great portion of the continent of Africa, on either side of the equinoctial line, was subjected and colonized. While Mexico and Peru were conquered by Spain, Brazil fell to the share of Portugal, and became eventually, an acquisition of the highest importance. In Morocco, though not uniformly successful, Emanuel repressed the Moors, and occupied them, by carrying perpetual hostilities into their country. If we regard him in private life, he is equally amiable as in his public capacity; free from vices, and exemplary in the discharge of every domestic duty. From the errors and weaknesses, inseparably attached to humanity, he was not exempt, and his severity towards the Jews in the beginning of his reign, admits of no apology; except that which is drawn from the spirit of bigotry and persecution, by which the age itself was distinguished, and from which the most beneficent disposition received a taint. On the whole, he is, perhaps,

haps, of all the princes who have reigned in Europe, since the extinction of the Roman empire, the one who has the highest claim to the respect, as well as to the gratitude and approbation, of mankind<sup>63</sup>.

The crown of Portugal devolved, by Emanuel's death, to his eldest son, John the Third, who was at that time only in his twentieth year; and the people evinced the warmest attachment to their new sovereign, who, by his conduct and government, justified their partiality. The maxims and the ministers of the late reign, continued, in a great degree, to manage affairs; and so profound was the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, that scarcely any domestic events present themselves, during the first years of John, which challenge the attention of history. It is a curious fact, and almost without parallel in the annals of modern nations, that the council of state agitated the question of marrying him to Eleanor of Castile, widow of the king, his father; and, however repugnant to all ideas of decorum, as well as subversive of the laws of nature, so incestuous a union appears, the proposition was strongly supported in the cabinet by the duke of Braganza; nor was it believed to be unpleasing to the young king himself. The indecency of the alliance, at length, caused it, nevertheless, to be rejected; and in the following year, he demanded, and obtained, the princess Catherine, younger sister of Eleanor. The intermarriages of the present reigning family of Portugal, equally contrary to the usages of other nations, and which have hitherto had no imitators, form a striking similarity, in that particular, between the Portuguese manners in the sixteenth, and eighteenth centuries<sup>64</sup>.

The vigour, which had characterised Emanuel's reign, was equally manifested by his son; and Francis the First, king of France, one of the most enterprising monarchs in Europe, was compelled, by the remonstrances of the Portuguese ambassador, to desist from his intention of sending out a fleet to the Indies<sup>65</sup>. But, this prosperity

CHAP.  
IV.

1521.  
December.

Accession of  
John the  
Third.

1522.  
Domestic  
events.

1521—1523.  
Transactions  
in Asia.

<sup>63</sup> Neuville, vol. ii. p. 606—608. Osorio, vol. ii. p. 358—363. La Clede, vol. i. p. 646—648. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 132, 133.

<sup>64</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 654. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 143. <sup>65</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 654.

and



C H A P.  
IV.

1521—1523.

Mal-admini-  
stration of  
the Portu-  
guese.

and energy were not extended to Asia; where, under the administration of Edward Meneses, who had succeeded Sequeira, public affairs were hastening to decay. His venality, indolence, and supineness were universally felt, and produced the most ruinous consequences. At Ormus, Hamed, the inveterate enemy of Portugal, and who had assassinated his own sovereign, was replaced in the supreme authority, by Meneses; and the disgrace of the proceeding was increased by the notoriety and publicity of the sum, paid by Hamed, to obtain his restoration to power. Idal Cawn invaded the dependencies of Goa with impunity, and even retook several places in the vicinity of the city. The person of the viceroy himself, was not secure from danger and insult. As he sailed down the coast of Malabar, at the head of a numerous fleet, the Samorin of Calicut treated him with indignity, and obliged him to quit the harbour. Instead of resenting such an outrage, he retired to Cochin; where he was pursued by the enemy, who massacred many of the Portuguese, and retreated without molestation. The valour and conduct of George Albuquerque preserved Malacca; and Britto nearly effected the complete reduction of the Molucca islands, not without exercising many acts of violence and barbarity against the natives. But these successful exertions faintly counterbalanced the calamity resulting from the misconduct of Meneses; and the court of Lisbon, alarmed at its effects, determined on sending out a person, capable of remedying the disorders, occasioned by the vices and incapacity of the governor<sup>66</sup>.

1524.  
Arrival of  
Vasco de  
Gama.

The selection fell on Vasco de Gama, who was regarded as the only man adequate to so arduous a task; and, notwithstanding his advanced period of life, and numerous infirmities, he cheerfully prepared to embark anew for the scene of his early glory and discoveries. He arrived safely on the coast of Malabar; assumed the government of India; and by his wholesome severity, joined to his high reputation for justice and ability, began to awaken his countrymen from their inactivity. But, his administration was short; and

<sup>66</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 1—45. La Clede, vol. i. p. 651—656.

after

after scarcely exercising the functions of his charge more than three months, he expired at Cochin, in the seventieth year of his age. Notwithstanding some acts of unjustifiable cruelty, which he committed during the progress of his wars with the Samorin, and which tarnish the lustre of his exploits, he must be regarded as one of the greatest men whom Portugal has produced. His intrepidity, patience, fortitude, and perseverance, enabled him to surmount the difficulties, which presented themselves to oppose his passage round the continent of Africa; and like Albuquerque, he breathed his last, in the country where his achievements had secured him immortality<sup>97</sup>.

The supreme command, by his death, devolved on Henry de Meneses; nor could a more able substitute have been found for Gama. His contempt of riches, and disinterestedness, were equalled by his vigilance and military capacity. Assuming the administration, he immediately sailed, in order to seek, and attack the Samorin. That prince was twice completely vanquished; and these victories, which were gained by the Portuguese, under circumstances of great inferiority and disparity, restored the national reputation throughout India. But, their further progress was suspended by the decease of Meneses; and a period of civil dissension, approaching to anarchy, immediately commenced, which appeared to menace the very existence of the Portuguese power in Asia<sup>98</sup>. Mascaregnas, named by the king to the succession in the first instance, was absent at Malacca, of which city he was governor. Sampayo, who commanded at Cochin, and who was only appointed to that office, in case of the decease of Mascaregnas, availed himself of his absence, to seize on the supreme authority; nor, on his competitor's arrival, in the following year, would he resign his usurpation. Availing himself of subsequent letters from the court, in which his name was substituted and preferred to that of Mascaregnas, Sampayo proceeded to arrest him on his landing at Goa; from whence he was transferred to the

C H A P.  
IV.

1524.  
His death,  
and character.  
December.

1525, 1526.  
Government  
of Meneses.

1526—1529.  
Dissensions  
among the  
Portuguese.

<sup>97</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 659, 660. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 45—50.

<sup>98</sup> Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 51—96. La Clede, vol. i. p. 661—667, and p. 670.

citadel



C H A P.  
IV.

1516—1529.

citadel of Cannanore, and thrown into prison. So violent an act of injustice and oppression excited universal resentment. The friends of the injured and excluded governor, compelled his rival to liberate him from confinement, and to submit their respective titles to a fair arbitration, composed of thirteen persons, impartially chosen for the purpose. But, in this selection, the address of Sampayo, and the exertions of his adherents, triumphed over the simplicity and moderation of Mascaregnas. The government was adjudged to the former; and his rival, no longer attempting to struggle against such unequal force, and too patriotic to involve India in civil war, for his private quarrel, embarked for Lisbon, leaving Sampayo in possession of the office.

Government,  
and actions of  
Sampayo.

Unjustifiable as were the means, by which his situation was acquired, he was not unworthy of it; and during three years, that he retained the supreme power, the enemies of the Portuguese were repressed, the dominions of the crown were augmented, and the national reputation for military skill and valour, sustained. The coast of Malabar was protected, and repeated advantages were gained over the Samorin. Hali Sha, admiral of the king of Cambay, was vanquished in a naval engagement, by Sampayo; and if the disaffection of his officers had not prevented him from profiting of his victory, the city of Diu itself might have been taken. He fortified Ormus, Chaul, and Cannanore; and as the best proof of his wisdom and œconomy, he left to his successor, a fleet of one hundred and thirty-six ships, well equipped. These great qualities were sullied by avarice and rapacity; and, on his return to Europe, the king severely punished his unjust assumption of the government: he was fined, imprisoned, and compelled to leave the kingdom<sup>60</sup>.

Establishment  
of the inquisition in Portugal.

If, from Asia, we turn our view to Portugal, the establishment of the inquisition is almost the only memorable event, in the period of time of which we are treating. It was introduced by the king himself, with

<sup>60</sup> Lafftau, vol. ii. p. 96—150. passim. La Clede, vol. i. p. 670—677. Abregé Chron. vol. i. p. 173—194.

a view to repress the progress of Judaism, and Mahometanism; and that tribunal soon acquired such force, as to be no longer controuled by the authority, to which it owed its existence. Warm remonstrances were offered, and vigorous opposition was made, by the nobility, to its continuance; but John, from principles of a pernicious and mistaken zeal, maintained the institution; and the court of Rome confirmed its power<sup>70</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1526—1529.

Acugna, who had been appointed to succeed Sampayo, inherited all the virtues of his predecessor, without his vices and defects. Under his government, new conquests were made, and new territories added, to the Portuguese empire in India. Deman, and Basseen, two considerable places in the Concan, were successively taken; and the city of Diu, on which the court of Lisbon had fixed its views, and the possession of which was alone wanting to add Guzurat to the provinces already subjected, fell at length into the hands of Acugna. The kingdom of Cambay, of which Diu was a dependency, ranked, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, among the most commercial and extensive sovereignties of India. Sultan Badur, who occupied the throne, a prince of talents and ambition, was an inveterate enemy of the Portuguese. He had only recently rendered himself master of Diu, and expelled the governor, who had long assumed and maintained an independence on the king of Cambay. Badur knew the importance and value of the acquisition; but, pressed by the arms of the Mogul, and surrounded by enemies, he was reduced to the necessity of negotiating with the viceroy, who demanded permission to construct a citadel. After a considerable time, and many evasions, Acugna obtained from the sultan, this concession; and fearful of committing it to hazard, by delay, he immediately repaired to Diu, with a numerous fleet. The ground, destined for the fort, was marked out; and so anxious was Acugna to avail himself of the favourable moment, that in forty-nine days, the

1529—1538.  
Acugna succeeds to Sampayo.

Acquisition of Diu.

<sup>70</sup> Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 172, and p. 223, 224.



C H A P.  
IV.

1529—1538.

new fortifications were sufficiently completed, to be secure from insult.

Death of sultan  
Badur.

Badur had no sooner ceded the point desired, than he repented of his facility, and endeavoured by treachery to regain possession of the citadel. To effect it the more easily, he demanded an interview, which took place in the port of Diu, on board the vessel of Acugna; who, aware of the sultan's perfidious intentions, attempted to anticipate them by seizing his person. In effecting his escape to the shore, he was killed by the Portugueze; and his nephew Mahmud was elevated to the throne of Cambay. Induced by the desire of revenging his uncle's death, and of recovering the citadel of Diu, the new prince was no sooner established in the kingdom, than he assembled forces, and invested the fortress. Solýman the Second, Emperor of the Turks, sent the bashaw of Cairo to his aid, who joined Mahmud under the walls. They exerted every effort to render themselves masters of the place, and even effected a lodgment on one of the ramparts. But, Silveira, who commanded in the citadel, with only six hundred men, made so resolute a defence, that, after an incredible slaughter, the allies precipitately abandoned the siege. The Turkish bashaw regained the Red Sea; and the troops of Mahmud retired into the province of Guzurat; leaving to Sylveira the honour of having, with so slender a garrison, rendered abortive the united attempts of two great sovereigns, to reduce Diu to their obedience. The merits of Acugna, like those of Albuquerque, were repaid with ingratitude; and after an administration of near ten years, during which he had rendered the most important services to his country, he fell under the displeasure of the court, and was recalled with circumstances of unmerited hardship and disgrace: he was succeeded in his dignity, by Garcia de Norogna".

Recall of  
Acugna.

Events in  
Portugal.

While the splendor of the Portugueze arms was so well sustained in Asia, the internal tranquillity and felicity of the kingdom were

" Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 150—275. La Clede, vol. i. p. 687, and p. 690, 691.

disturbed

disturbed by earthquakes, more violent than those which had happened under Emanuel. Lisbon was almost destroyed: Santarem, Almerin, and other places in the vicinity of the capital, were swallowed up in the earth. Thirty thousand persons perished in the capital only; and the calamity was rendered still more terrible, by an inundation of the Tagus. The king, and royal family, encamped in tents, during a considerable time. Portugal, in every period, appears to have been subject to these convulsions, which return, at certain intervals, with augmented violence; and the history of the present century bears a striking similitude in this respect, to the reign of John the Third, in all its circumstances. The kingdom enjoyed, notwithstanding, an uninterrupted peace, and the benefits of a lucrative and extensive commerce, at a period of time when almost all the other European states were involved in wars, and destitute of trade or manufactures <sup>72</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1529—1538.

The new viceroy, Norogna, though nephew to the great Albuquerque, and long distinguished by his military exploits in Africa, ill sustained in India, either his own reputation, or the glory of his country. By his delays, he lost the occasion of attacking and defeating the bashaw of Cairo, in his flight from before Diu; and that place itself owed its preservation, solely to the unconquerable courage and resources of Sylveira, the governor. Norogna sullied the national honour, by instantly concluding an inglorious peace with sultan Mahmud; and the conditions, which might have been dictated by the viceroy, were so favourable to the king of Cambay, that suspicions, highly injurious to Norogna's integrity, were universally entertained. He, in a considerable degree, repaired the disgrace, by effecting a solid pacification with the Samorin of Calicut; who, sinking under accumulated defeats and losses, submitted to the terms imposed on him by his conquerors <sup>73</sup>. The viceroy died soon after-

1538—1540.  
Transactions  
in Asia.

<sup>72</sup> Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 202.

<sup>73</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 691—693. Laftau, vol. ii. p. 276—293. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 233—235.



C H A P.  
IV.

1538—1540.

1540—1542.  
Expedition to  
the Red Sea.

wards, worn out with age and infirmities. He was little regretted; and his successor, Stephen de Gama, son of the famous Vasco, possessed qualities and virtues, worthy of the highest situation.

No enemy remained to vanquish, from Ormus to Malacca, or from Guzurat, to the southern extremity of Ceylon; and Gama, in pursuance of orders from the court of Lisbon, undertook an expedition against Suez, at the northern termination of the Red Sea, where the fleet of Solyman, the Turkish emperor, lay at anchor. But, the Portuguese enterprizes against Egypt and Arabia, were always destined to be ruinous, or unproductive. In consequence of a delay in approaching Suez, troops were thrown into the place; and Gama was under the necessity of retreating precipitately to his ships. Nor was his brother more fortunate, who was sent, with a body of troops, to the assistance of the king of Abyssinia. After penetrating into that unknown and sequestered portion of Africa, and performing exploits of the most heroic valor, he perished; and the Portuguese under his command, achieved no object of national importance. The administration of Gama, during the time that he governed India, was, notwithstanding, distinguished by the most beneficent and disinterested zeal for the glory of his country. But, the term of it was short; and he was superceded by Alfonso de Sousa, whose rapacity and injustice rendered the loss of his predecessor still more lamented<sup>74</sup>. To him succeeded the celebrated John de Castro.

1545—1548.  
Second siege  
of Diu, by  
Mahmud.

During the siege of Diu, which was again attacked by Mahmud, king of Cambay, Mascaregnas acquired a military reputation, even superior to that which had been attained by Sylveira. In the history of modern nations, there is scarcely any instance of more undaunted courage, sustained under the pressure of famine, for many months, and against an enemy so superior. Efforts, almost above the powers of men, were made by the governor and garrison, whose religious

<sup>74</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 294—342. *passim*. La Clede, vol. i. p. 694—696, and p. 704, and p. 710, 711.

zeal aided and inflamed their ardor. They rejected all proposals of accommodation, even the most honourable ; and held out, among the ruins of the fortrefs, destitute of ammunition or provisions, till the viceroy came in person, to their rescue. Even after his arrival, their united numbers were so comparatively small, that safety lay only in success. John de Castro, and Mascaregnas, obtained a signal victory, and cut to pieces the army of the king of Cambay. It was requisite to reconstruct the citadel, which had been demolished by the fire of the enemy ; but, the royal treasury was empty, and no pecuniary resources presented themselves. In this embarrassment, the viceroy adopted an expedient, which places in a conspicuous point of view, the elevation of his own character, and the generous promptitude of the Portugueze to contribute towards the public necessities. He addressed a letter to the inhabitants of Goa, demanding the loan of a considerable sum ; and as the surest pledge for their repayment, he sent them one of his moustachios. The money was instantly remitted him, with alacrity ; and the females of distinction, animated with sentiments of affection for their country, and the desire of contributing to its glory, voluntarily presented their jewels, in addition. After re-establishing the fortifications of Diu, Castro embarked for Goa ; into which city he made his triumphal entry, crowned with palm leaves, and accompanied with all the honours of victory. Jusar Cawn, one of the captive generals of the king of Cambay, and six hundred prisoners, with trophies, colours, and artillery, followed the procession. The festivities lasted several days ; and the spectacle itself renewed the idea of the Roman triumphs, over vanquished princes and nations. The Portugueze power seemed to have attained its summit ; and in the short space of fifty years, that nation had become mistress of the most valuable ports of Persia, Arabia, and of the Indies. Goa resembled the capital of a vast empire, and the viceroy's court equalled in magnificence those of the Asiatic princes.

C H A P.  
IV.

1545-1548.

Enemy van-  
quished.Viceroyalty,  
and exploits  
of Castro.Splendor of  
Goa.

The



C H A P.  
IV.

1545—1548.  
Death, and  
character of  
Castro.

The felicity of Castro was not, however, without alloy; and his sensibility to the disgrace of his countrymen, who, after making themselves masters of the city of Aden, which Albuquerque himself could not effect, had precipitately evacuated the place; accelerated his end. He expired at Goa, in the arms of the famous Francis Xavier, whom religious zeal had carried out to India. His virtues and great qualities equal him with the most illustrious men of antiquity: but, his disinterestedness placed him, if possible, in a more elevated point of view. Anxious only for the state, he despised all personal considerations, and expended his private fortune, to sustain the honour and interests of Portugal. Such was his poverty, that, after his death, only three small pieces of copper coin were found in his chest, together with the portion of his beard, which he had sent as a pledge for the restitution of the money, borrowed for the public service<sup>75</sup>.

1548—1554.  
Extensive  
conquests,  
and power of  
the Portu-  
guese.

The Portuguese power and commerce continued, notwithstanding, perpetually to augment, in defiance of every obstacle. Japan was discovered, and a trade was begun with that distant country, placed at the extremity of Asia. Settlements were made, and factories established, on the coast of Coromandel. From the mouths of the Ganges, to the southern point of the Peninsula of Indostan, the shore was occupied by that enterprising nation. The rich province of Guzurat might be regarded as part of the dominions of John the Third; all the ports of consequence being possessed by his subjects. The island of Ceylon yielded to repeated invasions; and became tributary, or was completely subjected. Malacca, continually besieged by the kings of Sumatra, and by its antient princes, baffled every attempt for its reduction. The Molucca islands, after long exhibiting a scene of violence and barbarity, the most disgraceful to the Portuguese name and nation, were forced to submit to the yoke. The cruelties, exercised in those remote possessions, by successive governors, equal the enormities of Cortez and Pizarro in America, and cannot be perused without horror. Their vast distance from the seat of government, and the

Crimes and  
enormities.

<sup>75</sup> Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 342—418. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 265—267, and p. 270—273. La Clede, vol. i. p. 711—722, and vol. ii. p. 9—11.

difficulty

difficulty of transmitting or receiving intelligence, secured impunity for every crime<sup>76</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1554.

Domestic  
transactions.

In the magnitude of the Portuguese conquests, which extended over so large a portion of Asia and Africa, and which form one of the most interesting subjects of modern history, we continually lose sight of the kingdom itself, from whence these revolutions proceeded. The prosperity which attended the arms of John the Third, and the wisdom of his administration at home, could not secure him from the severest privations in his own family. Four of his sons were already dead; and the only remaining one, John, prince of Portugal, having attained to the age of sixteen, was married to Jane, daughter of the emperor Charles the Fifth. The princess was declared to be pregnant, when her husband was seized with a slow fever, which increasing in violence, terminated his life. This disastrous event was concealed from her, during eighteen days; at the end of which time, she brought into the world a son, who was named Sebastian. He afterwards succeeded to the crown, and became too well known by his misfortunes, and the ruin which he entailed upon his country. In the succeeding year, died Louis, duke of Beja, brother to the king, and one of the most accomplished princes of the age in which he lived. He was commonly surnamed "the Delight of Portugal," from his munificence, valour, courtesy, and other virtues. He left one son, named Anthony, by a lady of noble birth, called Violenté Gomez; but his legitimacy was never acknowledged, and appears to have been very problematical. After the defeat and death of Sebastian in Africa, he made repeated, but ineffectual efforts, to ascend the throne<sup>77</sup>.

Birth of Se-  
bastian.

1555.

These misfortunes, however great, were obliterated by that which Portugal sustained, in the death of John the Third. He terminated his life and reign in the fifty-fifth year of his age; and the affliction which his subjects felt, was augmented by the prospect of a minority,

1557.  
June.  
Death, and  
character of  
John the  
Third.

<sup>76</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 419—519, passim. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 11—26.

<sup>77</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 26, and p. 30, 31.

with



C H A P.  
IV.

1557.

Policy of that  
monarch.Minority of  
Sebastian.View of the  
Portuguese  
power in  
Asia.

with its usual concomitant evils. The tranquillity, which the kingdom enjoyed, during thirty-five years that he had filled the throne, and the mildness of his government, encreased the general grief. His enlarged affection for his people was evinced, by his reluctance to impose taxes, by his rigid frugality in the expenditure of the public treasure, and by his attention to every branch of national improvement. Magnificent in his court, he was simple and modest in his family; he loved and encouraged letters; discovered, and protected merit; and blended a princely liberality in rewarding services, with the most systematic œconomy. In talents, energy of mind, and application to affairs, he was inferior to Emanuel: his piety approached to superstition, and led him into numerous errors. Above all, the introduction of the tribunal of the inquisition tended to debase the national character, and to break the high spirit of his subjects, which had atchieved so many great exploits, under his own, and his father's reign. On the coast of Barbary, he adopted a policy, very opposite to that of his two immediate predecessors, who had attempted to push their conquests, and to subject the kingdoms of Fez and Morocco. John gradually withdrew his troops, and successively abandoned Arzila, Safi, Azamor, and many other fortresses. Necessity dictated this conduct, which was contrary to the popular wish. It became impracticable to maintain the acquisitions in India, unless Africa was, in some measure, relinquished; Portugal not being equal to supply the perpetual demand of men and ships, requisite to secure the vast conquests of Albuquerque and his successors<sup>78</sup>.

The period of Sebastian's minority, though agitated by some struggles between the queen, widow to John the Third, and the cardinal Henry, only remaining son of Emanuel; was distinguished, nevertheless, by internal tranquillity and prosperity. In Asia, during the twenty years which elapsed after the death of John de Castro, the Portuguese power appeared to have struck so deep a root, that every attempt to subvert it, must be ineffectual. But many causes contri-

<sup>78</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 35—38. Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 545. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 328—334.

buted to undermine this greatness, and to expose it to hazard. The first conquerors of India, the cotemporaries of Gama, Almeyda, and Albuquerque, were extinct. Luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices usually attending them, had spread their influence among their descendants. Contempt of justice, venality, rapacity, and cruelty, had alienated the affections of the natives, who were only held in subjection by terror. That sentiment diminished, as the Asiatics became gradually more accustomed to the European system of war, and of military discipline. Numbers of Portuguese, unrestrained either by attachment to their religion, or country, served in the armies of the princes of India, and taught them to oppose successfully their conquerors. The genuine blood of Europe, which flowed in the veins of the first adventurers, was gradually broken down and debased, by the marriages which they contracted with the Hindoo and Mahometan women. From these unions, sprang a race of men, far inferior in vigour of mind and energy, to their progenitors<sup>79</sup>. The great sovereigns of India, though humbled and depressed, were not vanquished. They had abandoned the coasts; but, still occupying the interior provinces, they were capable, by uniting their strength and resources, of overturning the power of Portugal. Such a combination was, by no means, ideal or improbable; and if effected, very uncommon talents must be requisite to sustain the shock. In this situation, were all the Asiatic possessions of Sebastian, at the time when, having attained to majority, he, by one of the first acts of his government, appointed Louis d'Ataïde viceroy of the Indies.

The character of the young king of Portugal began already to unfold itself, and to display those qualities, which were eventually fatal to his country, and to himself. An ardent and romantic passion for glory, formed the predominant feature of his mind; and to it all the others were subservient. As if to augment its violence, his precep-

CHAP.  
IV.  
1557—1568.

1568—1571.  
Character,  
and disposi-  
tion of Se-  
bastian.

<sup>79</sup> Lafltau, vol. ii. p. 602, 603.



C H A P.  
IV.

1568—1571.

tors, who were principally of the order of the Jesuits, imbued him with so strong a detestation of the Mahometan religion, and so warm a desire to spread the christian faith, that he anxiously anticipated the moment, when he might in person carry war into Africa, and exterminate the worshippers of Mahomet. During several years, this disposition was controuled by various impediments. His youth, the remonstrances of his ministers, and the treaties of peace, subsisting between the Moorish kings and the crown of Portugal, imposed insurmountable barriers to his zeal, and ambition. But, as he approached to manhood, and as flattery represented to him the facility with which his wishes might be gratified, he grew more bent on the prosecution of his design, and gave serious grounds of alarm to his subjects. Like Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, to whom, in many respects, he bore a striking resemblance, beauty appeared to have no charms for him, nor to possess any power of seduction over a mind, occupied only by one sentiment. He even expressed an indifference for perpetuating his race, and rejected various overtures of marriage. Yet, full of affection toward his people, he enacted the most beneficial regulations for their protection; observed rigidly the execution of justice; and even addressed letters, with his own hand, to the principal magistrates of the kingdom, demanding their advice on matters of every kind, in which the public happiness was interested<sup>20</sup>.

Combination  
of the great  
Asiatic  
princes  
against Por-  
tugal.

The commencement of Ataïde's administration was brilliant and successful; but, in the midst of this prosperity, a combination was forming, which threatened the existence of the Portuguese empire in Asia. Three of the greatest sovereigns of the peninsula of India, alarmed at the prospect of their own approaching ruin, joined to exterminate the common enemy of their religion, independence, and liberty. The plan was concealed for several years, with profound

<sup>20</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 49—52. Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 384, 385.

diffimu-

diffimulation, and only became known by the magnitude of the preparations, requisite to carry it into execution. Idal Cawn, king of Vifiapour, Nizam-ul-Muluc, sovereign of the Decan, and the Samorin of Calicut, were the three principal chiefs. The king of Acheen entered into the league, and undertook to attack Malacca; while Selim the Second, emperor of the Turks, who had succeeded to his father Solyman, engaged to send a powerful fleet from Suez, to join the confederates. So infallible did the success of the scheme appear, that the contracting parties not only regulated the future division of the Portuguese dominions, in equal portions; but, appropriated respectively to each, their share of the territories. When the plan was ripe for execution, Idal Cawn, at the head of a prodigious army, began his march, and laid siege to Goa, in which was Ataïde himself. Nizam-ul-Muluc, at the same time, sat down before Chaul. The conduct of the viceroy, under these circumstances, equally wise and magnanimous, eminently conduced to dissipate so formidable a combination. In opposition to the unanimous opinion of his council, who advised him to abandon all the inferior posts or acquisitions in various parts of India, and to concentrate the whole force of the nation round Goa; he resolved, not to cede, or relinquish any of the numerous dependencies of Portugal; but, to dispute every inch of ground with his enemies.

C H A P.  
IV.  
1568—1571.

Conduct of  
Ataïde.

The Samorin, after losing a considerable time in the equipment of his fleet, made a late and ineffectual effort, to destroy the squadron of Mascaregnas, in the river of Chaul. The Turkish gallies, to the number of twenty-five, arrived at Mocha, near the mouth of the Red Sea, on their passage to India; but the divisions which took place between the Turks and Arabians, were so violent, as to retard their further progress; and the battle of Lepanto, gained soon afterwards over the Ottomans, by Don John of Austria, obliged the sultan to recal his forces, and to relinquish his designs on India. Chaul, though only a small, and ill-fortified town, yet was defended with such valour,

Enemy de-  
feated.



CHAP.  
IV.

1568—1571.

that Nizam-ul-Muluc at length decamped from before it, and concluded a peace with the Portuguese. Idal Cawn himself, after persisting ten months in his attempt to reduce Goa, and having lost his most valuable elephants and choicest troops before Benasterin, without making any effectual progress, in despair withdrew his army, and retired into his own dominions. Malacca, so often attacked, was again preserved by Mello, who, with a very inferior force, defeated the king of Acheen; and this vast combination, which seemed ready to swallow up the power of Portugal in Asia, only tended to confirm their empire<sup>21</sup>.

1572.  
Recall of  
Ataïde.

Ataïde's government terminated with the conclusion of the war. A successor arriving from Lisbon, he embarked for Europe, and was received on his landing, by the young king, with uncommon demonstrations of affection and respect. But this favour was of short duration; and the important services which he had rendered to his country, by dispersing and vanquishing its enemies, could not protect him from disgrace. Sebastian, incensed at the freedom with which Ataïde opposed his projects of invading Morocco, banished him from his presence<sup>22</sup>. The triumph of the Portuguese over so many princes,

1573.  
Immense  
magnitude of  
the Portu-  
gueze domi-  
nions.

united for their destruction, secured, nevertheless, their future repose in India. No similar or equal effort to eject them, was ever afterwards made; and even Acbar, the great Mogul, who reigned, at that period, over a vast portion of the Peninsula, and who had recently added the whole kingdom of Cambay to his dominions, yet respected these formidable neighbours. Such was the extent and magnitude of their possessions in the east, that it was judged indispensable to adopt a new system for their government; and to divide them into three great independent departments. The first, with the title of viceroy, extended from the Straits of Babelmandel, round to Cape Comorin; including in its jurisdiction, Goa, Ormus, and the coast of Malabar,

<sup>21</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 601—666. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 199—224.

<sup>22</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 224.

together

together with the island of Ceylon. The second comprehended the whole eastern shore of Africa, from the river of Delagoa, on either side of the Tropic of Capricorn; Mozambique, Sofala, and the other settlements, to the mouth of the Red Sea. In the last, were included Malacca, the Molucca islands, and all the establishments between the bay of Bengal and China. It is not without admiration that we can reflect on such a tract of coast, in the most fertile and commercial parts of Asia and Africa, from the Cape of Good Hope to Japan, being reduced to the obedience of a country, which formed only a division of the Roman province of Spain. The British empire in India, towards the end of the eighteenth century, vast as it must be acknowledged, appears small, on a comparison with that of Portugal, under Sebastian<sup>83</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1573.

While, in every part of the world, the Portuguese power and dominions acquired strength, the fatal passion of their sovereign for expeditions of foreign conquest, prepared the ruin of his country. To such a pitch of infatuation did it lead him, that he projected to embark in person for India, as the only theatre worthy of his courage. Alcafova, his first minister, and who, to acquire an influence over his master, had encouraged and flattered him in all his weaknesses; terrified at this proposition, objected to the distance of the Indies, and substituted Morocco in their place. No endeavours, nor remonstrances of his council, could divert him from his resolution. The cardinal Henry, his uncle, the only surviving son of Emanuel, had lost his influence; and when the celebrated Mascaregnas, who had gained so high a reputation by his defence of Diu, inveighed against the abettors of the enterprize, Sebastian assembled his physicians, and demanded of them, whether personal courage might not diminish with age. They replied in the affirmative; and the king triumphed in their declaration. Under pretence of visiting the fortresses belonging to Portugal on the northern coast of Africa, he embarked from Lisbon, with a few followers; having previously sent over

1573, 1574.  
Imprudent  
projects of  
Sebastian.

<sup>83</sup> Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 671, and 672.



C H A P.  
IV.

1573, 1574.  
He embarks  
for Tangier.

Anthony, prior of Crato, son to the duke of Beja, with some hundred foldiers. He landed at Tangier; exposed his person, by needlessly attacking the Moors who collected to oppose him; and celebrated, by games and rejoicings, this slight success. On his return home, he was in imminent danger of perishing by a storm; and his subjects were already under the utmost alarm for his safety, when he entered the Tagus. The fortunate issue of the enterprize served to increase Sebastian's ardor; and he only waited for a favourable occasion to give full scope to his inclinations".

1574.  
State of Portugal at this  
period.

If we consider the political situation of Portugal at this period, we must admit that it has been rarely surpassed by any nation, in felicity and splendor. The celebrated historian, who has written the "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," beautifully and justly remarks, that "the time which elapsed between the death of Domitian and the accession of Commodus, was, incontestibly, that, in which the condition of the human race was most happy and prosperous; the vast extent of the Roman world being then governed by absolute power, under the guidance of virtue and wisdom". If, in like manner, we were called to point out, in modern history, the period, when any European nation has enjoyed the greatest portion of felicity; we should name the reigns of John the Second, Emanuel, and John the Third of Portugal. They comprised, from the year 1481 to 1557, a space of about seventy-six years; and consequently, not much inferior in duration to that which elapsed between the accession of Nerva, and the death of Marcus Aurelius. It has even this memorable difference in favour of the Portuguese; that they emerged from obscurity, into splendor, wealth, and consequence, by the exertion of the most heroic qualities; while the Romans, under Trajan and the Antonines, were sinking fast into barbarism.

Its felicity.

\* Abregé Chron. vol. ii. p. 419, 420. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 53-56.

\*\* Gibbon, vol. i. p. 126, 127.

Sebastian,

Sebastian, in 1574, was master of a great portion of Asia; and in Africa, he possessed both coasts of that immense continent; where he might be said to reign from the tropic of Cancer, round to the straits of Babelmandel, in the two hemispheres. Brazil, a country of unknown limits and productions, extending from the river Orellana to La Plata, began already to be colonized. The city of St. Salvador was founded under the reign of John the Third; and that of Rio Janeiro, soon afterwards<sup>86</sup>. Portugal was mistress of the exclusive commerce of India and the Moluccas, by which all Europe was supplied with spices; for the sale of which, marts were established at Lisbon, Leghorn, and Antwerp. Sebastian retained the keys of the Red Sea, and of the gulf of Persia, by means of Ormus, and of his powerful fleets, with which he had driven the Turks to take refuge in their ports: and he had recently triumphed, by his lieutenants, over the greatest sovereigns of Indostan, united for his destruction. From the mouths of the Euphrates and the Indus, to those of the Ganges, the Portuguese flag impressed terror, or extended protection. The nation had no external enemy to dread, except Spain, with whose sovereign Sebastian was intimately allied by blood and treaty: they were unmolested by the Moorish princes of Africa, who only demanded the continuance of peace, and who were not in a condition to act offensively against Portugal. From this eminence they were precipitated, within a few years, by the rashness and folly of Sebastian. Anarchy succeeded; and made way for a state of depression and servitude under the Spanish princes, which equalled their preceding grandeur and prosperity; affording to mankind a memorable example of the uncertainty of greatness, and of the calamities which one ill-advised man may entail upon a country.

Although the power of the crown over all the inferior ranks of subjects, was scarcely less despotic in Portugal, than in the neighbouring dominions of Spain; yet much stronger traces of the feudal system existed in the former, than in the latter kingdom. Philip the Second

CHAP.  
IV.

1574.  
Foreign dominions.

Commerce.

Political security.

Limited nature of the royal power.

<sup>86</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 38-43.

had,



CHAP.  
IV.

1574.

had, in a great measure, reduced the nobility of Castile, and even those of Arragon, to the condition of the other orders; but, Sebastian experienced from his barons, on various occasions, the most pertinacious opposition to his will. In 1577, only three years after the period under our review, when he meditated his unfortunate enterprize against Africa; the expences necessarily incurred by his vast naval and military preparations, compelled him to exact unusual contributions from the nation. The clergy, induced by the approbation of the papal see, and the pious nature of a crusade against Mahometans, reluctantly consented to be taxed at the sum of one hundred and fifty thousand crowns. But, neither so animating an example, nor the pressing solicitations of a young and popular monarch, could prevail upon the nobles to grant a supply towards the expedition. They even ventured, by the mouth of the Count de Tentugal, one of their own body, to remonstrate, in language approaching to menace, against any attempt to infringe their privileges. The principal burthen of the war fell on the people, who obeyed in silence, and were ultimately the victims of Sebastian's intemperate thirst of glory<sup>87</sup>.

## Revenues.

The revenues of the crown in 1574, were estimated at about three millions of ducats; a sum not very short of a million and a half of pounds sterling. Two-thirds of the amount were furnished by Portugal, the possessions on the coast of Guinea, the islands of the Atlantic, and the Brazil. The remaining million was derived from the Indies<sup>88</sup>. If we compare it with the enormous receipt of Philip the Second, we shall find that it did not exceed an eighth part of the Spanish revenues. But, on the other hand, it amounted to above three times the sum, annually received by Elizabeth, queen of England, from the aggregate of all the taxes and contributions levied on the English people<sup>89</sup>. The Portuguese sovereigns, in the sixteenth century, were, notwithstanding, by no means, wealthy. Their vast

<sup>87</sup> De Thou, vol. vii. p. 605.<sup>88</sup> De Thou, *ibid.* p. 604.<sup>89</sup> Hume's Hist. of England, vol. v. Appendix, p. 474.

naval armaments; the military force, constantly maintained in so many distant provinces; and the wars perpetually waged against the Asiatic princes; swallowed up the produce of the Indian commerce, and of all the acquisitions of Gama and Albuquerque<sup>90</sup>. But, if the treasury was not enriched by those conquests, the nation received prodigious advantages from a lucrative traffic, and from the exclusive possession of the articles imported from Ceylon and the Moluccas. In this important point of view, Portugal was contrasted with Spain, where the sovereign alone received the profits of the Peruvian and Mexican mines, while the people derived little benefit from the exploits of Cortez, and the depredations of Pizarro.

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We may form an accurate idea of the naval and military force of the Portuguese kings at this period, by a survey of the preparations made by Sebastian, in 1578, for his invasion of Morocco. The troops, independant of foreign auxiliaries and volunteers, do not seem to have exceeded ten thousand infantry; of which the greater part consisted of raw, undisciplined soldiers, destitute either of subordination, or experience<sup>91</sup>. A long series of peace and tranquillity, if it had not enervated the courage of the nation, had rendered them inexpert in the science of war; few of the adventurers, who embarked for India or Africa, returned to their native country. The fleet, which conveyed the military force to Arzyla, on the coast of Morocco, was composed of fifty upper-decked vessels, only five galleys, and near nine hundred boats of every description; these latter were principally used as transports, or victuallers<sup>92</sup>. It is evident, that the kingdom was not competent to any greater exertion, and that Sebastian had exhausted the revenues of the crown, and the resources of the State, in one ruinous effort.

Military, and  
naval forces.

Letters were held in the highest honour, and cultivated with ardour, under the reigns of Emanuel, and John the Third. Bucha-

State of literature.

<sup>90</sup> De Thou, vol. vii. p. 604.

<sup>91</sup> Ibid. p. 615.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid.



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Camoens.

Survey of the  
Portuguese  
in Asia.

nan was invited, and retained in Portugal, by the last of those monarchs, who restored, and eminently protected the university founded at Coimbra<sup>93</sup>. Damianus Goetz, by command of the same prince, composed his Latin and Portuguese history of Lusitania<sup>94</sup>. Oforio, bishop of Sylves, addressed his history of Emanuel, to John the Third; at whose pressing sollicitation, he exerted his talents in immortalizing the events of the sixteenth century, which had spread the Portuguese name to the remotest parts of the globe<sup>95</sup>. As if to shed a peculiar lustre on the period, Camoens was born and flourished under Sebastian, and his predecessor. The "Lusiade," an epic poem, consecrated to the great achievements of his countrymen in Asia, first appeared in 1569, dedicated to Sebastian himself. It has been esteemed not unworthy to rank with the most sublime productions of a similar kind, whether antient, or modern. But, to the disgrace of the age and nation, Camoens, notwithstanding the beauty and elevation of his genius, perished of want and diseases, in the city of Lisbon, only a short time before the final subjection of Portugal to the Spanish dominion<sup>96</sup>.

It is not, however, by a review of the Portuguese in Europe, that we must appreciate their merit. Asia was the theatre on which their vices and virtues were displayed in full energy, and where they produced the most important consequences. We contemplate with surprize, a little kingdom, almost unknown previous to the conclusion of the fifteenth century, suddenly bursting the limits which nature seemed to have imposed to its progress or aggrandizement, and attracting the universal attention of mankind. While uninterrupted tranquillity prevailed in Portugal, the energy of the people, aided and directed by the liberality of three succeeding princes, first discovered the passage to India, and afterwards conquered a great portion of that country itself.

<sup>93</sup> Biogr. Dict. vol. ii. Art. Buchanan.<sup>94</sup> Biogr. Dict. vol. vi. Art. Goetz.  
Oforio, Hist. de Port, vol. i. p. 3.<sup>95</sup> Oforio, vol. i. p. 1—3. Laſitau, vol. i.  
Preface, p. 9, 10.<sup>96</sup> Biogr. Dict. vol. iii. Art. Camoens.

The

The courage, which was exerted by Gama, and Albuquerque, was of no common description; and the voyages to parts of the earth, so distant, and so little known, were, in themselves, attended with every possible hazard and renunciation. It is not without commiseration, that we read of the multitude of ships, and men, who perished by shipwreck, famine, and tempests, during the first fifty years subsequent to the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. Of three vessels, which Vasco de Gama commanded, in 1497, only one returned to Lisbon; and the equipage of the squadron, which had originally amounted to one hundred and seventy persons, was diminished to fifty-five<sup>97</sup>. Cabral, who succeeded him, in 1500, was still more unfortunate. Before he reached the Cape Verd islands, he missed one vessel, of which no tidings were ever received. Four others perished in a moment, between the coast of Brasil and Africa, in consequence of a sudden storm. Not a single individual escaped; and among the number lost, was the celebrated Bartholomew Diaz, who, under John the Second's reign, first attained to the Cape which forms the southern extremity of Africa, though he did not double that promontory<sup>98</sup>. In the next year, 1501, Goncalvo Coello experienced a similar calamity. Four of his six ships perished miserably, with their crews, before he reached Brasil<sup>99</sup>. Vincent Soldre was lost, with all his treasures, in 1503, near the straits of Babelmandel. He disappeared, without any intelligence being ever obtained of his fate<sup>100</sup>. Such, likewise, was the lot of Francis Albuquerque, and Nicholas Coello, in the following year, upon their return home from Cochin<sup>101</sup>. Gama, in his third voyage, in 1524, when the passage

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Dangers of  
the naviga-  
tion to India.

<sup>97</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 117. Oforio, vol. i. p. 83.

<sup>98</sup> Oforio, vol. i. p. 105. Laftau, vol. i. p. 126.

<sup>99</sup> Laftau, vol. i. p. 137. Oforio, vol. i.

p. 128.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. p. 157. Oforio, vol. i. p. 153.

<sup>101</sup> Oforio, vol. i. p. 171.



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Impediments  
to the con-  
quest of In-  
dia.

dergo shipwreck, before he reached India<sup>102</sup>. Edward Meneses, who preceded Gama in the government of the Portuguese affairs in Asia, and his brother, Louis Meneses, were both lost, in returning to Europe<sup>103</sup>. It would be endless to recount the miseries and disasters which the first adventurers underwent, and the many species of calamity which they sustained, or to which they became victims.

Nor was the conquest of India a less hazardous and daring achievement, than its discovery and navigation. The Portuguese commanders did not find that country in the situation of Peru and Mexico, when invaded by the Spaniards. The Samorin, the kings of Ormus, Cambay, Vifiapour, and Malacca, were powerful, and highly civilized princes. They possessed fire-arms, artillery, and a degree of military discipline. They had large vessels, far superior in size and dimensions to those of Portugal. If their own subjects were not, in general, a martial people, they supplied the defect by employing mercenary auxiliaries, who fought with determined courage, and great skill. Turks, Patans, Arabs, and Abyssinians, composed a principal part of the armies of the Asiatic sovereigns. The Malays were a perfidious and desperate enemy, difficult to vanquish, and more difficult to retain in subjection. Venice furnished the Samorin with engineers, and persons versed in the practice of managing artillery. The Portuguese themselves had no sooner arrived in India, than they deserted from their standards, joined the first prince who offered protection or reward, and soon instructed them in the knowledge of war, as practised by their own countrymen. Albuquerque made some examples of these renegadoes, calculated to strike terror.

Severities ex-  
ercised by the  
viceroys.

All who were taken prisoners at the surrender of Benasterin, in 1513, were, after being exposed to the insults of the people, deprived of their noses, ears, their right hands, and the thumb of the left hand. In this deplorable condition, he sent them home prisoners to Por-

<sup>102</sup> Laitau, vol. ii. p. 46.

<sup>103</sup> Ibid. p. 52.

tugal.

tugal <sup>104</sup>. When he had taken possession of Ormus, in 1515, he discovered that seven Portugeze soldiers had passed over to the Arabs. He caused them to be pursued, brought back, and burnt alive in the same boat which had served them to effect their escape <sup>105</sup>. Yet, these, and other equally severe punishments, inflicted on them by subsequent viceroys, could not cure the evil.

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Greater intrepidity or resources were never, perhaps, exerted, in the history of any country, than were evinced by the generals and commanders who conquered India. Almeyda, Albuquerque, and Castro, obtained the most signal victories, under every disadvantage. The defence of Cochin by Edward Pacheco, may rank with the most illustrious exploits of the consular ages of Rome. The two sieges of Diu have immortalized the names of Sylveira and Mascaregnas: that of Goa covered Ataïde with equal glory. The Portugeze seemed to perform exploits above the powers of man; and in perusing the narrations transmitted of them by the contemporary writers, we may conceive ourselves among the paladines of romance. No effort was above their strength, or fortitude, or perseverance, when impelled by honour, and the service of their country. To cite examples, would be to transcribe the whole history of that period: they occur in every page. Mendoza, governor of Ormus, being anxious to transmit accounts to the court, of his situation, and of the posture of affairs in Asia, in 1528; Anthony Terniec voluntarily offered to undertake to carry dispatches across the unknown deserts, which divide Bassora from the coast of Palestine, and to reach Lisbon by the way of the Mediterranean. He traversed the great desert on a dromedary, accompanied only with one Arab as a guide, and steering by a compass. After encountering every species of danger, he executed his commission, embarked from Tripoli in Syria, and landing in Italy, got safe to Portugal. However familiar the present century is become with this passage, it was then regarded as almost impos-

Courage and  
resources of  
the Portu-  
gueze.

Examples of  
them.

Terniec's  
passage across  
the desert.

<sup>104</sup> Osorio, vol. ii. p. 87, 88.

<sup>105</sup> Laffite, vol. i. p. 515, 516.

fible;



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Voyage of  
Botello.

sible; and Terniee was long an object of wonder to his countrymen, who followed him in crouds, to hear the relation of his adventures<sup>106</sup>.

Bold as that undertaking may be considered, it was eclipsed by another of Diego Botello; who, after the cession of Diu to Acugna, in 1536, set sail from the harbour of the place, with a determination to carry to John the Third the first news of the acquisition, and to anticipate all other intelligence. It can scarcely be credited, that the galley in which he undertook to effect the voyage, was only twenty-two feet in length, twelve in breadth, and six in height. He had on board five Portugeze, and some slaves, who were ignorant of his intention; but, partly by force, and partly by promises, he prevailed on them to proceed. During the passage, in consequence of continually exerting his voice to enforce obedience, or to conduct the boat, he was seized with such a total extinction of speech, that, for fourteen days, he could only issue his directions in writing. A mutiny having taken place among his little crew, he steered the galley himself; passed the Cape of Good Hope; touched at the islands of the Azores, in the midst of the Atlantic; and at length entered the Tagus in safety, bringing the earliest information of the event, which spread universal joy over the whole kingdom. It may be justly doubted, whether in the present age, when navigation has attained to so high a point of perfection, and with all the assistance of science, any greater instance of nautical skill, intrepidity, and success, can be adduced. This fortunate temerity caused, however, no little alarm in the court, from the incontestible evidence which it bore to the possibility of traversing the immense ocean between Europe and India, in so small a vessel. To conceal as much as possible, the knowledge of the fact from all foreigners, Botello's galley was burnt by order of the king; and he himself, after performing so unparalleled a voyage, was long left to languish, unrewarded<sup>107</sup>.

Incredible  
success of it.Exploit of  
Carasco.

Lopez Carasco, in 1569, being in a ship, on board of which were only forty sailors, was surrounded by the fleet of the king of Acheen,

<sup>106</sup> La Clede, vol. i. p. 677, 678.<sup>107</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 218—220.

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off the harbour of that place, near the straits of Malacca. The enemy had above a hundred sail; and it was easy for Carasco to avoid them; but, he disdained flight, and prepared immediately for battle. During three days he sustained the attacks of the whole fleet, and beat off several of the galleys which attempted to board his vessel. After disabling or sinking near forty of the king of Acheen's ships, and killing a vast number of his troops, they retreated; and Carasco arrived safely at Malacca<sup>108</sup>. The Portuguese commanders never accepted any terms, however honourable, or advantageous: like the Spartans, at Thermopylæ, they either conquered, or died upon their post. During above seventy years after the arrival of Gama in the Indies, no instance occurs of a surrender by capitulation. The first example was that of George de Castro, in 1574. After gallantly defending the fortress of Challe near Callicut, for a considerable time, against the utmost efforts of the Samorin, he was prevailed on by the entreaties of his wife, and by the advice of his officers, to capitulate, before any breach had been effected. For this act of baseness, or timidity, he was afterwards beheaded on a scaffold in the city of Goa, at the age of fourscore years<sup>109</sup>.

Many of the viceroys, or governors, employed under Emanuel and John the Third, practised the most disinterested virtue, and were superior to every temptation of a sordid nature. At the decease of Henry de Meneses, in 1526, only a hundred ducats were found in his coffers; and his relations were under a necessity of borrowing the money requisite to defray the expences of his funeral. When frequently importuned by his friends, to pay some attention to his private concerns, he replied, "If I live, the king, my master, will give me bread: if I die, he will extend his pity to my children"<sup>110</sup>. Nugno d'Acugna, who occupied the high situation of governor general during ten years, and who might have amassed immense trea-

Sublime  
instances of  
virtue and  
disinterested-  
ness.

Meneses.

Acugna.

<sup>108</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 202, 203. Laftau, vol. ii. p. 655.

<sup>109</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 667, and p. 676.

<sup>110</sup> Ibid. p. 93—95. La Clede, vol. i. p. 670.



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tures, expired poor; and when dying, protested, that he had not in his possession any thing belonging to, or taken from another, except six or seven pieces of the gold coin of sultan Badur, which he had preserved on account of the delicacy of the die, in order to present them to the king his master<sup>111</sup>.

Galvan.

The virtue of Anthony Galvan, who was sent governor to the Molucca islands by Acugna, is still more uncommon, and may vie with that of Phocion, or of Cincinnatus. The delays which were purposely framed to prevent his departure from Cochin, being highly prejudicial to the interests of the crown of Portugal; and the want of pecuniary funds serving for a pretext to detain him, he employed his whole private fortune, which was very ample, in the equipment of vessels, to carry him to his destination. He even sold his plate and furniture, to supply the remaining deficiency. During the period that he governed the Moluccas, order, justice, and benevolence characterized all his actions. Yet, this exemplary and generous person, who merited so highly of his country and of his sovereign, found all ears and hearts closed against him, when he returned poor to Lisbon. To the disgrace of Portugal, Galvan was reduced to seek an asylum, in a public hospital of the capital; where, during fourteen years, he continued to attend on the sick, as the only means of subsistence, without ever receiving the slightest assistance from his ungrateful countrymen<sup>112</sup>.

Stephen de  
Gama.

When Stephen de Gama succeeded to the supreme government of India, he immediately caused an exact inventory to be made of all his effects; in order, by that means, to evince that he did not either wish, or intend to augment his fortune, at the expence of the State. Alfonso de Sousa having soon after superseded him, Gama, previous to his embarkation for Europe, ordered a new estimate of his property to be completed; by which it appeared, that he had expended a very considerable part of it for the king's service<sup>113</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> Laitau, vol. ii. p. 284—286.<sup>112</sup> Ibid. p. 222—234, and p. 286.<sup>113</sup> Ibid. p. 294, and p. 319.

John de Castro, viceroy of India, covered with glory, acquired by the greatest victories, declared on his death-bed, that, "having, on account of the public necessities, contributed, or advanced every thing belonging to himself, he was even destitute of common necessities; that he had not the means wherewith to purchase a pullet, which his physicians had ordered him; and that he must call on the State to supply him with food, during the short time that he might still remain alive."<sup>114</sup> It is difficult to parallel, and impossible to exceed these sublime instances of disinterestedness, among the most illustrious characters of antiquity.

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John de Castro.

But while we pay the just tribute of praise and admiration to such exemplary displays of virtue, it would degrade the truth of history, if we were to conceal, that they were contrasted with equal vices and crimes. The Portuguese seemed to consider India as belonging to themselves exclusively, from the instant of its discovery; though they were compelled to assume the language of entreaty, in order more effectually to become tyrants. Even to the king of Cochin, who, from their first arrival, adhered to them inflexibly, and incurred every hazard by his attachment, they behaved with ingratitude and injustice. Towards those princes, who ventured to oppose or impede their establishment, they acted with relentless violence, and obdurate cruelty. Too many proofs of this assertion, are furnished by their own writers. Many of them are shocking to humanity, and call for execration. Vasco de Gama, on his second voyage, in 1502, met with the "Moeris," near the coast of Malabar; a very large vessel, belonging to the sultan of Egypt, bound from Calicut to Mocha. He instantly attacked her, and plundered her cargo, which was exceedingly valuable. Having then selected, from among the crew and passengers, twenty children, whom he destined for a monastic life, in the convent of the Virgin, at Belem, near Lisbon; he proceeded to sink the ship itself, with near three hundred persons on board. Not being able to effect it so speedily as he desired, he had

Crimes and vices of the Portuguese.

Tyranny.

Cruelty.  
Acts of violence, committed by Vasco de Gama.

<sup>114</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 415—418. La Clede, vol. ii. p. 10, 11.



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Enormities of  
Goez.

the barbarity to set fire to the vessel, and to consume in the flames these innocent and unfortunate victims. On his approach to Calicut, finding that the Samorin would not enter into such terms of accommodation as he had proposed, he caused fifty fishermen, whom he had captured off the harbour, to be hanged. After the execution, performed in sight of their countrymen on the shore, he ordered the hands and feet to be cut off from the dead bodies; and having collected them on a raft, he took advantage of the tide, to set them afloat, and transport them to land. Osorio scarcely expresses any condemnation of this last act of atrocity, which he coldly attributes to the admiral's resentment of the Samorin's duplicity<sup>115</sup>. Even Albuquerque himself is not exempt from the imputation of great severity, towards the inhabitants of Ormus, and on other occasions. Goëz, who commanded a vessel in the fleet of Laurence Almeyda, in 1506, being on the coast of Malabar, and separated from the rest of the fleet, fell in with a ship, the captain of which produced a passport from Britto, governor of Cannanore. Confiding in its protection, he attempted no resistance; but Goez, stimulated by avarice and rapacity, affected to doubt its authenticity, or to regard it as extorted by compulsion. Under these pretences, he first plundered the vessel, and next proceeded to sew up the crew in the sails: he then threw them into the sea, and sunk the ship with his cannon. Though this action, committed with deliberate cruelty on defenceless men, sailing under the safeguard of Portugal, was equally detestable and impolitic; and though the inhabitants of Cannanore, driven to madness by the sight of the dead bodies which floated to the shore, immediately rose, and laid siege to the citadel; yet Almeyda, then viceroy, no otherwise punished Goez, than by depriving him of his commission, and withdrawing from him his future friendship<sup>116</sup>.

<sup>115</sup> Osorio, vol. i. p. 131, 132. and p. 133. Laftau, vol. i. p. 171, 172, and 173. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 93, and 94.

<sup>116</sup> Osorio, vol. i. p. 261, 262. Laftau, vol. i. p. 228, 229.

The Molucca islands, which, from the valuable nature of their productions, were objects of the highest attention to the crown of Portugal, exhibited a continual scene of oppression and enormities. Aerio, king of the island of Ternate, was twice sent to Goa, loaded with irons, by the governors; and twice conducted back to his dominions with honour, by order of the viceroy, John de Castro. In 1557, Edward de Sa was sent to command in Ternate. He seized on Aerio, his aunt, and brother, and having chained them to a cannon in the citadel, he forbade any sustenance to be given them. The indignation of the Portuguese, and of the natives, obliged him to relax from this savage order; and he then attempted to poison them, but ineffectually. After retaining Aerio eighteen months in prison, he was released, and reinstated in his dignity by the Portuguese themselves; who, by a just retribution, deposed de Sa, and threw him into the confinement, from which they had delivered the captive king<sup>117</sup>. Lopez Mesquita, who succeeded to the place of Edward de Sa, surpassed him in profligacy and barbarity. His nephew, Alfonso Pimentel, with his own hand, murdered Aerio, by stabbing him in three places, with a poniard. The crime was aggravated by the circumstance of the king's being unarmed, and having come to justify himself to the governor, for some pretended infractions of treaty. Aerio, expiring, exclaimed to his assassins, "Why do you thus kill the most faithful vassal of the king, my lord, and your master?" He had been, during thirty-five years, and notwithstanding a thousand injuries, constantly attached to Portugal. Mesquita even refused his body to the tears and supplications of his queen and daughters: he caused it to be cut in pieces, put into a chest, and thrown into the sea. It is only just to add, that John the Third was no sooner informed of these crimes, than he ordered Mesquita to be transferred in chains to Ternate, there to suffer the punishment of a public and ignominious death. The vessel, which carried him from

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Similar cruelties practised in the Molucca islands.

Assassination of Aerio.

<sup>117</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 34. Laftan, vol. ii. p. 452—456.



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Crimes of  
Mesquita.Poison, and  
murder.

Malacca, being attacked and taken near the island of Java, Mesquita perished, fighting desperately, though loaded with heavy irons<sup>118</sup>. His excesses, and those of the preceding governors of Ternate, so alienated the natives, that they, in the course of a few years, drove the Portugueze out of all the Molucca islands.

Another Mesquita, being in command of a Squadron, appointed to act against the Samorin of Calicut, in 1562, renewed the cruelties of Goëz, almost in the same place, in the vicinity of Cannanore. Having captured, at different times, twenty-four vessels of the enemy, he sunk them, and afterwards deliberately put to death, the crews. Some, he beheaded; others, he hanged; and many of them he caused to be sewn up in the sails of their own ships, and thrown to the waves. Far from inflicting any exemplary punishment on Mesquita, the Count de Redondo, then viceroy, in reply to the Samorin's complaints, answered coolly and insultingly, that "they were disobedient subjects, who had committed the acts in question, and that he might take, and punish them, if he could"<sup>119</sup>. The dagger, or poison, were frequently, and avowedly, administered by the governors, and officers, to such persons as they either dreaded, or could not otherwise vanquish. During the time of Manuel de Lima's government of Ormus, in 1548, an Abyssinian, by name Abdalla, revolted, intercepted the Portugueze commerce in the gulf of Persia, and spread terror over the whole adjoining country. Lima, having ineffectually attempted to reduce this rebel by force of arms, had recourse to a Gallician, who undertook to assassinate him in his camp, for a stipulated recompence. He performed the service, and received the reward promised; nor was any disapprobation expressed by Garcia de Sa, or Cabral, who then governed India, at the public commission of so base a crime<sup>120</sup>. Louis de Ataïde, when viceroy himself, did not scruple to cause Cutial, admiral of the Samorin's fleet, and who had been taken prisoner by the chance of war, in a naval en-

<sup>118</sup> La Clede, vol. ii. p. 197, and p. 205,  
206. Laftau, vol. ii. p. 457-462.

<sup>119</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 584, 585.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid. p. 420, 421.

gement,

gement, to be poisoned at Goa, in 1571. The bravery and high reputation of Cutial, were his only faults, and proved fatal to him<sup>121</sup>. It must be owned, that it was not thus the Romans, under the Emillii, and the Scipios, subjected their enemies.

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Goa presented continually the melancholy spectacle of Asiatic princes, conducted in chains to the feet of the viceroys, demanding redress for wrongs committed, which they rarely obtained. As early as the year 1515, the great Albuquerque, desirous to retain Torun Sha, king of Ormus, in continual dependency and apprehension, caused fifteen princes of the royal blood, who had been deprived of their eyes, to be transported to Goa, with their wives and families<sup>122</sup>. During some years, they were liberally maintained at the public expence, and treated with humanity. But, before 1540, the survivors were fallen into a condition so abject, that one of them constantly sat under a tree, demanding alms in these words: "Give charity to a poor prince, whose eyes have only been put out, in order to deprive him of his dominions<sup>123</sup>." Mahmud, king of Ormus, who had been conducted in irons to Goa, under the government of Nugno d'Acugna, pleaded his own cause, in 1544, before Alfonso de Soufa, and the supreme council of the Indies. He declared, that the Portugueze had proceeded to such extremities of violence against him, as to tear out the hair of his beard, to throw his turban on the ground, and even to tie him down, under the false pretence of his being insane. Soufa, equally convinced of his innocence and sanity of mind, caused him to be sent to his capital, with honour. But, in doing this apparent act of justice, he committed a no less cruel outrage on the unhappy prince. Previous to his embarkation and return, he compelled Mahmud to resign all his rights of independant sovereignty; and, by an authentic instrument, to make over his revenue to the crown of Portugal, in discharge of

Princes of  
Asia, sent as  
captives to  
Goa.

Treatment of  
the king of  
Ormuz.

<sup>121</sup> Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 654, 655.

<sup>122</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 514. Neuville, vol. ii. p. 463.

<sup>123</sup> Lafitau, vol. ii. p. 331, 332.



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debts pretended to be due by him to John the Third, his liege lord. As a compensation for the loss of his revenues, the debt was declared to be expunged, and a certain annual establishment was fixed for his future support<sup>134</sup>. The history of the English in Bengal, as well as in other parts of Indostan, within the last twenty years, may furnish too striking a similarity to the conduct of the Portugueze, in many particulars. After these renunciations, Mahmud was allowed to revisit Ormus; but, no sooner was he arrived, than his persecutors, who had insulted and sent him prisoner to Goa, administered poison to him, of which he died. No punishment was inflicted, nor even enquiry made, into the authors of so execrable a crime.

Other exam-  
ples of similar  
enormity.

A petty prince, in the neighbourhood of Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, whom the Portugueze distinguished by the name of "the Pepper King," from the great quantity of that spice which was produced in his territories, having incensed Francis de Sylva, governor of the citadel of Cochin, perished in a still more lamentable manner. He, and all his wives, were burnt in their own palace, by Sylva; not being able to effect their escape, before they were surrounded with the flames. This event happened under the government of Cabral, in 1549<sup>135</sup>. The women and children were generally massacred, whenever a place was entered by storm. Numberless instances might be cited of this kind. At the sack of Tatta, on the banks of the Indus, by Peter Barretto, in 1555, besides eight thousand persons, who were put to the sword, even the animals found in the city were involved in the undistinguishing carnage<sup>136</sup>. The rapacity of the viceroys and inferior officers, was not less flagrant, than their cruelty. The kings of Ormus, Cannanore, and Cochin, groaned beneath intolerable vexations and oppressions. Even the sanctity of religion afforded no protection; and the Hindoo Pagodas were plundered and violated by the Portugueze, wherever

Rapacity of  
the viceroys.

<sup>134</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 332—334.<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p. 426—428.<sup>136</sup> Laftau, vol. ii. p. 536, 537.

their

their situation exposed them to attack. The court of Lisbon, though at first, from a spirit of bigotry, it encouraged these enormities, attempted afterwards to restrain them; and expressed strong condemnation of the principle, which dictated such profanations. Alfonso de Norogna, during his viceroyalty, in 1552 and 1553, committed extortions upon the princes of Cotta, Columbo, and Celtavaca, in the island of Ceylon, so exorbitant and accumulated, that the complaints of those wretched sovereigns reached the ears of John the Third. Norogna was ordered to make restitution; but, no otherwise punished<sup>127</sup>.

C H A P.  
IV.

1574.

To the wanton abuse of power, and the cravings of avarice, was unhappily joined a third passion, frequently more violent, sanguinary, and destructive, than the two former; religious zeal. It operated with unrestrained influence, from the highest to the lowest orders; and with greater force, because it was regarded by them as a virtue. India was no sooner conquered, than every part of the country was inundated with monks of St. Francis and St. Dominic. The Jesuits, under Francis Xavier, followed, in 1542. That intrepid zealot came out to Goa, in the fleet of Alfonso de Sousa, with the dignity of Apostolic Nuntio<sup>128</sup>. After rapidly visiting almost all the countries of Asia, from Guzurat to the Philippine islands, in order to propagate the catholic faith; he expired, as he was on the point of landing in the empire of China.

Religious  
zeal.Rage for  
making pro-  
selytes.

Catherine, queen regent of Portugal under the minority of Sebastian, obtained a bull from Paul the Fourth, occupying the chair of St. Peter in 1559, by which Goa was erected into an archbishoprick; to which see, Cochin and Malacca were declared suffragans<sup>129</sup>. Bishops were even sent into Abyssinia, by the desire of John the Third; and missionaries penetrated into the interior provinces of that barbarous and unknown country, where they excited

<sup>127</sup> Laſtau, vol. ii. p. 492—505, and p. 335—337, and p. 425, 426.

<sup>128</sup> Laſtau, vol. ii. p. 320—324.

<sup>129</sup> Ibid. p. 563.

troubles,



C H A P.  
IV.

1574.  
Establishment  
of the inqui-  
sition.

Number of  
converts.

troubles, and were either massacred, or died miserably<sup>130</sup>. The in-  
quisition was not formally established at Goa, before 1548; but, its  
spirit and genius preceded its regular introduction. Under Alfonso  
de Sousa, in 1544, a Jew physician, who refused to be converted to  
the Christian faith, was publicly burnt in that city, by a slow fire<sup>131</sup>.  
The obstinacy of one unhappy man was, however, amply compen-  
sated, by the multitudes of Persians, Hindoos, and Malays, who em-  
braced christianity. Ormus swarmed with profelytes<sup>132</sup>. The  
prince of Tannor, on the Malabar coast, came to Goa, in 1549;  
and was solemnly baptized, with the utmost pomp and public de-  
monstrations of festivity<sup>133</sup>. The king of Candy, in the island of  
Ceylon, had previously declared his desire to be received into the  
bosom of the church, and had sent an embassy for the purpose, to  
John de Castro, then viceroy. But, his sincerity was exceedingly  
questioned; because he demanded the assistance of a military force,  
as the price of his conversion. His subsequent conduct proved, that  
he only made it a pretence, to conceal his hostile purposes; for no  
sooner was the body of troops, which he obtained, arrived near his  
capital, than he attacked, and endeavoured to cut them in pieces<sup>134</sup>.  
If the Portuguese had contented themselves with receiving voluntary  
profelytes, or with attempting to inculcate on the natives the truths of  
christianity, they would have been entitled to the highest applause;  
but, their zeal knew no limits, and respected no obligations. The  
Hindoos were compelled to renounce their religion, by menaces of  
death; and captives, taken in war, were immediately converted by  
the sword. It can scarcely, therefore, be matter of surprize, that,  
aided by those weapons, nothing could resist the progress of the  
catholic religion.

General re-  
flexions.

Such are some of the reflexions which occur, upon reading the  
history of this period; and such appear to have been the Portuguese

<sup>130</sup> Lahtau, vol. ii. p. 564—571.

<sup>131</sup> Ibid. p. 342.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid. p. 435, 436.

<sup>133</sup> Lahtau, vol. ii. p. 436—439.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid. p. 440—443.

of the sixteenth century. The discovery, and conquest of so many rich and commercial provinces of Asia, opened a new theatre for the display and exercise of the most heroic virtues, and of the most destructive vices. The former do not excite admiration more forcibly, than the latter inspire detestation and disgust: the impartiality of truth demands, that both should be held up in their proper and genuine colours. It is, however, in itself, a portion of time, strongly discriminated from that, which either preceded, or followed it; and must ever be regarded as pregnant with events highly deserving commemoration, and as containing matter peculiarly curious and instructive to posterity.

Italy, about the middle of the fifteenth century, presented the many of its great divisions, nearly the same aspect, which it now wears. Savoy was subject to its dukes; who were then as they still continue to be, the guardians of the Alps, from their being in possession of the principal passes in that range of mountains; and consequently, they could either greatly impede or facilitate, the entry of any foreign enemy; peculiarly of the French.

Venice, and Genoa, occupied almost the same portion of Lombardy, which they still hold; and the same tract of sea coast, along the Adriatic and Ionian seas. Milan was then united to Spain, by the extinction of the family of Sforza; and it now is to the house of Austria. Parma belonged to the house of France, and Modena to a branch of that of Este. Advancing south, beyond the Apennines, Florence, after many fluctuations and changes of government, had submitted to Cosmo de Medici; who some years afterwards, received from the sovereign pontiff, Pius the Fifth, the title of duke, by the present possession, of Great Duke of Tuscany.

The partition of the church, though somewhat inferior in importance to its actual foundation, obeyed the bishop of Rome. The most material difference in the political map of Italy, as it then existed, compared with that which it now exhibits; was, that the two kingdoms



## CHAP. V.

## I T A L Y.

*General state of Italy, in the middle of the sixteenth century.—Review of the history of Savoy, from the accession to the death of Charles the Third.—Reign of Emanuel Philibert to the year 1574.—State of Savoy at that period.—Military force.—Marine.*

CHAP.  
V.

General aspect of Italy, in the sixteenth century.

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of

of Naples and Sicily, which in this century have been revived and re-united in a collateral branch of the house of Bourbon, were then comprehended among the numerous provinces of the Spanish monarchy, and administered by viceroys, sent from Madrid. Mantua, in that age, was governed by the family of Gonzaga; as Ferrara was, by that of Este. Those duchies have since been swallowed up; the former, within the last eighty years, in the house of Austria; the latter, before the close of the sixteenth century, in the papal dominions. The inferior princes and republics of Italy, were too feeble and insignificant, to merit attention or enumeration. Sardinia was included in the dependencies of Spain. Corsica obeyed the Genoese. We shall review these different states, and begin with Savoy.

## S A V O Y.

It is only with the accession of Charles the Third, that the history of that duchy becomes entitled to attention, or implicated in the wars, negotiations, and general policy of Europe. By the death of his elder brother, Philibert the Second, without issue, Charles succeeded to his dominions, at the age of eighteen years. His territories, though not extensive, were yet considerable from their position; and that importance was augmented by the circumstance of Louis the Twelfth, then king of France, being engaged, throughout his whole reign, in continual attempts to conquer, or to retain the duchy of Milan; the only access to which, lay through Savoy and Piedmont. Besides this circumstance, peculiar to the time, several provinces, not at present subjected to the dukes of Savoy, were then included in their patrimonial inheritance. Bresse, and Bugey, now a part of France; the cities of Geneva and Lausanne, as well as all that beautiful tract of country, extending along the northern bank of the lake of Geneva, denominated the "Pays de Vaud," formed a part of his dominions. During the first ten years of his reign, Charles not only

1504—1515.  
State of Sa-  
voy at the  
accession of  
Charles the  
Third.

Extent of ter-  
ritory.



CHAP.  
V.

1504—1515.

secured the tranquillity of his subjects, but, obtained a degree of respect and consideration from foreign powers. He joined in the celebrated league of Cambray, against Venice; aided Louis the Twelfth, on his various expeditions into the Milanese, and enjoyed an eminent place in the friendship of that monarch.

1516—1519.

The accession of Francis the First to the crown of France, appeared to cement the union of Charles with a prince, who stood in so near a degree of consanguinity with him; Louisa of Savoy, his sister, being mother to the new king. But, it was from this quarter, that he was destined to receive the greatest injuries, and to experience the most humiliating mortifications. Though he had assisted Francis, and furnished him with men, provisions, and artillery, before the battle of Marignan, and had consequently been highly instrumental towards obtaining the victory gained over the Swiss by the French at that place; yet, these obligations were soon obliterated. On very slight and vague pretences, the king declared war on him; and was only restrained by the spirited remonstrances of the Swiss cantons, which were accompanied with menaces, from entering, and invading Savoy.

1520—1533.  
War between  
Francis the  
First, and  
Charles the  
Fifth.

The death of the emperor Maximilian the First, and the elevation of his grandson, Charles of Austria, king of Spain, to the imperial throne; two events, which took place in the following year, opened a new scene in Europe, and placed the duke of Savoy in a situation of infinite peril and delicacy. Hostilities soon commenced between Francis and the young emperor; and although the theatre of the war was, at first, principally in the Netherlands, yet, it was speedily transferred to Italy. All the pretensions of Louis the Twelfth, to the duchy of Milan, had devolved to his successor, who prepared to enforce them in person. Dissatisfied with the conduct of his generals, the king of France invaded the Milanese, at the head of a powerful army; and Charles

\* Guichenon, Histoire de la Maison de Savoye, folio, vol. i. p. 620—625.

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 625—629.

yielded

yielded him a free passage through his dominions, while he, at the same time, affected, and endeavoured to observe a rigid neutrality. Francis was vanquished at Pavia, and carried a prisoner to Madrid. In this state of depression, the duke of Savoy exerted his utmost efforts, combined with those of Louisa, his sister, queen regent of France, to procure the king's release; and he took the same moderate and active part in the negotiations, which preceded and produced the treaty of Cambray, not many years afterwards. Services, so reiterated, and so disinterested, seemed to preclude the apprehension of any attack from a sovereign, connected with him by blood and friendship. But, many subjects of discontent were gradually generating between the two princes, which terminated in separation and hostility. Charles had entered into ties of marriage and of policy, with the emperor. He had espoused Beatrix, daughter of Emanuel, king of Portugal, and sister to the empress, Isabella, wife of Charles the Fifth. He had sent his eldest son, Louis, prince of Piedmont, into Spain, there to be educated. He had received from his imperial majesty, the donation of the county of Asti; renewed a general treaty of friendship with him; and had refused to give up the castle of Nice to pope Clement the Seventh, for the purpose of an interview between that pontiff and the king of France. Such multiplied causes of alienation sunk deep into the mind of Francis, who only waited for a proper occasion, to make the duke feel the utmost weight of his resentment.

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1520—1533.

Causes of the  
rupture be-  
tween France  
and Savoy.

While the storm impended from that quarter, a misfortune, to which Charles was scarcely less sensible, befel him in another part of his dominions. The city of Geneva, over which the precise extent of his power and rights of sovereignty had always been involved in some obscurity and doubt; after contracting an alliance of confraternity with the two cantons of Bern and Friburg, expelled its bishop. The doctrines of Luther, which were diffused over all Ger-

1534  
Revolt and  
independence  
of Geneva.

<sup>2</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 630—636.

many,



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V.

1534.

many, had been eagerly and generally imbibed in Geneva, where they had made a rapid progress. Charles, irritated at the conduct of the inhabitants, sent an army to invest the city; but, the protection, afforded them by their new allies, and the support, openly given them by Francis, compelled him to desist from the siege. He might still have retained his civil supremacy, if he would have consented to sacrifice the episcopal jurisdiction, and to allow the exercise of the reformed religion. But, on these points he was inflexible; and the city, sustained by its own strength, and by the forces of the two cantons, shook off all allegiance to the duke of Savoy. Such was the origin of this celebrated republic; which, surrounded by numerous and powerful states, destitute of territory, and continually menaced by its original sovereigns, has, yet, for more than two centuries and a half, maintained its independence; and still exists, a striking monument of the advantages which result from religious toleration, and civil liberty\*.

1535—1538.  
Conquest of  
Savoy by the  
French.

The revolt of Geneva was speedily followed by decided hostilities, on the part of Francis. His troops entered, and subjected, almost without opposition, the two provinces of Bresse and Bugey. Savoy made hardly a greater resistance: Chambery surrendered, and Montmelian capitulated on the first summons; while the duke made loud, but ineffectual reclamations, to the emperor, for assistance. Profiting of Charles's distress and incapacity to resist, the canton of Bern improved the occasion to invade his dominions. Their forces over-ran the "Pays de Vaud," the Genevois, and the duchy of Chablais, with the same facility, that the French had done in another quarter. Even the inhabitants of the "Valais," lying between Switzerland and Savoy, took up arms, and seized on a portion of Charles's territories, contiguous to their own; and this example was followed by the canton of Friburg,

Subsequent  
losses.

\* Guichenon, vol. i. p. 636—639. L'Art de vérifier les Dates, tome iii. folio, p. 611, 612.

The principality of Piedmont still remained to the duke; but, CHAP.  
 Chabot, at the head of the French army having crossed the Alps, V.  
 before the pass of Suza had been secured, Charles abandoned Turin, 1535-1538.  
 and retired to Verceil, carrying with him the duchess, and his son. Besides his capital, almost all the principal places and fortresses had been subdued by the generals of Francis: Pignerol, Chieri, and Cagnan, fell successively into their hands. Only a small portion of Piedmont, the mountainous province of Aoste, seated in the center of the Alps, and the city of Nice upon the Mediterranean, remained unsubjected, and constant in their allegiance. In this deplorable situation, his public misfortunes were aggravated by a private calamity; the loss of Beatrix, duchess of Savoy, who died at Nice, after having sustained with uncommon fortitude, the numerous evils by which she was surrounded. Her death had been preceded by that of Louis, prince of Piedmont, which happened in Spain<sup>3</sup>.

The short truce which had been agreed on between the emperor and the king of France, being only preparatory to an interview, in which a peace might be finally settled, Nice was fixed for the place of their conference. The reigning pope, Paul the Third, undertook to mediate between the two sovereigns; and he demanded of Charles, that the castle of Nice should be delivered over into his possession, as a deposit, during forty days. But, the duke, rendered cautious by adversity, and equally distrusting his allies and his enemies, refused to confide his only remaining fortress to any hands, and pertinaciously adhered to his resolution. Upon the prolongation of the truce, which took place shortly afterwards, he was, however, reduced to receive Spanish garrisons into the towns of Verceil, Asti, and Fossano, places which had not been hitherto reduced by the French; and this involuntary compliance left him nearly destitute of either territory or revenue. Francis had the

1538-1548.  
 Depressed  
 state of  
 Charles the  
 Third.

<sup>3</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 640-646, and p. 657, 658.

cruelty



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V.

1538—1541.

1542—1544.  
Siege of  
Nice, by Bar-  
barossa.

French and  
Turks re-  
pulsed.

Treaty of  
Crepy.

cruelty to propose to him, in the subsequent year, to cede the county and city of Nice, in exchange for a pecuniary compensation; but Charles rejected the proposition with disdain, and sent the king word, that "he was determined to die count of Nice".

On the renewal of war between the emperor, and the king of France, Piedmont became again the scene of hostilities; while its unfortunate sovereign was a passive spectator of the calamities, entailed upon his people. The celebrated Barbarossa, admiral of the fleet of Solyman the Second, emperor of the Turks, having joined the French gallies, commanded by the count d'Enghien, at Marseilles, they arrived before Nice, with two hundred ships. The city sustained all the attacks of the enemy, during twelve days; at the end of which time, the governor, Montfort, capitulated, and retired into the castle, determined there to resist to the last extremity. The combined forces of Solyman and Francis persisted in the siege, and made every effort to become masters of the fortress. But, after sustaining considerable losses, they were obliged to abandon the enterprise, and to retire with precipitation and dishonour. This only instance of Charles's good fortune, was, nevertheless, productive of no further advantage; and the battle of Cerisoles, gained by the count d'Enghien, soon afterwards, over the imperial forces, completed the disasters of his reign. The remaining places of strength, which he still continued to occupy in Piedmont, immediately opened their gates, and received French garrisons. At the treaty of Crepy in Valois, concluded in the autumn of the same year, between the emperor and France, only a few inconsiderable towns were restored to him: the far greater part of his dominions was held by the two rival powers, in sequestration; and the duke saw himself equally despoiled by those with whom he was allied, and by those against whom he had fought.

\* L'Art de verif. vol. iii. p. 625. Guichenon, vol. i. p. 647—649.

† Guichenon, vol. i. p. 649—654.

The decease of Francis the First produced no change in the measures or policy of the French court. Henry the Second, who succeeded to the throne, adhered to his father's system; and far from relinquishing his acquisitions beyond the Alps, he, soon after his accession, visited Piedmont in person, and made a public entry into Turin, as into a part of his hereditary possessions. Hostilities having taken place between Henry and the emperor, Brissac, who commanded the French forces in that country, instantly recommenced his attacks upon the towns occupied by the Spaniards; several of which he captured almost without opposition. The duke was unable to check his progress; and the generals of the emperor, unprepared, either retreated before the enemy, or made a feeble and ineffectual resistance. Such was the state of depression in which Charles's affairs were involved, when he breathed his last, at Vercell, at the age of sixty-six years. His rights, rather than his dominions, descended to his only remaining son, Emanuel Philibert, who was then serving in the armies of Charles the Fifth, on the frontiers of Picardy.

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1545—1553.  
Renewal of  
hostilities.

Death of  
Charles the  
Third.

Charles the Third, duke of Savoy, one of the most unfortunate princes of his time, possessed many of the virtues, which, in a period of tranquillity, would have secured his own felicity, and that of his subjects. Beneficent, liberal, just, clement, and anxious for the protection of his people, he had the calamity to be born in an age, when these qualities could not be exercised, or be productive of benefit. Situated between two great and rival monarchs, he was alternately sacrificed by both, as their policy or interests dictated. He possessed talents more adapted to a private, than a public station. Capable of forming his plans with judgment, he was irresolute, indecisive, timid, slow, and embarrassed. From these defects in his character and measures, resulted the facility, with which, not only the French, but, his less powerful neighbours, invaded and subjected his dominions. He negotiated, or remonstrated, when arms alone could

His character.

<sup>a</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 654, 655.



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1545-1553.

1553.  
Accession of  
Emanuel  
Philibert.

Few sovereigns have ever acceded, under more adverse circumstances, than Emanuel Philibert, whose sword seemed to be almost his sole inheritance: but, the endowments of his mind counterbalanced the severity of his fortune, and enabled him to retrieve the losses and disasters, which had resulted from his father's want of energy and decision. He had early evinced a martial propensity, and had been initiated in the rudiments of war, under the most celebrated captains of the sixteenth century. Charles the Fifth, impressed with the great military capacity of Emanuel Philibert, conferred on him the supreme command of his forces; and the prince was occupied in opposing Henry the Second, when he received the intelligence of his father's death<sup>o</sup>. That event was succeeded by new misfortunes in his hereditary dominions. The French continued to advance, and became masters of almost all the remainder of Piedmont; while the Turkish fleet, appearing on the coast, menaced Nice with a second attack.

1554:

1554-1557.  
State of Piedmont.

Battle of St. Quintin.

From this period, till the peace concluded at Cateau in Cambresis, the history of Savoy cannot, with strictness, be said to have any existence; the duchy being, in a great measure, lost, and incorporated with the French monarchy. The fortune of the war, which had been so favourable to France beyond the Alps, was even long doubtful on the side of Flanders. But, the ability of Emanuel Philibert, and the imprudence or misconduct of the constable Montmorency, who was opposed to him, brought the affairs of their respective sovereigns to a decisive issue, at St. Quintin. The victory remained with the Spaniards, and was one of the most memorable, recorded in history. Montmorency fell into their hands; and if the

<sup>o</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 656.

<sup>oo</sup> Ibid. p. 660-667.

timid, or jealous policy of Philip the Second, had allowed him to profit of the consternation spread among the enemy, it is highly probable, that he might have derived advantages still greater from it, than those which the battle of Pavia had formerly enabled Charles the Fifth to exact from France ". A second victory, which was obtained over the French, in the following year at Gravelines, by the count Egmont, accelerated the conclusion of peace between the two crowns. One of the most material articles, and which furnished matter for long discussion and delay, was that relative to the restitution of Savoy and Piedmont, to the duke. Humbled as France had been by repeated defeats, the kingdom was yet fertile in resources to continue the war ; and it was found impracticable to obtain more than a partial restoration of the territories, conquered by Francis and Henry, from Charles the Third. By the treaty of Cateau in Cambresis, the two kings still retained many important places and garrisons, situated in the center of Emanuel Philibert's dominions. The partition was, however, unequal ; France continuing to keep Pignerol, Quiers, Chivas, and even Turin itself ; while Spain only held Verceil and Asti. The marriage of Margaret, sister to Henry the Second, with the duke of Savoy, formed the bond of this pacification ; and the nuptials were shortly after solemnized at Paris, without ceremony, and in the utmost privacy, while Henry, mortally wounded in a tournament by the count of Montgomery, lay expiring. So unexpected and critical a catastrophe might have delayed, if not altogether subverted the treaty recently concluded. But, the French ministers did not chuse to commence the new reign, by a violation of public faith ; and the young king, Francis the Second, issued orders, immediately after his accession, to execute rigorously the articles of the late peace. Savoy, with its capital, Chambery, and the fortress of Montmelian, were, in consequence, delivered up to commissioners ; and

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1554—1557.

1558, 1559.  
Peace between France and Spain.Death of  
Henry the  
Second.Restitution of  
Savoy, by  
France.

" L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 625.



C H A P. V. the provinces of Bresse and Bugey were surrendered in the same manner. Brissac attempted to resist the restitution and evacuation of the places in Piedmont; but, upon the second mandate from his court, he obeyed, and complied with the stipulations of the treaty<sup>12</sup>.

1559.  
1560—1563. The duke of Savoy, meanwhile, having resigned the government of the Netherlands, prepared to return to his own country, from which he had been so long an exile. His arrival at Nice was celebrated with demonstrations of general joy. The inhabitants, accustomed to a foreign tyranny, harassed by hostile armies, and deprived of the presence or protection of their native sovereign, regarded his restoration as a new æra, from whence order and tranquillity were to arise. It is, in fact, from this period, that the reign of Emanuel Philibert may be properly said to commence: previous to the restitution of his dominions, he was only a soldier of fortune. His administration justified the expectations of his subjects, and evinced, that his talents for government and legislation, were not inferior to his military capacity. The re-establishment of public justice, formed the first object of his solicitude: the protection of letters and arts, the foundation of seminaries for learning, and the most enlarged principles of policy, diffused felicity over a country, which had been for many years unaccustomed to the blessings of peace and security. All Italy seemed to participate in the happiness, caused by his return, and by the voluntary expulsion of the French from Savoy. It was not, however, by any means, complete, while Turin, and so considerable a tract of Piedmont, remained still in their possession. The duke long exerted, ineffectually, every argument, to induce the court of France to relinquish the places, occupied by their troops. Marshal Bourdillon opposed the same remonstrances to such a cession, as Brissac had formerly made: but, the juncture was more favourable.

Administra-  
tion of Ema-  
nuel Philib-  
ert.

<sup>12</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 675—678. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 625, 626.

Francis the Second had been succeeded by his brother, Charles the Ninth, a minor, under the regency of Catherine of Medicis, his mother; and Emanuel Philibert's duchess had recently given him a son, which still more closely connected him with that crown and family. In these circumstances, the French court issued orders to restore Turin, and the other places in their possession; accepting in compensation for them, Pignerol, Peroufa, and Savillan. Philip the Second followed the example, by relinquishing his portion of Piedmont; and Emanuel Philibert soon afterwards made his public entry into the capital of that province".

CHAP.  
V.

1560—1563.

Restitution of  
Turin.

The success which had attended his negotiations with Charles the Ninth, in some measure marked his exertions to recover the territories, unjustly dismembered by the Swiss, during the reign of his father. The canton of Bern, after long delays, consented to restore all the country of the Chablais, lying to the south of the lake of Geneva; but, they pertinaciously declared their resolution, rather to have recourse to arms, than ever to cede the "Pays de Vaux," or the city of Lausanne. The duke was, therefore, obliged to content himself with this partial restitution. Anxious to regain Geneva, he sent persons to inspect the fortifications of the place, and entertained views of surprising it, when unprepared for defence; but, the apprehension of being involved in a war with the Helvetic confederacy, overawed, and compelled him to desist from his intentions. Elevated as was the mind of Emanuel Philibert, and beneficent as was his general administration, he yet partook of the intolerant and persecuting spirit, by which the age in which he lived, was characterised. His detestation of heresy, and the admonitions of the Holy See, induced him to attempt the extirpation of the reformed religion; which, sheltered in the vallies among the highest Alps, had there made a considerable progress. His forces, not without difficulty and resist-

1564—1566.

and of the  
duchy of  
Chablais.

Persecution  
of the re-  
formed reli-  
gion.

" Guichenon, vol. i. p. 678—684.

ance,



C H A P.  
V.

1564—1566.

Wise and  
vigorous po-  
lity of Ema-  
nuel Philib-  
ert.

ance, triumphed over the mountaineers of Angrogno, and reduced them to submit to the terms which he dictated, by which liberty of conscience was granted them, under certain conditions. With this only exception, which is to be principally attributed to the genius of a century, when theological controversy and hatred had pervaded every class of society, the tenor of his public conduct, and the maxims of his government, were dictated by equal wisdom and humanity. The aggrandizement of his dominions, the introduction of science, and the security of his people, formed the perpetual objects of his care, at the same time that he systematically rejected every allurements of ambition, and deprecated the renewal of war, although eminently endowed with qualities to carry it on with success. While, on one hand, he refused to listen to the proposals of Solymán the Second, the Turkish emperor, who offered him the possession of the island of Cyprus, which had been unjustly usurped by the Venetians, from his ancestors; on the other, he adopted the wisest precautions to protect his subjects, and to preserve them from foreign invasion. Conscious that the calamities of his father's reign had originated in that prince's want of timely application to put himself in a posture of defence, he not only began the construction of a citadel at Turin: but he levied a body of infantry and cavalry, throughout Savoy and Piedmont; which, being always completely disciplined and appointed, might be ready to repel an enemy, on the first alarm".

1566—1574.

He declines  
the command  
of the christian  
fleet  
against Se-  
lim the Se-  
cond.

Ever attentive to the prosperity, and just augmentation of his territories, the duke, without having recourse to arms, compelled the inhabitants of the "Valais" to restore to him the part of the province of Chablais which they had seized, and retained. But, apprehensive of the consequences, that might result from the commotions by which France was agitated, he wisely refused to absent himself from his own dominions, at a time when his presence might pre-

<sup>14</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 685—687.

vent the introduction of similar calamities into Savoy. Philip the Second, and the Venetians, having, in alliance with the Holy See, equipped a great naval armament to combat the Turks, Pius the Fifth, the reigning pope, proposed to offer the supreme command of the fleet, to Emanuel Philibert, as to the ablest general in Europe. He declined, however, so distinguished a station, from a regard to the protection of his subjects; but, desirous of attesting his adherence to the cause, he sent his galleys to serve under Don John of Austria, at the battle of Lepanto. The arts of peace, and the introduction of the benefits which only result from order and public security, engrossed his principal attention. His ill health having obliged him to interrupt these occupations, he repaired to the baths of Savona; at which place he received the intelligence of the accession of Henry the Third to the French crown, by a messenger whom the king dispatched to him, previous to his escape from Cracow".

CHAP.  
V.

1566—1574.

There is scarcely any example of a state, so speedily and completely retrieved from ruin, in the course of a few years, as that which Savoy presents, under Emanuel Philibert. At his father's decease, except Nice, he could hardly be said to possess any patrimony, or territory. Two great monarchs, on opposite pretences, of amity, and of enmity, occupied his capital, fortresses, and provinces. The Swiss cantons had joined to despoil him; and little probable prospect presented itself of ever compelling, or persuading such powerful States, to evacuate their conquests, and withdraw their garrisons. But, fortune combining with the qualities of Emanuel Philibert, and aided by the victory of St. Quintin, produced that extraordinary event. He had the glory of emancipating his subjects, and of restoring Savoy to its just rank and preponderance in the scale of the Italian powers. In 1574, although France still retained some places of consequence, and the "Pays de Vaux" was lost, Emanuel Philibert was in a situation,

Felicity of  
Savoy, at  
this period.

" Guichenon, vol. i. p. 687—691.



CHAP.  
V.

1574.

to render his alliance equally important to Philip the Second, and to Henry the Third. His vicinity to the Milanese, which was a province of Spain, and the ease with which he could defend or invade it, made him dreaded by the former prince. The French could neither penetrate into Italy, nor deem the southern provinces of Dauphiné and Provence secure, unless by his permission and consent. His people enjoyed the advantages of peace, without being unprepared for war; and a wise administration had not only obliterated the past calamities, but diffused general felicity over the country.

Revenues.

It is difficult to ascertain, or even to form any accurate idea of the sum to which the revenues of Savoy annually amounted, at this period; but, they were, probably, very inferior to those of Tuscany. The mountainous regions of the Alps, covered with perpetual snows, and inhabited by a race of shepherds, or laborious peasants, could ill furnish ample pecuniary supplies. The fertile principality of Piedmont, was of a small and limited extent. Nice, the only port, possessed by Savoy on the Mediterranean, was rather a naval arsenal, than a place of trade. We may judge how contracted were Emanuel Philibert's revenues, by his not disdaining to receive a pension from the kings of France and Spain, at the same time, and to retain it during his whole life. It was given him, under the form of a company of men at arms, consisting of a hundred soldiers each, clothed, appointed, and paid by the respective sovereigns. He was the only instance of an independent prince, in the service of two great, and frequently hostile powers<sup>16</sup>.

Military  
force.

That the military forces of Savoy were not very inconsiderable, appears from the aid sent by the duke to Charles the Ninth, in 1567, which did not fall short of three thousand infantry, and near seventeen hundred cavalry<sup>17</sup>. In 1574, in order to obtain from Henry the Third, restitution of Pignerol and its dependencies, he offered that monarch a body of three or four thousand auxiliary troops, to serve

<sup>16</sup> Brantome, vol. ii. Capit. Etrang. p. 158.

<sup>17</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 638.

against

against the Hugonots: but these soldiers, newly levied, and ill equipped, seem to have performed no efficient service". Savoy was not destitute of a marine. Besides the naval force maintained at Nice, which was destined to protect the coasts against Turks, or pirates, who infested the Mediterranean; Emanuel Philibert caused several galleys to be constructed at Ripaille; a small port and town on the lake of Geneva, which he strongly fortified. They were intended to secure the exclusive navigation of that extensive lake; to overawe the canton of Bern, and to intimidate the city of Geneva". In order to form, and perpetuate a body of naval officers, he revived, in 1572, the order of St. Maurice, originally instituted by Amadeus the Eighth, one of his predecessors, and exclusively affected to persons of condition serving on board the galleys<sup>20</sup>.

CHAP.  
V.1574.  
Marine.<sup>18</sup> Brantome, vol. ii. Capit. Etrang. p. 159, 160.<sup>20</sup> Guichenon, vol. i. p. 690.<sup>19</sup> De Thou, vol. x. p. 650.



## C H A P. VI.

## V E N I C E.

*Review of the Venetian history, from the beginning of the thirteenth century.—Gradual aggrandizement of the Republic in Albania, Dalmatia, and Lombardy.—Seizure of the island of Cyprus.—Grandeur, power, and elevation of Venice, at the close of the fifteenth century.—Causes of its decline.—League of Cambray.—Inroads of the Turkish sultans, on the territories of the Republic.—Conquest of Cyprus, by Selim the Second.—State of Venice, in 1574.—Commerce of the Republic, at that period.—Dominions.—Naval force.—Arts, and magnificence.*

C H A P.  
VI.

State of  
Venice,  
during the  
middle ages.

Wise policy  
of the Re-  
public.

**D**URING the darkness and barbarism, which overspread Europe in the middle ages, Venice lays peculiar claim to attention. That celebrated Commonwealth, which arose among the marshes of the Adriatic; was, by its situation, eminently qualified for carrying on an extensive and advantageous commerce. The spirit, which animated its government and citizens, was widely different from the genius of chivalry; and prompted to a line of public conduct, less generous and romantic, but far more wise and beneficial. When almost all the other European states, inflamed with the passion of rescuing the Holy Land and Sepulchre from the Infidels, engaged in expeditions to Syria, Venice lent her aid and co-operation. But, steady to her interests, the Senate took effectual care to stipulate for advantages, which might compensate for the fleets and armies, equipped to prosecute these distant and precarious conquests. Valuable commercial immunities, exemptions from the payment of duties, even the possession and sovereignty

sovereignty of many districts on the coast of Palestine, were ceded to the Venetians, by the princes who engaged in the first Crusades; and the Republic thus derived power and wealth, from the exertions which impoverished the surrounding countries.

CHAP.  
VI.

This systematical regard to the augmentation and aggrandizement of the State, appears, in no transaction of the time, so strongly displayed, as in the part which Venice took, when Constantinople was attacked, and the Greek empire subverted by the Latins, at the commencement of the thirteenth century. While the most disinterested zeal actuated the adventurers, assembled to embark for the recovery of Jerusalem, no entreaties or arguments could induce the Venetian Senate to furnish the fleet requisite for their transportation, without the previous payment of eighty thousand marks of silver. The princes and chiefs being unable, after every effort, to advance much more than a moiety of the sum demanded, Dandolo, then doge, and the head of the Republic, contrived to turn even this circumstance to its advantage. He prevailed upon the Crusaders, in consideration of the Senate desisting from their claim to the remainder of the money stipulated, to aid him in subjecting the city of Zara, capital of Dalmatia, which was speedily reduced to the obedience of Venice, by their united arms.

1202.  
Aggrandizement of  
Venice.

The same interested and sagacious policy, always vigilant to improve the opportunities which fortune might present, for encreasing the dominions of the State, is visible in the partition, made by the conquerors, after the capture of Constantinople. Dandolo, in the name of the Republic, and as her representative, received not only all the islands of the Archipelago, and many valuable ports in the Hellespont, and the Morea; but, one half of the imperial city itself was ceded, in full sovereignty, to the Venetians. The marquis of Montferrat, to whom the island of Candia, in the Mediterranean, had fallen, was induced to sell that valuable possession to them, for

1203.  
Acquisitions,  
and conquests  
in the Le-  
vant.

\* Histoire de Venise, par l'Abbé Langier, 12 tomes, vol. ii. p. 165—186.



CHAP.  
VI.

1203.

1204—1350.  
Wars with  
the Genoese.

1379.

1381—1405.  
Venice ac-  
quires terri-  
tories on the  
continent of  
Italy.

the sum of a thousand marks of gold; and they effected its complete reduction soon afterwards. It had been preceded by the attack and conquest of Corfu, another island, far inferior in size; but, from its position, near the entrance of the Adriatic, highly essential to the protection and security of the Venetian commerce. Colonies were sent into both these; and every measure for their improvement, which wisdom could dictate, was embraced by the Senate. Cephalonia, Negropont, and the principality of Achaia, successively implored their aid, and voluntarily submitted themselves. The Venetian industry kept pace with the progress of their arms, and rendered Venice, before the middle of the thirteenth century, the wealthiest and most prosperous city of Europe. The long wars, to which a spirit of political and commercial rivalry gave birth, between Venice and Genoa, retarded the progress of the former state, during a great part of the fourteenth century. The Commonwealths of Rome and Carthage, in antiquity, had not contended for the empire of the Mediterranean, with greater pertinacity; and the Genoese had even reduced their rivals to a state of such humiliation, that they appeared to be on the point of complete extinction. Chiozza, situated in the Adriatic, and in the immediate vicinity of Venice, fell into their hands; while that capital itself was closely invested on every side, by the victorious enemy. But, the imprudent security of the Genoese, and the desperate valour of the Venetians, extricated them from their situation, and restored them to their former greatness. The enemy was repulsed, the war transferred to their own coasts, and a peace finally took place, by which every acquisition was mutually restored<sup>a</sup>.

No sooner was this storm past, which had menaced the Republic with ruin, than she turned her views towards the acquisition of a territory on the neighbouring shore of Italy. Hitherto, her conquests, however important and considerable, had been effected at

<sup>a</sup> Laugier, Histoire de Venise, passim.

a distance

a distance from the capital; and Venice possessed scarcely any thing beyond the marshes with which she was surrounded. Availing herself of the favourable circumstances which presented themselves, she soon obtained a footing on the Continent. The province of the Trevisane, with the city of Treviso itself, was subjected, before the conclusion of the fourteenth century; and early in the ensuing one, more valuable dominions were acquired. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, had been, for many years, in the possession of the family of Scala; from which, they passed into that of Carrara. Francis the Second, then lord of those cities and their dependencies, was the most powerful and formidable neighbour of the Commonwealth, on account of his vicinity to the city of Venice. He had given umbrage to the Senate by various acts of treachery or violence, and had become equally obnoxious to his own subjects, by his exactions and oppressions. War was declared against him; and though he made a long and desperate defence, he was deprived of his territories, taken prisoner, and conducted to Venice. Vicenza and Verona voluntarily transferred their allegiance from Francis de Carrara, to the Venetian state. Padua, after a siege, surrendered, and was in like manner incorporated into the Republic, with the unanimous consent of its citizens. Their immunities and privileges were carefully preserved by the enlarged policy of Venice, which, in consequence of these augmentations of territory, began to assume a considerable rank among the Italian states. The immense resources which that people possessed, may be, in some degree, estimated by the expences incurred during the prosecution of the war against Carrara. They are asserted to have amounted to the incredible sum of two millions of ducats<sup>1</sup>. No European power, except Venice, could have sustained, in the period of which we are treating, so vast an expenditure.

While they were thus becoming powerful at home, their foreign dominions augmented in a similar proportion. Many cities of Al-

CHAP.  
VI.

1381—1405.

Policy, and  
wealth of the  
Republic.

1405—1440.  
Foreign con-  
quests, and  
dominions.

<sup>1</sup> Near nine hundred thousand pounds sterling.

<sup>2</sup> Langier, vol. v. p. 194—245. Modern Universal History, vol. xxvii. p. 113—121.

bania,



C H A P

VI

1405-1440

Albania and  
Dalmatia  
subdued.Commerce  
of Venice.Further ac-  
quisitions.

bania, Epirus, and Greece, implored their protection, and sought to be received into the rank of subjects. The terror of the Turkish arms, which menaced the Greek empire with speedy and total subversion, was the principal motive to induce these petty states to reclaim the Venetian interposition. Argos and Napoli de Romania were sold by their possessor to the Republic, for a very inconsiderable sum. Lepanto, in the Morea, followed their example; which was imitated by the city of Patras. The province of Friuli fell into the hands of the Venetians, after a vigorous resistance. Prosecuting their conquests, they successively invaded, and subdued, the territories of Istria, Dalmatia, and Albania, on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The islands of Curzola, Lefina, and many others which were dependencies of Dalmatia and Albania, experienced the same fate; and soon after the commencement of the fifteenth century, the vast tract of country, extending from the mouths of the river Po, to the frontiers of Epirus, was completely reduced to the obedience of the Commonwealth.

Attentive to the advantages of peace, and the protection of commerce, the Senate, in the following year, renewed the treaty subsisting with the sultan of Egypt. The productions of India, transmitted by the Red Sea, and the Nile, to Alexandria, were there received by the Venetians, and circulated over all Europe. Their utmost exertions were made, to secure the exclusive possession of this inexhaustible source of wealth, so essential to their grandeur. On every side, the Republic continued to extend its power and territory. Corinth was ceded to them by the Greek prince, or despot of the Morea, who dreaded its falling into the hands of Amurath the Second, the Turkish emperor. The two provinces of the Bergamasque and the Brescian, which formed part of the dependencies of the Milanese, were subjected, after a war of long continuance, sustained against Philip Visconti, duke of Milan. That prince relinquished his title to Brescia and Bergamo, by a treaty of peace, which took place between

tween him and the Venetians. To these acquisitions, was added Ravenna, which, after having been mortgaged by its sovereign to the Republic, was voluntarily yielded to it, some years afterwards, by the inhabitants.

CHAP.

VI.

1440.

Encouraged by the facility with which so many cities and provinces were conquered or obtained, the Senate ventured on an act of usurpation, the most unjustifiable. The house of Lusignan reigned in Cyprus; and James, the last male of that family, having died, his dominions were secured by the powerful interposition of the Venetians, to his widow, Catherine Cornaro, niece of Andrew Cornaro, a senator of Venice. She was solemnly adopted by the Commonwealth; and in consequence of that protection, she received from the sultan of Egypt, to whom the kingdom of Cyprus was tributary, the investiture of it; though the right of blood had unquestionably devolved to Charlotte of Lusignan, sister to the deceased king. After having enjoyed the external honours of royalty during several years, the Senate, apprehensive that Catherine might transfer her claims to some other state, and eager to gain possession of so rich a prize, compelled the unfortunate queen to sign her own abdication. She consented with reluctance; embarked on board a Venetian fleet, sent to escort her; and was detained in honourable captivity, during the remainder of her life, at the castle of Azolo, in the Trevisane. The standard of St. Mark was immediately displayed at Nicosia, and Famagosta, the two capitals of Cyprus. No attention was paid to the reclamation of Louis, prince of Savoy, who had married Charlotte of Lusignan; and the Egyptian sultan having invested the ambassador, sent by Venice, with the accustomed formalities, on condition of receiving a yearly tribute of eight thousand ducats\*, the island of Cyprus was completely reduced to the obedience of the Republic.

1440—1490:  
Usurpation of  
the island of  
Cyprus.

\* Laugier, vol. v. and vi. passim.

\* A sum not very short of four thousand pounds.

\* Laugier, vol. vi. passim, and vol. vii. p. 477—480. Med. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 217, 218.



CHAP.  
VI.

1490—1499.

Cession of  
various  
places in the  
kingdom of  
Naples, to  
Venice.

So incontestible a proof of ambition, and so flagrant a violation of all the principles of justice, did not fail to excite condemnation, and to spread an alarm throughout Italy. But, the Venetian power, cemented by wisdom, and sustained by commerce, continued still to make new acquisitions, on every side. Trani, Otranto, and Brindisi, on the coast of Calabria, were ceded to them by Ferdinand, king of Naples, as the price of a body of auxiliaries, lent to that prince. Gallipoli, another important port and city of the same province, had been previously taken by their forces, from the predecessor of Ferdinand. Louis the Twelfth, king of France, contributed, from his eagerness to gain admission into Lombardy, towards their aggrandizement; and previous to his attack upon the Milanese, in the beginning of his reign, he, by treaty with the Venetians, dismembered from that duchy, the territory of the Cremonese, the city of Cremona, and other possessions situated between the Po and the Adda. An army commanded by Alviano, speedily took possession of them, almost without opposition.

1500.

Elevation and  
grandeur of  
the Republic,  
at this period.

It is at this era, with the conclusion of the fifteenth century, that we may date the highest point of elevation, to which Venice attained; and from which she almost immediately and rapidly began to decline. It may be worthy of attention, to consider the Republic in her zenith, and to remark the high situation, to which industry, policy, and vigour had gradually conducted her, in the course of about three hundred years. The Venetian dominions comprised some of the most fertile provinces of Italy, from the mouths of the Po, to the confines of Carniola, and the Tyrol; together with a considerable tract of coast in the kingdom of Naples. The whole eastern shore of the Adriatic, a great part of Epirus and the Morea, together with the two islands of Candia and Cyprus, gave them an unlimited command of the Mediterranean and the Levant. These vast dominions were protected by a considerable army, and a still more formidable navy. Their arsenal was constantly supplied with every species of military weapons, and artillery; nor could any European state vie

Dominions.

Forces.

\* Langier, vol. vii. p. 433—435, and vol. viii. p. 58—61, and p. 95, and p. 107—110.

with

with them in the celerity and facility, of equipping a fleet'. The commerce of Europe, and of Asia, centered in the harbour of Venice; and how careful the Senate was, to defend and augment this source of their greatness, is evident, from their vigilant and unremitted attention to retain the friendship of the Mammeluc sultans of Egypt, as well as of the Turkish emperors. Repeated commercial treaties were made with those princes, in the course of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, notwithstanding the prejudices which then prevailed, and which stigmatized as impious or criminal, all intercourse and connexions with the enemies of the christian faith'. The manufactures of glass and chrystal were confined to the Venetians exclusively, and were principally carried on at Murano, one of the marshy islands in the vicinity of the capital. Their beauty and rarity rendered them the admiration of all the European nations'.

CHAP.  
VI.

1500.  
Trade.

The revenues of the Republic were not only very considerable; but, such was the wealth diffused by commerce, among every class of the people, that, when the public treasure was drained by the continual and expensive wars in which they were almost unremittently engaged, resources were never wanting to find supplies. It is not without astonishment, that we peruse the accounts transmitted by the most accurate historians of the age, on this article. The short war, carried on against Hercules, duke of Ferrara, and which scarcely lasted more than two years, cost three millions six hundred thousand ducats of gold<sup>7</sup>. No sovereign in Europe, at that period, could have found means to raise so vast a sum. In order to reimburse the public treasury, exhausted by such an expenditure, the Senate, immediately after the termination of hostilities in 1484, laid very severe duties on all foreign articles of merchandize imported into Venice. Every vessel entering the ports of the Republic, was compelled to pay one hundred ducats, for the per-

Revenues.

<sup>7</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 246, 247.

<sup>8</sup> Laugier, vol. vii. p. 41.

<sup>9</sup> Laugier, vol. vii. p. 474-477, and p. 376, 377.

<sup>10</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 214.

Above a million and a half sterling.



C H A P.  
VI.

1500.

Wise and be-  
neficent po-  
licy.Luxury and  
wealth.Letters, and  
science.

million to drop anchor ; thirty *per cent.* on the cargo ; ten pence on every measure of wheat ; and five ducats on the measure of oil, in addition to the duties previously exacted. Such impositions were nearly equal to a prohibition, and gave rise to strong, but ineffectual remonstrances, from the city and republic of Ragusa".

The administration of Venice was not only wise and vigorous ; but, gentle and beneficent. The people were attached to their governors, by the security which they enjoyed, and by the execution of the laws. Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Ravenna, and many other petty states, eagerly sought to be admitted into their protection, and to become members of the Venetian Commonwealth. They expelled their antient possessors, and opened their gates to receive the delegates sent by the Senate. Even in the most disastrous periods, their allegiance and fidelity remained unshaken, and bore the strongest testimony to the lenity and wisdom of the government.

Luxury and splendor were no where arrived to so great a height, during the fifteenth century, as at Venice. When the emperor Frederic the Third, and Leonora his wife, visited that city, in 1452, their reception was beyond measure, magnificent. The streets were hung with scarlet and purple silks, or cloth. Crowns of gold, ornamented with jewels, were presented to their imperial majesties ; and the Venetian ladies offered the empress a cradle, and dress for a child, studded with gold, diamonds, and pearls, of immense value". These marks of opulence and liberality were again exhibited, on Frederic's second visit to Venice, in 1469. He himself, and all his attendants, who were very numerous, were entertained at the expence of the Senate, during his residence in their dominions". Nor were the arts and learning in less estimation, than wealth and commerce. The library of St. Mark was one of the earliest, and best endowed collections of that nature, which took

" Laugier, vol. vii. p. 444-447.

" Ibid. p. 40, 41. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 183, 184. Note.

" Laugier, vol. vii. p. 232.

place

place in Italy, the nurse of science. Petrarch, so celebrated for his genius and productions, gave birth to the institution, in 1365; and the preference which he made of Venice above any other of the Italian cities, for depositing his literary treasure, proves how worthy he esteemed the Venetian people to possess so valuable a bequest. The Senate received it with public testimonies of gratitude and satisfaction<sup>14</sup>. Above a hundred years afterwards, in 1468, the learned cardinal Bessarion augmented it, by the present of his numerous manuscripts. His letter to the doge, Christopher Moro, and the answer of that supreme magistrate to the cardinal, are among the most curious and precious monuments, transmitted to us. They give an incontestible proof of the high veneration, in which learning was held at Venice, and of the respect paid to men of letters<sup>15</sup>. The invention of printing was brought thither from Germany, in 1460, by Nicholas Jenfon; who, from the ample privileges, granted him by the Senate, speedily amassed a considerable fortune<sup>16</sup>. Neither Rome, nor even Florence, in the fifteenth century, afforded the same security and protection to the arts, as Venice could bestow. The power of the popes was not yet sufficiently established in the former city; and Florence, even under Cosmo and Lorenzo de Medici, was agitated by popular convulsions.

The discovery of a passage to India, round the Cape of Good Hope; an event, which no wisdom could have foreseen, previous to its accomplishment; and the effects resulting from which, no exertions of the Venetian policy or arms could avert; gave the first mortal wound to a fabric, reared with so much skill. It took place at the close of the fifteenth century, and soon transferred the commerce of the east, from the Adriatic to the Tagus; from Venice, to Lisbon. Another event, which accelerated the downfall of the Republic, happened nearly at the same period, or followed it in quick

C H A P.  
VI.

1500.

Printing.

1500—1508.  
Causes of the  
decline of  
the Republic.<sup>14</sup> Langier, vol. iv. p. 164—167.<sup>15</sup> Ibid. vol. vii. p. 222—231.<sup>16</sup> Ibid.



C H A P.  
VI.

1500—1508.

League of  
Cambray.

succession. Louis the Twelfth, king of France, displeased at the Senate for having signed a truce with the emperor Maximilian the First, against whom they were jointly engaged in war, determined on their humiliation. To effect it, he united with his natural and implacable enemies, Maximilian, and Ferdinand the catholic king of Spain, for the destruction of Venice; the only ally beyond the Alps, upon whose friendship and adherence he could, or ought to have relied. Julius the Second, then occupying the papal see, together with the dukes of Savoy and Ferrara, acceded to this formidable confederacy. Its object was no less, than to reduce Venice to her original condition, and to confine her dominions to the marshes, in which the city is situated, after having divided her spoils among the members of the league<sup>17</sup>.

1509—1516.

Conquests of  
the confederates.

A single battle, gained by Louis, in person, over Petigliano and Alviano, the Venetian commanders, near Agnadel, decided the fate of the Commonwealth. So unexpected was the victory, and such was the consternation, which it occasioned, that all resistance seemed to cease, on the part of the vanquished. Brescia, Bergamo, and Cremona, were immediately surrendered to the French. Verona, Vicenza, and Padua sent their submissions to Maximilian, and possession was taken of them by his commissaries. The papal troops over-ran the territory of Ravenna; while the provinces of Istria and Friuli were inundated with German forces; and of all the Venetian possessions in Italy, only the city of Treviso ventured to shut its gates against the enemy. Had the king of France, or the emperor, availed themselves, without delay, of these advantages, it is probable that Venice itself must have fallen, and the Republic have been annihilated. But, the misunderstanding, and opposition of interests, among the princes who composed the confederacy, gave the Senate time to recover from their panic and depression. Padua was regained by a fortunate effort, and twice resisted the utmost efforts of Maximilian to reduce it.

<sup>17</sup> Laugier, vol. viii. p. 186—205.

anew to his obedience. This success was followed by the capture of  
 Vicenza. The Venetians, awakened from their lethargy, made incre-  
 dible exertions to save, and extricate the Commonwealth. Louis, the  
 most formidable enemy with whom they were engaged, sensible of the  
 error which he had committed, and disgusted with his allies, quitted the  
 league; and soon afterwards, joined himself by treaty with the Repub-  
 lic, against those very powers, with whom he had so lately acted in  
 concert. Under the pressure of a long and disastrous war, the Senate and  
 people evinced an unshaken fortitude; and repeatedly disdained to listen  
 to any overtures for peace, except such as were consistent with their  
 dignity, and which would reinstate them in their lost possessions. Fran-  
 cis the First, who succeeded Louis the Twelfth, adhered to his prede-  
 cessor's engagements with Venice. Brescia and Bergamo were retaken  
 by their joint arms; and at the treaty of Brussels, between Francis and  
 Maximilian, it was stipulated, that Verona, the sole remaining con-  
 quest of the latter, should be restored to its ancient masters. Of all  
 the dominions or dependencies of the Republic, only Cremona, and  
 some inconsiderable towns of Lombardy, were torn from her, by  
 the confederates, who associated for her ruin". It is not without  
 amazement, that we contemplate the resources of a commonwealth,  
 able to resist, and to dissipate a combination of the most powerful  
 monarchies and states; equal to sustaining an uninterrupted series of  
 operations, naval and military, for above seven years; and conclud-  
 ing the war, by a recovery of almost all her possessions. Her in-  
 dustry, trade, and manufactures, which were still vigorous, enabled  
 the government to support the immense expenditure of public money;  
 and the wisdom of the Senate appeared in no act, more eminently  
 conspicuous, than in the modes adopted for raising it, without op-  
 pressing, or exhausting their subjects". But, the source from which  
 these supplies had long been drawn, being on its decline, the state, en-

C H A P.  
VI.1509-1516.  
Efforts of the  
Venetians.Resources of  
the Vene-  
tians.

1517, 1518.

<sup>18</sup> Laugier, vol. viii. and ix. passim. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 245-297. Mezerai, Hist. de France, vol. vii. passim.

<sup>19</sup> Laugier, vol. viii. p. 460.



C H A P. VI. feebled by its efforts, and possessing no means of replenishing its  
coffers, gradually sunk in the scale of the European system.

1519—1552.

Vigilance of  
the Republic.

After the death of the emperor Maximilian, Italy saw itself in danger of subjection, from his successor, Charles the Fifth. That prince, possessed of the kingdom of Naples by descent, and of the duchy of Milan by arms, overawed and intimidated the surrounding states. The Venetian Senate, true to the balance of power, and watchful over their own interests, remained firm in their alliance with France, for several years; and actively opposed the further progress of the imperial aggrandizement. It was not till Francis the First, occupied by his pleasures, negligent of the concerns of his crown beyond the Alps, and compelled by the incapacity of his generals, to abandon the Milanese, no longer extended protection to his allies; that the Republic, unwillingly, quitted him, and entered into connexions of policy with Charles the Fifth. When the French monarch, roused from his inaction, invaded Italy, and marched towards Milan in person, the Senate renewed the antient treaty of offensive alliance with him; but, apprehensive of the vengeance which the emperor might inflict on them, they kept it secret, till the fortunate issue of the siege of Pavia, then besieged by Francis, should enable them to divulge their change of system. The battle of Pavia, and the imprisonment of the French king, left them, in common with the rest of Italy, almost at the mercy of the imperial court. In this critical situation, they took measures to secure themselves from the danger which impended, by contracting an alliance with the pope and the Florentines, for mutual preservation. On the release of Francis from his captivity at Madrid, Venice instantly signed with him the treaty of Cognac, and sustained her part, for several years, in the hostilities, which were recommenced between France and the emperor. Abandoned by her ally at the peace of Cambray, the Senate made honourable conditions for the Republic, at Bologna, and neither sacrificed her rights, nor departed from her dignity.

dignity<sup>20</sup>. But, profiting by her past experience, impoverished by the expenditure of more than five millions of ducats, and annually diminishing in the extent of her commerce; Venice could never afterwards be drawn into any offensive operations, in favour of either Charles, or Francis. The insidious propositions of the former, and the magnificent promises of the latter prince, were equally ineffectual to induce, or terrify the Senate. Always armed for the protection of their own dominions, and prepared to punish any infraction of the treaties subsisting with foreign powers, they adhered to the most rigid neutrality. Henry the Second, king of France, inflamed with an hereditary passion to reconquer Naples and Milan, found the same steady resistance, when he repeatedly attempted to involve Venice in the quarrel. The Republic appeared no more among the allies, or auxiliaries, and left the two crowns to decide their differences, without entering the lists<sup>21</sup>.

CHAP.  
VI.

1529.

Pacific system of Venice.

A more formidable adversary, than the house of Austria, attracted all the attention, and demanded all the vigilance of the Venetian government. The Turkish power had, for above two hundred years, been advancing with rapid strides, and seemed to menace them with the most serious calamities. As early as the beginning of the fifteenth century, Amurath the Second, then emperor of the Turks, had deprived the Republic of the city and territory of Salonichi, the Thessalonica of antiquity; though ceded to Venice by the Greek emperor, John Paleologus, to whom it rightfully belonged<sup>22</sup>. Mahomet the Second, son and successor of Amurath, by the capture of Constantinople, became an object of dread to all the christian states; but to none so peculiarly as to the Venetians; who, from the number and importance of their possessions in the Archipelago, the Morea, and along the coasts of Greece, had every reason to dread the attacks of so

1400—1481.  
Turkish affairs.

Progress of the Ottoman emperors.

<sup>20</sup> Laugier, vol. ix. p. 387—390, and vol. x. p. 42—48. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 367, 368.

<sup>21</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 79—84. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 371.

<sup>22</sup> History of the Ottoman Empire, by Demetrius Cantemir, part i. book ii. p. 84.



CHAP.  
VI.

1400—1481.

ambitious and powerful a neighbour. Induced by these considerations, the Senate, only two years after the extinction of the Greek empire, concluded a solemn treaty of peace and commerce with Mahomet; but, he adhered to his engagements no longer than they appeared compatible with his interests; and hostilities commenced between the fleets, near the gulf of Corinth. The Venetians were repulsed before that city, and obliged to retreat<sup>23</sup>. In the ensuing year, they entered into an alliance with the sophy of Persia, and the prince of Caramania, against Mahomet; but, neither the assistance of those sovereigns, nor the efforts of the Republic, could impede the progress of the Turkish emperor. After taking Athens by storm, he appeared before the island of Negropont, the Eubœa of the Greeks, at the head of three hundred ships, and seventy thousand troops. The city made a brave and desperate resistance; but, at length, surrendered, together with the island itself<sup>24</sup>. Undismayed by their misfortunes, the Senate sustained the war for several years, almost unsupported by any other European state, against the whole power of the Ottoman empire, conducted by Mahomet. Croia, in Albania, together with many inferior places, were successively lost. Dalmatia was ravaged; and even Friuli was twice invaded by the bashaw of Bosnia, who spread terror to the gates of Treviso, and the neighbourhood of Venice. The garrison of Scutari, alone, repulsed the Turks, and resisted their attacks; but, in order to obtain a peace, it became indispensable to cede that important place. Mahomet dictated the terms of pacification; retained all his most valuable conquests; exacted a tribute of ten thousand ducats annually, as the price of his friendship; and became more formidable than ever to the Republic. He adhered, nevertheless, inviolably to the treaty till his death<sup>25</sup>.

Peace concluded with Mahomet the Second.

<sup>23</sup> Laugier, vol. vii. p. 107—111.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 181—188, and p. 203—205, and p. 231—238. Vanel. *Hif. des Turcs*, 4 vols. vol. ii. p. 117—127.

<sup>25</sup> Vanel. vol. ii. p. 131—138, and p. 147—160.

On the accession of Bajazet the Second, that prince renewed and confirmed the peace, signed by his father ; but, the Senate having, not long afterwards, gained possession of the two islands of Zant and Cephalonia, situated near the mouth of the Adriatic, the Turkish emperor instantly demanded them, as dependencies of his dominions. Terrified at the menaces with which the requisition was accompanied, the Republic did not venture to resist. A sort of compromise was obtained from the indulgence of the Porte. Cephalonia was delivered up to the bashaw of the Morea ; and Zant remained to the Venetians, upon payment of an annual tribute of five hundred ducats. This concession having appeased the sultan, he allowed them to enjoy a precarious repose for several years ; when his ambition prompting him to new enterprizes, he recommenced hostilities. Appearing in person before Lepanto, while his fleet precluded all succours by sea, the garrison capitulated ; and various cities in the Morea followed the example. The Venetians, notwithstanding, procured an honourable peace from Bajazet ; who, attacked in Europe, by the kings of Hungary and Poland, and in Asia, by the sophy of Persia, readily listened to the proposals of accommodation, made him by the Venetian ambassador. Cephalonia was restored to the Republic, and all the commercial immunities, enjoyed by the nation in the Ottoman dominions, were confirmed. During the state of depression, to which Venice was reduced by the effects of the league of Cambray, it was even determined in the Senate, to implore the protection and assistance of Bajazet ; but, the emperor Maximilian having raised the siege of Padua, and their affairs assuming a more favourable aspect, the measure was not carried into execution <sup>26</sup>.

C H A P.  
VI.  
1481—1512.  
Negotiations  
with Bajazet  
the Second.

Selim the First having dethroned his father, and seized on the Turkish empire, found too much occupation in subjecting his dominions, and extirpating the adherents of his brother Achmet, to per-

1512—1520.  
Conduct of  
Selim, and of  
Solyman, to-  
wards Venice.

<sup>26</sup> Cantimir, part i. book iii. p. 116—142. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 171—232. passim.



C H A P.  
VI.

1512—1520.

1521.

Rupture with  
Solyman.

mit of his carrying war into the territories of Venice. He readily confirmed the subsisting treaty, and secured his tranquillity in that quarter. But, no sooner was he liberated from his domestic embarrassments, than he prepared to fall upon the province of Dalmatia, and assembled forces at Valona, on the coast of Epirus, for the purpose. Death prevented his further prosecution of the design; and Solyman the Second, his son, began his long and memorable reign, by the warmest demonstrations of amity towards the Republic. During near fifty years that he occupied the throne, only one rupture took place between them; into which the Venetians were reluctantly drawn by the emperor Charles the Fifth, and the reigning pope, Paul the Third. For eighteen years subsequent to the accession of Solyman, that enlightened and magnanimous prince treated the Senate with peculiar distinction; continued to the subjects of Venice, the enjoyment of all their commercial privileges; and repeatedly terminated, by a prompt accommodation, the accidental causes of misintelligence which arose. His ambition, and thirst of glory, were principally directed against Hungary, the house of Austria, and the Persians. Barbarossa, the ablest naval commander of his age, and the scourge of the christian states, was placed by him at the head of the Ottoman fleets, which carried desolation along the coasts of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily. Rhodes, at an early period of his reign, was subjected, after a long and heroic defence, made by the knights of St. John of Jerusalem.

The capture of some Turkish gallies near the entrance of the Adriatic, which had been mistaken by the Venetians for pirates, first alienated the mind, and roused the indignation, of the sultan. The artifices and expostulations of Charles the Fifth, who exerted every endeavour to involve the Venetians in a war against Solyman, widened the breach. After vehement debates in the senate, and great irresolution, it was, by a very slender majority, resolved to join the league of the pope and the emperor, against the Turks. This determination, embraced contrary to the opinions of the wisest members of the legislature,

lature, was productive only of loss and misfortune to the State. The combined fleets achieved no enterprize of moment. Andrew Doria, who commanded in chief, neglected, or refused the fairest occasions of combating Barbarossa with advantage. Procrastination, or distrust and jealousy, characterised every operation of the imperial commander, and impeded the general success. Wearied with these obstacles, injured in their trade, incapable of supporting the heavy pecuniary impositions laid on to maintain the war, betrayed by their own ministers, and receiving no essential service from their allies, the Senate condescended to sue for a separate peace. Solyman, after a short delay, and affected reluctance, consented to treat; but, it was, as a conqueror, who grants and dictates to a vanquished enemy. Napoli di Romania, and Malvasia, the only two remaining possessions in the Morea, were ceded to him, as the price; and three hundred thousand ducats were paid to the Turkish sultan, to reimburse him for the expences of a war, which had produced to the Republic only injury and dishonour<sup>27</sup>.

CHAP.  
VI.

1521—1540.

Peace concluded.

Instructed by experience, the Senate embraced more salutary measures, and determined to cultivate assiduously the friendship of the Porte. Conscious of the great disparity of their force, annually diminishing in their revenues, and incapable of recovering the commerce, which fortune had thrown into the possession of the Portuguese; Venice no longer stood forward, after the middle of the sixteenth century, either in the commotions of Italy, or against the Ottoman power. Peace was the only object of their counsels, and a rigid neutrality, the first measure which they pursued, for its attainment. Their apprehensions of irritating the Turks, and their dread of another rupture, were such, that, to avoid it, they thought scarce any concession too important. This timidity was evinced by their promptitude and anxiety, to stifle every occasion of quarrel, and to purchase a continuance of tranquillity,

1540—1566.  
Long period  
of peace.

<sup>27</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. and iii. passim. Cantemir, part i. book iii. p. 174—204. Laugier, vol. ix. passim, and p. 564—579.



C H A P.  
VI.

1540—1566.

by presents to the vizier and principal ministers at Constantinople. Solymán, who wanted not enemies to occupy his arms, graciously accepted their proffered friendship, and remained, till the end of his life and reign, in amity with the Republic. An uninterrupted peace of near thirty years, seemed to have obliterated all animosities, and to have extinguished any cause for a rupture. But, these appearances soon changed, on the accession of Selim the Second; and Venice, long refused to hostilities, was unwillingly compelled again to arm for her own protection<sup>28</sup>.

1566—1570.  
Attack of  
Cyprus, by  
Selim the  
Second.

The new sultan did not immediately evince his intention to infringe the treaties, subsisting between the Turks and Venetians: on the contrary, he began by confirming them; but, his subsequent conduct soon displayed his real determination. The island of Cyprus had, for more than half a century, excited the ambition of the Ottoman princes; who, after having exterminated the Mammelucs, and subjected Egypt, had still permitted this tributary kingdom to remain in the hands of the Republic of Venice. Selim was allured to attempt its reduction, by many motives; the fertility of the soil; its vicinity to Syria and Egypt; and the probable ease with which the conquest might be effected. The Senate, unwilling to engage in war, was incredulous, and negligent in arming for its defence: while the Turkish fleet landed, invested Famagosta, and besieged Nicosia, the two capitals. The latter city, vigorously pressed, and ill prepared for resistance, was taken after a siege of fourteen days; but, Famagosta repulsed the assailants<sup>29</sup>.

1570.  
League,  
formed for  
resisting the  
Turks.

Meanwhile, the Venetian government, reluctant to commence hostilities, but reduced to that necessity by the arrogance and attacks of Selim, asserted its antient courage, and prepared vigorously to repel the invaders. A great league was formed for their protection, with the Holy See, and Philip the Second of Spain. Resources, adequate to the emergency, were found in the patriotism of every class

<sup>28</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 450—508. passim. Laugier, vol. x. p. 1—135. passim.

<sup>29</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 135—202.

of subjects. The greatest exertions were made in fitting out a formidable and well-appointed fleet. Subcours were sent to the Cy priots; and after many delays, the combined forces of Spain, Rome, and Venice, effected their junction. But, the opposite interests of the confederate powers; the insincerity and duplicity of Philip; and the numerous impediments to any joint plan of offensive operation, rendered all these preparations abortive. The first naval campaign produced scarcely any event of moment. The illustrious victory of Lepanto, gained over the Turks, was not improved, and did not regain the island of Cyprus. Famagosta, after sustaining above a year's siege, and having been reduced to extremities, capitulated. Cyprus became a Turkish province. No effectual impresson could be made on the Ottoman dominions, in Albania, or Epirus. Their fleet, which seemed to have been annihilated by Don John of Austria, at Lepanto, was speedily refitted, and appeared on the coast of the Morea, under the command of Uluciali, ready to try anew the chance of war. Selim relaxed in none of his demands, and menaced Dalmatia with his forces. A third campaign had only evinced the impracticability of effecting any enterprize, with the combined squadrons; and Philip's reluctance to lend his aid towards recovering Cyprus, or permitting his gallies to become subservient to the Venetian greatness, was manifest and incontestible. Pius the Fifth, who had enthusiastically supported the war, in a double capacity, as a sovereign and a pontiff, was no more; and Gregory the Thirteenth did not possess the energy or affection to the cause, which had distinguished his predecessor in the chair of St. Peter. France was in alliance with the Porte; and the other European states were either unable or unwilling to assist the Venetians. Abandoned to their own strength, they felt their insufficiency to combat the power of the Turkish empire, then in its meridian; and their alliances had hitherto only aggravated their misfortunes. In this situation, they opened a negotiation for peace, at Constantinople; and Selim, satisfied

CHAP  
VII  
1570.

1571.  
Battle of Lepanto.

Unsuccessful campaigns.

1572.

1573.



CHAP.  
VI.

1573.

Separate  
peace, made  
by Venice.

fied with his acquisition of Cyprus, readily consented to a separate treaty, which was purchased on the part of the Republic, by a cession of that island, and the payment of a considerable sum to the sultan. They were too well justified, by his late conquest, and by their own state of depression, in concluding the war, at any price; and even Philip himself expressed neither indignation nor surprize, at their having withdrawn from a confederacy, which had not profited of the most signal victory ever obtained over the Ottomans, or atchieved any enterprize beneficial to the Venetians<sup>30</sup>.

1574.

State of  
Venice at  
this period.Diminution  
of territory,  
and of trade.

It is at this æra, with the termination of the Turkish war, that it may be proper to take a view, and form an estimate, of the situation and resources of Venice. That Republic no longer occupied the place which she had filled in the European system, at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Her dominions had suffered great dilapidations, from the successive inroads of the infidels; and some of her most fertile colonies, or provinces, had been subjected to the Mahometan power. Albania, Epirus, Greece, the Morea, Cyprus, and many of the islands in the Archipelago, had been once theirs, in whole, or in part; but, were so no longer. The remaining possessions of Dalmatia, Candia, and Corfu, were held by a precarious tenure. Many channels of commerce were dried up, and no new ones were opened. The inestimable monopoly of the spice trade, which had for ages rendered them opulent, was irrecoverably transferred to another nation; and all the commodities of Arabia and India found their way into Europe, by the passage round the Cape of Good Hope. It was impossible for human wisdom to discover a remedy adequate to redressing this injury. Even the navigation of the Adriatic, over which Venice had always arrogated a sort of exclusive sovereignty, was become very insecure. The Turkish admiral, in 1571, during the war, had advanced so far up it on the Dalmatian coast, as not only to desolate the islands of Curzola and Lezina, but,

<sup>30</sup> Cantemir, part i. book iii. p. 222—225. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 27—92. Laugier, vol. x. p. 202—282.

to strike terror into Venice itself". Besides these enemies, a nation of pirates, called *Uſcoques*, whose principal retreat was at the town of Segna in *Mœlachia*, on the eastern side of the gulf, being secretly protected by the house of Austria, committed perpetual depredations on the vessels of the Republic. They were, indeed, repeatedly, pursued and destroyed; but, they as constantly revived, and renewed their enormities<sup>32</sup>.

With the territories and commerce of Venice, necessarily sunk their revenues, which were exceedingly diminished; and which had been exhausted by the late onerous and expensive war, to such a degree, that expedients the most pernicious, had been, of necessity, adopted, in order to raise funds for its prosecution. The incredible sum of three hundred thousand ducats a month, was not more than adequate to the various demands, during the hostilities with *Selim*; which had cost the Republic twelve millions of ducats<sup>33</sup>. Fourteen *per cent.* interest was given by the State, for money lent to the public, at that time<sup>34</sup>. Yet, every expedient to find supplies, would have been insufficient, if *Pius the Fifth*, in his zeal against the Turks, had not authorized the government to levy three-tenths of the whole revenues of the clergy, throughout the Venetian dominions<sup>35</sup>. Gregory the Thirteenth was not so liberal of the ecclesiastical property. A portion of the public domain was sold in 1570, to enable the Senate to sustain the war. These expedients forcibly evince the exhausted state of the exchequer<sup>36</sup>. Men, as well as money, were wanting; and in 1571, all exiles were recalled and pardoned, on condition of serving on board the fleet. Exemption during four years, from every burden or pecuniary imposition, was, at the same time, granted to such persons, as voluntarily embarked against the enemy<sup>37</sup>.

Revenues.

Depopulation.

<sup>32</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 232—234.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 110, 111, and p. 123—125.

<sup>34</sup> Above five millions, sterling.

<sup>35</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvii. p. 384, and 433. Gregorio Leti, vol. iv. p. 51 and 52.

<sup>36</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 206.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 176.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. p. 221.

Notwith-



CHAP.  
VI.1574.  
Dominions of  
Venice.Navigation,  
and com-  
merce.

Notwithstanding these diminutions of their former splendor, commerce, and greatness, Venice, in 1574, remained a powerful state. Besides the provinces of Lombardy, subject to the Republic; Friuli, Istria, and Dalmatia, together with the two islands of Corfu and Candia, continued to acknowledge her dominion. All these territories united, formed a very considerable power, as compared with those of Italy. After the entire extinction of the trade with India, by the Red Sea, which had taken place before this period; the Venetians were still in possession of almost all the commerce, which was carried on with the coast of Barbary, the Levant, and the Turkish empire. Their vessels navigated the German ocean, and supplied the English with many articles of convenience or luxury. Henry the Eighth encouraged and protected them, during his whole reign; and all the privileges which he had accorded, were confirmed by the regency, under Edward the Sixth; to whom, on his accession, the Senate had deputed an ambassador, to solicit the continuation of their antient immunities, and freedom of importation<sup>27</sup>. With all the circles of Germany, a great intercourse was carried on, by means of land carriage, through the Tyrol; and Venice derived immense profits, from this branch of her industry. No state, except Tuscany, in the sixteenth century, had made such exertions, in draining and cultivating their waste lands. Large tracts, in the Trevisane and Paduan, were, by order of the Senate, in 1557, completely rescued from the stagnant waters, with which they had been previously covered, and rendered productive<sup>28</sup>. Every regulation, which could sustain, or perpetuate the grandeur of the commonwealth, was enacted, and enforced, by the wisdom of the government. Bergamo and Udine, two important frontier cities, the one towards Milan, and the other on the side of Carniola, were fortified in 1567, and rendered as nearly impregnable, as the art of engineers could effect, in that age<sup>29</sup>. The arsenal had been burnt in

<sup>27</sup> Langier, vol. x. p. 64, 65.<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 106, 107.<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 137.

the

the year 1569; and this calamity, it was apprehended, had much encouraged Selim to come to an immediate rupture with the Republic. It was reconstructed without delay, and rendered more capacious and magnificent<sup>40</sup>.

C H A P.

VI.

1574.

The Venetian navy was formidable, numerous, and regulated with the utmost care. On emergencies, a great fleet could be equipped with astonishing celerity. An extraordinary proof of their ability in this respect, though on a smaller scale, was exhibited to Henry the Third, when at Venice, in 1574. While a collation was served up to him in the hall of the arsenal, a galley was begun, constructed, and finished, with every requisite for putting to sea, in the short space of two hours<sup>41</sup>. At the commencement of the Cyprian war, in 1570, ninety-one gallies, besides other vessels of smaller dimensions, were completely fitted for sea, in the course of a few days<sup>42</sup>. In the following year, at the battle of Lepanto, the Republic had one hundred and ten gallies in their division of the confederate fleet; and the success of that memorable victory, was allowed to have been eminently due to the superior construction of the Venetian ships, and to the dexterity of their nautical operations<sup>43</sup>. Such was their naval reputation and strength, that had the Senate made an early and vigorous exertion of it against the Turks, when they first invaded Cyprus, instead of relying on Philip the Second, and the league; it is more than probable, that Selim might have been reduced to abandon his project upon the island, or that he would have permitted the Republic to retain it, on receiving an augmentation of the annual tribute.

Marine.

If Venice had, however, declined in solid greatness, she nevertheless retained all the external elegance of a prosperous and opulent commonwealth. The city was adorned with the productions of art and genius, which vied in its embellishment. Palladio and Sca-

Arts, and  
magnifi-  
cence.<sup>40</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 143—145.<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 301.<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 159.<sup>43</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 245, and 248. Gregorio Leti, vol. iv. p. 52.



CHAP.  
VI.

1534.

mozzi reared the most sumptuous palaces along their canals, and carried architecture to its highest point of beauty. Sanfovino, and many others, adorned the ducal palace, with models of perfection in sculpture. The Venetian school of painting produced a Titian, a Paul Veronese, and a Tintoret<sup>44</sup>. Strangers, from every part of Europe, eagerly crowded to the capital of a Republic, not more renowned for its severe police and wisdom, than abundant in all the softest gratifications of refinement and luxury. The reception given to Henry the Third, on his passage from Poland into France, in the year 1574, exceeded, in splendor and diversity of magnificent exhibition, any thing which had been seen or imagined in the sixteenth century. The descriptions of those festivals, left us by cotemporary historians, fill the mind with astonishment, at the taste and grandeur which characterized all the diversions and shews, invented to celebrate the visit of the king of France<sup>45</sup>.

<sup>44</sup> Langier, vol. x. p. 94, 95, and 137.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 290—307.

## C H A P. VII.

## T U S C A N Y.

*Rise of the Republic of Florence.—Elevation of the family of Medecis.*

*—Character and actions of Cosmo de Medecis.—Administration of Lorenzo.—Expulsion of his son.—Appearance, and death of Savonarola.—Revival of the Republic.—Restoration of the House of Medecis.—Their second expulsion.—Siege of Florence.—Reign and death of Alexander.—Election of Cosmo.—State of Florence at that period.—Reign, and actions of Cosmo.—Siege, and reduction of Sienna.—Title of Great Duke of Tuscany, conferred on Cosmo.—Felicity of his government.—His domestic misfortunes.—His death, and character.—State of Tuscany, in 1574.—Manufactures.—Commerce.—Arts.—Forces.—Population.—Felicity, and prosperity of Cosmo's reign.*

THE interest which is excited by the history of states and kingdoms, does not always bear a proportion to their extent or magnitude. The empire of Russia, which prevails over so large a portion of the earth, awakens little curiosity, till the genius of Peter the First introduced civilization, and brought his subjects forward to notice, as members of a system, connected, in all its parts, by the common bonds of similarity of manners and civil policy. Florence, on the contrary, small and contracted in its territory, yet forcibly arrests the human mind, and engrosses its most serious attention. As early as the beginning of the fourteenth century, at a period when

C H A P.  
VII.

Interest, excited by the history of Florence,

1300—1400.



C H A P.  
VII.

1300—1400.

State of the  
Republic, in  
the middle  
ages.

that celebrated city and republic had emancipated itself from the chains of feudal tyranny, and aspired to national freedom. Convulsed by internal dissensions, torn by contending factions, and, like Athens, suffering many of the characteristic calamities, inseparable from a democratic form of government; Florence still advanced progressively in some of the most glorious attainments, which distinguish a civilized state of society. The majesty of the Roman jurisprudence was revived in their laws, which protected and secured the enjoyment of property. General industry and emulation were excited, by the prospect of civil honours and offices, to which all the citizens of the twenty-one tribes were eligible. Arts and letters, which follow in the train of liberty, seemed to have fixed their favourite residence in Tuscany. Danté, the father of Italian poetry, preceded Petrarch and Boccace, whose productions immortalized their country. Cimabue restored and renewed the art of painting; in which he was even excelled by his disciple Giotto, whose talents embraced the sister sciences of sculpture and architecture. Florence enjoyed a fair proportion of that trade, which Italy then carried on, almost exclusively. Confraternities, or companies, protected by municipal regulations, were established in the city. National banks facilitated the intercourse of commerce: manufactures of wool, and of silk, produced no inconsiderable profits to the adventurers, engaged in those fabricks. Opulence resulted from such numerous sources of advantage; and the first gold coin, which Europe had seen, since the destruction of the Roman empire, was struck by the Florentines'.

1400—1428.  
Origin of the  
family of  
Medecis.

From the bosom of commerce, sprung the illustrious family of Medecis, which, in celebrity, has eclipsed those of almost all the sovereigns of Europe. John de Medecis, whose influence and ascendancy in the councils of the Commonwealth, arose not more from his vast possessions, than from his virtue and beneficence, was the first banker

\* Galluzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 11—17. Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 752, 753.

and

and merchant of Italy. Cardinal Colonna, after his elevation to the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Martin the Fifth, when reduced to apply to him for pecuniary assistance, scrupled not to pledge to him the pontifical crown; and afterwards created him duke of Monteverdi. At his death, notwithstanding the immense treasures which he bequeathed to his family, yet so boundless had been his largesses and donations to the necessitous among his fellow-citizens, that he was attended to the grave by a prodigious concourse of his weeping countrymen, and honoured with the title of "Father of the Poor." Cosmo, his eldest son, succeeded to his virtues, and far excelled him in strength of genius, power, and reputation. Banished from Florence by a triumphant faction, he was recalled, only to enjoy an augmented degree of public confidence. Without the name, or odious appellation of prince, he became the real chief and head of the Republic, as Pericles had been of Athens. His influence, always exerted to produce the most beneficial and laudable effects, attained a solidity and strength, which no despotism could have conferred. Constantly engaged in commerce, he employed and enriched a multitude of persons, who, in return, sustained his own greatness. Modest and simple in his exterior, he mixed among the citizens as an individual, and avoided all demonstrations of unnecessary pomp, or splendor. His vessels traded to every port; and his factors at Constantinople, Cairo, and along the coasts of the Lesser Asia, enjoyed the most distinguished consideration. The sultans of Egypt, the emirs of Babylon, and the Turkish emperors, were, all, connected with him by commercial ties. The Paleologi, in whose family expired the empire of Constantinople, sold him the jewels and splendid furniture of the imperial palaces, during the state of depression to which they were reduced, previous to their final destruction, by Mahomet the Second. But, Cosmo derived a higher claim to the admiration of his cotemporaries and of posterity, than com-

C H A P.  
VII.

1400-1428.

1428-1464.  
Cosmo.

His character, commerce, and wealth.

Protection of letters.

<sup>2</sup> Galluzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 20-22.



C H A P.  
VII.

1428—1464.

Death of  
Cosmo.

1464—1472.  
Peter of Me-  
decis.

merce or riches could confer, by his princely protection of letters; and this part of his character has eminently conduced to the fame, which he enjoys in history. The memorable æra, distinguished by the name of "the age of the Medecis," commenced with Cosmo; and forms an epocha in the annals of literature. His house was the asylum of genius and talents, from every part of Italy and Greece. The most precious manuscripts, preserved by his care, from the barbarous rage of the Turks, and purchased by his order, were transmitted to future times. Numbers of learned men, driven by the Turkish sultans, to take refuge in Florence, and other Italian states, received from his bounty, a liberal provision, and repaid him by their grateful eulogiums. More fortunate in the close of life than Pericles, Cosmo, after having presided during thirty years, over the Republic, and having embellished the capital by monuments of utility and magnificence, expired in a very advanced age, and free from the infirmities with which it is usually accompanied. His memory was inexpressibly dear to his countrymen, who inscribed, by a public decree, on his tomb, the glorious title of "Father of his Country<sup>3</sup>."

His wealth and influence, but neither his genius, nor enlarged beneficence, descended to Peter, his only son. Indolent, and incapable of application, he devolved on others the business of the State. Oppressed with maladies, he equally wanted vigour of body and of mind, adequate to his high situation. Yet, beneficent, liberal, and of unsullied probity, his father's reputation and virtues sustained him; and even extricated him from repeated conspiracies, to which he had nearly fallen a victim. His life and administration were terminated by a premature end, the result of an infirm and sickly constitution; and the elevation to which the family of Medecis had attained, seemed to be menaced with extinction, by this event; Lorenzo, the

<sup>3</sup> Galluzzi, *Histoire de Toscane*, vol. i. Introduction, p. 22—29. Machiavel, book iv, v, vi, and vii, *passim*. *L'Art de Verif.* vol. iii. p. 753, 754. *Mod. Univ. Hist.* v. xxxvi. p. 302—304.

eldest of the two sons of Peter, having scarcely attained to manhood, and a powerful faction having carried war into the dominions of the Commonwealth \*.

C H A P.  
VII.

1472—1492.

But, Lorenzo of Medecis was destined to perpetuate, and to augment, the glory of his ancestors. Endowed with all the qualities, which had so eminently appeared in Cosmo, he evinced himself worthy to succeed to the civil and military supremacy of the Republic. His active exertions, joined to an experience beyond his years, enabled him speedily and honourably to terminate the hostilities, which the enemies of his father had carried on against Florence. The city of Volterra having revolted, and thrown off its allegiance, was reduced by Lorenzo, to capitulate; and his clemency toward the culpable and vanquished citizens, augmented the general esteem and affection, which he had previously acquired. His power, exerted for the benefit of the people, began already to take the deepest root. But, a desperate and numerous faction, with which Sixtus the Fourth, who then occupied the papal see, was not ashamed to connect himself by the closest ties, determined on his extermination, and that of his family. It conveys to us a faithful, though a revolting picture of the spirit of the age and of Italy, to consider, that the scene of this assassination, in which the supreme head of the christian church was deeply and personally implicated, was the cathedral of Florence; and the moment, destined for its completion, that, in which the elevation of the host, the most solemn act of the catholic religion, inspired the multitude assembled before the altar, with prostrate awe and veneration. Julian, the younger brother of Lorenzo, perished by the daggers of the assassins; but he himself, though wounded, had time to escape, and to preserve his life. The Florentines, irritated by so daring and impious a murder, rose, and executed speedy vengeance upon the conspirators. The archbishop of Pisa, who, notwithstanding the sanctity of his character and office, had, like Sixtus,

Lorenzo of  
Medecis.

Conspiracy  
against Lo-  
renzo.

\* Galuzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 29, 30. Machiavel, book vii.



C H A P.  
VII.

1472—1492.

His wife, and  
able govern-  
ment.

assumed a principal part in the plot, was hanged, in his pontifical habit, at the windows of the palace of the Republic; and the attempt to extinguish the power and family of the Medecis, only contributed to confirm the authority of Lorenzo, and to endear him to his countrymen<sup>s</sup>.

Incapable of remorse, but stung with indignation and shame at the failure of the enterprize, Sixtus, unmoved by the efforts which Lorenzo made to obliterate the transaction, and to regain his friendship, not only lanced the malediction of the church against the Republic; but, engaged Ferdinand, king of Naples, to aid him in his vengeance, by marching an army against Florence. The city was already on the point of being invested; and the family of Medecis, unequal to so formidable a confederacy, seemed to be menaced with destruction, when it was extricated, by a magnanimous and successful resolution of Lorenzo. In this act, we again recognize the manners and genius of a century, widely dissimilar from that in which we live, and resembling the simplicity of the primitive ages of the world. Confiding in his own talents, capable of planning and executing the boldest designs, and, prepared, if necessary, to sacrifice himself for the Commonwealth; he quitted Tuscany, carried with him as hostages, the principal youth of the city, and embarked for Naples, to plead his own cause with Ferdinand, and convince him of the injustice of the hostilities, in which he had been engaged by the resentment of Sixtus. The experiment succeeded, and justified Lorenzo. Won by his eloquence, and convinced by his arguments, the king of Naples, notwithstanding the remonstrances of his ally, withdrew his forces from Tuscany. He even entered into the closest ties of policy with the house of Medecis; and during a revolt of his barons, which took place some years afterwards, he received from the voluntary gratitude of Lorenzo, so effectual a military and pecuniary support, as enabled him to repress the insurrection, and

<sup>s</sup> Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 30—33.  
preserve

preserve the prerogatives of his crown. Even the pope, menaced by the Turks, and alarmed at the capture of Otranto by Mahomet the Second, submitted to demand assistance from the man, whom he had so long injured and persecuted \*.

C H A P.

VII.

1472—1492.

Covered with personal glory, attained by his public services and exertions, Lorenzo de Medecis directed his attention towards confirming the greatness of his family, while he laboured to augment the felicity of the commonwealth, and to preserve the repose of Italy. He formed an alliance for the defence of his house, with the king of Naples, and the duke of Milan, two powerful princes, between whose dominions Tuscany was situated. Apprehensive of the Venetians, he negotiated, in order to set limits to the ambition of that formidable Republic, and to repress her conquests. His cabinet was the center of the political interests and secrets of the surrounding princes; who, during the last four years of his life, referred their disputes to his arbitration and justice. In his management of the Florentines, he exerted the most consummate wisdom, while he emulated the magnificence of the Cæsars, in the shews and entertainments with which he gratified their leisure. We behold with astonishment a private citizen, invested with no sovereign authority, and only governing by the ascendancy of his virtues; who distributed largesses to his fellow-subjects, with unsparing liberality, at the same time that he constructed fortresses for the protection of their territories. The splendor and expence which characterized his public games, recal the idea of the Roman diversions in the Circus, and are unlike any thing which the last, or present century has exhibited. The superb carousals and entertainments of Louis the Fourteenth, at Versailles, were only designed to gratify his mistresses, or his courtiers. Lorenzo's, were for the Tuscan people. His factors in Egypt furnished him with wild beasts, which were transported at his expence, to Florence; and renewed the spectacles given by Augustus

His measures  
for securing  
the grandeur  
of his family.

Magnificence  
of Lorenzo.

\* Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 33, 34.



C H A P.  
VII.

1472—1492.

Splendour of  
his reputa-  
tion.

His death.

to the conquerors of the world. Representations of the fables and achievements of the heroes of antiquity, races, and scenic entertainments, were intermingled with tournaments and martial exercises. Such was his reputation beyond the Alps, that Bajazet the Second, emperor of the Turks, and Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, sent embassies of friendship to him; and the Egyptian sultans laid at his feet, all the most costly productions of Arabia and India. Towards the termination of his life, he withdrew his immense property from commerce, and realized it by the purchase of lands. Snatched away, at an early period, and in the vigour of his age, he left his country and Italy equally to lament his loss. It was the era of calamity to both, and of the ruin of his family. He was justly surnamed the "Magnificent," and "the Father of Letters." No prince, in any age, exceeded him in his protection of the arts, and his munificence to men of genius. The palace of Lorenzo, was a Lyceum; and to enumerate those, who were the constant objects of his favour and liberality, would be to commemorate every person, whom the fifteenth century produced, of merit or eminence. Leonardo Aretino, and Poggio, two of the finest writers of that age, presided over his education. Politian, Picus of Mirandola, Lascaris, Chancondilas, and many others, illustrious in the annals of literature, were his constant guests, and the companions of his leisure. He embellished Florence, founded the university of Pisa, and was himself a distinguished writer, in various species of composition.

1492—1494.

Peter the Se-  
cond.

With him expired the political importance of the house of Medici; which, unlike that of other princes, was not supported by military force, but derived its principal strength from the benign effect of virtue and capacity. Peter, the eldest son of Lorenzo, inherited neither his father's genius, nor qualities of the heart. Intoxicated with power, incapable of adapting himself to the manners of the people whom he

<sup>1</sup> Machiavel, book viii. Galuzzi, Histoire de Toscane, vol. i. Introduction, p. 35. Varillas, Histoire Secrete de la Maison de Medecis, p. 144—147.

<sup>2</sup> Varillas, p. 158—164. Galuzzi, ibid. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 755.

was designed to govern, and destitute of application; his person and administration became odious to the Florentines. Meanwhile, a great revolution was on the point of taking place in Italy, which demanded, in the chief of a free and tumultuous Commonwealth, pre-eminent talents, to direct, or withstand. Charles the Eighth, king of France, invited by Louis Sforza, duke of Milan, prepared to assert his claim to the kingdom of Naples, and crossed the Alps at the head of a powerful army. Peter of Medecis, attached by policy and treaties to the Arragoneſe princes, then reigning at Naples, attempted to reſiſt the French invaders: but, on their approach, paſſing rapidly from one extreme to another, he embraced the fatal meaſure of going to meet, and conciliate the favour of Charles. The ſame experiment, which, in the able hands of Lorenzo, had retrieved his own affairs and thoſe of his country, produced, in the unſkilful management of Peter, only complete deſtruction. He was compelled to ſurrender the principal fortrefſes of the Republic, as hoſtages for his fidelity. So degrading a ſacrifice of the national honour and ſecurity, inſtantly alienated from him every heart; and yielding to the impuſe of his fears, he precipitately fled from Florence, quitting, without an effort, the moſt enviable ſovereignty, ever attained, or enjoyed, by any prince. His evil deſtiny, in defiance of the moſt favourable occaſions, prevented his re-eſta bliſhment; and, after various unſucceſſful attempts to recover his patri- mony and dignity, he periſhed at the mouth of the river Garigliano, the Liris of antiquity, in the kingdom of Naples; a memorable example of the precarious nature of human grandeur and felicity.

Florence, by this rapid and unexpected revolution, became free; and the firſt uſe which the citizens made of their newly-recovered liberty, was, to plunder the effects of the family, from whoſe government they were emancipated. All the precious manuſcripts, and collections of art, which Coſimo and Lorenzo, during ſixty years,

\* Varillas, p. 202—209. Galuzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 36—41. Guicciardini, book i.

CHAP.  
VII.

1492—1494

Invasion of  
Italy, by  
Charles the  
Eighth.

Expulſion of  
the Medecis.

Death of  
Peter.

1494—1498.

Appearance,  
character,  
and execu-  
tion of Sa-  
vonarola.



CHAP.  
VII.

1494—1498.

had amassed with care and expence, were defaced and scattered. The statues of the Medecis were thrown down; and the leaders of the faction, which assumed the conduct of the Republic, employed the eloquence and zeal of Savonarola, to sustain the people in their antipathy to the late government. This Dominican monk, by the energy of his popular declamation, by the austerity of his manners, and by the claims to prophetic powers, which he boldly asserted, was, during a few years, the principal engine, by which the multitude was retained in subjection. But, a scarcity of provisions, for which no alleviation was to be found, as formerly, in the liberality of the Medecis, added to the indiscreet vengeance exercised against the adherents of that exiled house, gradually indisposed and alienated the people. Alexander the Sixth, who then filled the chair of St. Peter, and against whose enormities Savonarola had fearlessly declaimed, aided his enemies; and the unfortunate monk, delivered over to justice, and abandoned by the people, who so lately idolized him, perished in the flames<sup>10</sup>.

1498—1512:  
State of Italy,  
and of Flo-  
rence.

The princes of the house of Medecis continued, notwithstanding, to wander in a state of exile and indigence, through the courts of Italy; while Florence, though in possession of freedom; yet, agitated by factions, neither enjoyed tranquillity, nor influence. Europe had, besides, recently undergone a vast alteration; and that change had been peculiarly inimical to the Italian states. The genius of Columbus discovered America, nearly at the same time that the perseverance of Gama effected a new passage to India. The ancient system of commerce was overturned: Portugal and Spain became possessed of the trade, previously enjoyed by Florence, Venice, and the surrounding Republics; which gradually lost, with the source of their wealth, their power and consequence. To add to the misfortune, since the invasion of Charles the Eighth, Italy had been perpetually laid waste by foreign nations. Naples, in possession, alternately, of Louis the Twelfth, and Ferdi-

<sup>10</sup> Varillas, p. 212—217. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 755; 756.

and the Catholic, had finally been subjected by the latter power; and, no longer governed by its own sovereigns, sunk into a Spanish province. Milan was nearly in a similar situation. Pisa had thrown off the yoke of Florence, and maintained its independence for many years, notwithstanding the utmost efforts to reduce the city to obedience. John, cardinal of Medecis, second son of Lorenzo, and who afterwards became known in history, on his elevation to the pontificate, by the title of Leo the Tenth, had already conciliated the affection of his countrymen, by the love of letters, and liberality of disposition, so characteristic of his family. Julius the Second, who had succeeded to Alexander the Sixth in the holy see, was irritated against the Republic, for having allied itself with his enemies; and Soderini, the chief of the faction opposed to the Medecis, wanted the capacity requisite to sustain him in the arduous elevation, to which he had been raised; of perpetual dictator".

C H A P.  
VII.

1498—1512.

Under these circumstances, it was not difficult for the cardinal of Medecis, aided by an army composed of the Spanish and papal troops, to re-enter Florence, and to re-establish his house in their ancient lustre, after having been ejected eighteen years. Lorenzo, son of Peter, under the direction of Julian, his uncle, assumed the supreme administration; and the election of Leo the Tenth to the papal see, in the succeeding year, confirmed the authority of his nephew and brother. But, both those princes were soon carried off by early and premature deaths, without leaving any legitimate issue in the male line. Catherine of Medecis, so famous in the annals of France, was daughter to Lorenzo. The government of Florence devolved on another descendant of the same family, Julius, cardinal of Medecis; who, in his turn, was raised to the chair of St. Peter, by the name of Clement the Seventh. Under his protection and superintendence, tranquillity was preserved for several years. Alexander, a natural son of Lorenzo the Second, (or, as was

1512—1527:  
Restoration of  
the Medecis.

" Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 48—54. Varillas, p. 217—246.

asserted,



C H A P.  
VII.

1512—1527.

asserted, of Clement himself,) by a slave, was destined, when he should arrive at manhood, to support the grandeur of the house of Medecis, and to fill the office of head of the Commonwealth. In this selection, the pontiff passed over and excluded Hyppolito, an illegitimate son of Julian, brother to Leo the Tenth; and who, both from the circumstances of his descent on the mother's side, as well as from the qualities of his mind and character, was far more worthy of the elevation<sup>12</sup>.

1527—1529.  
Revolt of the  
Florentines.

The faction which had expelled Peter of Medecis in 1494, though quelled, was not extinct; and during the calamities of Clement's pontificate, when the imperial troops sacked Rome, under the constable of Bourbon, and became masters of the person of the pope himself, Florence again revolted. Cardinal Passerini, who administered the affairs of the government in his name, was driven out; and a democratic form of constitution was revived. Every outrage, which a furious and irritated populace could heap upon the sovereign pontiff, and his house, was committed. Clement was declared guilty of treason against the Commonwealth, and his memory loaded with opprobrium. In the perusal of the Florentine history, we are perpetually reminded of that of Athens, under Philip of Macedon. But, the triumph of freedom was transient. By the treaty of Barcelona, between Charles the Fifth and the pope, the restoration of the Medecis was principally stipulated; and the emperor consented to give his natural daughter, Margaret, in marriage to Alexander, as chief and representative of the family. Driven to despair by this agreement, the Florentines, though abandoned by Francis the First and the Venetians, yet determined on resistance. The forces of Charles, commanded by Philibert, prince of Orange, invested the city, and became masters of it, after a siege which lasted eleven months. Alexander, on his arrival, was invested with the dignity of first magistrate, and declared duke of Florence. Mea-

Siege, and  
reduction of  
Florence.

1530.

<sup>12</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 54—61. Varillas, book vi. Guicciardini. Paul Jovius.

asures of severity were adopted to confirm his power. The citizens were, by an arbitrary edict, deprived of all arms or weapons whatever, and it was already agitated to construct a citadel for their complete subjugation.<sup>11</sup>

C H A P.  
VII.

1530.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the death of Clement shook the authority of the newly restored prince, which was already enfeebled by his vices and incapacity. Cruel, vindictive, rapacious, insolent, and abandoned to dissolute pleasures, Alexander became universally odious.

Alexander of  
Medecis.

1531—1537.

The proscription and punishments, inflicted on his enemies or opponents, heightened the public detestation. Hyppolito, to whom he had been unjustly or capriciously preferred by the late pope, having retired to Rome, began to collect adherents, and to entertain hopes of supplanting his relation. Charles the Fifth had not yet accomplished the nuptials of his daughter with the young duke of Florence, and might transfer to Hyppolito the hand of Margaret, and the government of Tuscany. The two competitors prepared to plead their respective causes in person, before the emperor, who was at Naples, recently returned with glory from his expedition against Tunis. But, poison, administered by Alexander to his cousin and rival, terminated the contest, and carried off Hyppolito, at Istri, in the vicinity of Gaeta. This event, however criminal and atrocious, left no alternative to Charles, except that of restoring Florence to liberty: an expedient from which he was deterred by his consciousness of the tumultuary nature of a popular government, and by the known partiality of the inhabitants to France, their antient ally. Yielding, therefore, rather to necessity, than inclination, he celebrated the marriage of Margaret with Alexander, and confirmed him in his ducal dignity; though, upon conditions, which left him little more than a nominal sovereignty, and which virtually annexed Tuscany, as he afterwards openly did Milan, to the other dominions of the Spanish monarchy. The duke, triumphant over

His vices,  
and mal-  
administra-  
tion.

<sup>11</sup> Galozzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 61—68. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 757.



C H A P.  
VII.1531—1537.  
Assassination  
of Alexander.

all his opponents, and elated with so powerful an alliance, returned to Florence, where his oppressions and irregularities were redoubled in violence. But, their duration was very short: in imitation of the younger Brutus, who liberated Rome from servitude, Lorenzo of Medecis, the minister of his pleasures, and nearly allied to him by blood, assassinated him, and rescued his country from so ignominious and degrading a tyranny<sup>24</sup>.

1537.

By the unexpected death of Alexander, the Florentine state relapsed into a situation, similar to that in which it stood, at the conclusion of the memorable siege, in 1530; and might be regarded as at the disposal of the emperor, who had already conferred it on its late possessor. But, the rescript, solemnly published by Charles, at the time when he invested Alexander with his dignity, decreed, that on failure of male issue, the nearest relation should succeed. The duchess, Margaret, exhibited no symptoms of pregnancy; and the only issue of the duke, was an illegitimate son, scarcely three years of age. In this dilemma, the cardinal Cibo, who wished to prefer the claim of the infant, was over-ruled by some of the principal senators; and Cosmo of Medecis, secretly introduced into the city, was declared "chief of the Republic and its dependancies." His right of consanguinity was very remote, as he only derived his descent from John, father to the celebrated elder Cosmo, by a younger son; but, though only eighteen years old, he had already, in addition to the exterior graces of person, given indications of vigour and capacity of mind. His father had, at an early period of life, acquired great military renown, while in command of the papal armies, and had left behind him a reputation dear to his countrymen, and to all Italy. No sooner was the election of Cosmo notified to the people, than the intelligence excited universal joy, and was received with general acclamations. Precautions, for securing tranquillity, were instantly taken; and messengers were dispatched to Charles the Fifth, then in Spain, to request his approbation of Cosmo,

Elevation of  
Cosmo.<sup>24</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. Introd. p. 68—74. Guicciardini, *passim*.

as successor to Alexander. A sort of indirect, and ambiguous consent was obtained in a few weeks, which seemed to flow, more from the difficulty of seizing on Tuscany by open force, than from any affection on the part of the emperor, towards the new prince".

C H A P.  
VII.

1537.

The condition of Florence, as a city, and a republic, at this æra, was truly deplorable. In the lapse of only forty-five years, since the death of Lorenzo the magnificent, its commerce, opulence, and grandeur had been completely subverted. To such distress were the inhabitants reduced, when the capital surrendered to the Imperial general, in 1530, that, in order to raise the sum of forty thousand ducats, which were to be distributed among the victorious soldiery, it had been necessary to have recourse to the ornaments and plate of the churches". During the short time, which Alexander held the supreme power, he only aggravated the burdens, and augmented the poverty of the people. The rich tract of flat country in which Pisa is situated, capable of producing the most plentiful supplies of corn and grain, was desolate, depopulated, and covered with marshes". Pistoia, another principal city, was torn by factions, which impeded agriculture, and threatened to produce famine". Even, in the vicinity of Florence, so deserted was the country, that the wolves, in great numbers, committed devastations on the flocks, attacked the peasants, and rendered it requisite for the government to offer rewards for their extermination". So depressed were the manufactures, that those of glass, wax, and many others, had totally disappeared during the siege, and had not revived since that period. A striking proof of the decline of the elegant arts, was exhibited, by the necessity of causing all the plate and decorations for the marriage of Cosmo, even two years after his accession, in 1539, to be made at Naples. No workmen, capable of executing those articles of luxury, were to be found in Florence".

State of  
Florence at  
this period.

Manufac-  
tures.

<sup>15</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 3—18.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. Introd. p. 76, and p. 291.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 315.

<sup>18</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 18, 19, and p. 315

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 316.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid. p. 303, 304.



C H A P.  
VII.1537.  
Revenues.

The revenues of the State bore a proportion to its other wants. All the severe imposts, or oppressive modes of extorting money, invented and practised by Alexander, scarcely raised them to four hundred thousand ducats annually<sup>21</sup>. Cosmo could not hope, unless by enriching his people, to maintain them at, and still less, to augment them beyond that sum. His situation was precarious, dependant, and altogether at the arbitrary pleasure of Charles the Fifth. The fortresses of Pisa, Leghorn, and even of Florence itself, were occupied, and garrisoned by Spanish forces, who owned no allegiance except to the emperor<sup>22</sup>. The republican party was numerous in the capital, and already collecting on the frontiers, to overturn the new government. Paul the Third, the reigning pope, and Francis the First, king of France, were disposed to aid them, and to dispossess Cosmo of his dominions.

1537—1540.  
Vigorous government of  
Cosmo.

Under circumstances so adverse and unpropitious, that prince found resources in the energy of his talents, his promptitude, and indefatigable exertions. Having provided for the safety of the capital, by some wise and severe regulations, he put himself at the head of a body of troops; marched to meet the exiles, who had already, under the command of Philip Strozzi, entered on the territories of Florence; and obtained a decisive advantage over them at Monte Murlo. Strozzi himself, together with his principal adherents, were taken, and conducted to the citadel. Justly elated with this fortunate commencement, which Cosmo considered as the æra of his real accession, he immediately evinced his determination to reign, and to shake off the fetters, with which he had hitherto been confined. The state of dependance, in which the Senate, as well as the Imperial ministers, resident near his person, had held him, appeared unworthy of a sovereign, endowed with qualities fitted to command. While, on one hand, he, therefore, restrained and diminished the power of the council, associated with him in the government; he dispatched a courier

He endeavours to  
emancipate  
Tuscany.<sup>21</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 296, 297. About one hundred and eighty thousand pounds, sterling.<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 17, 18.

to acquaint Charles with his victory, and to demand Margaret, widow of his predecessor, in marriage. The Spanish court, rendered complying by Cosmo's success, confirmed his title, without delay, in the most ample terms; and he then assumed the denomination of duke of Florence, from which he had previously abstained. To the proposition for his natural daughter, Charles dissented; but, with expressions of high consideration for Cosmo, and assurances that his Imperial majesty would recommend, and provide him a wife. Margaret was sacrificed to her father's policy and ambition, who compelled her reluctantly, to espouse Octavio Farnese, grandson to Paul the Third. Eleanor, daughter of Don Pedro de Toledo, viceroy of Naples, was the person selected by him for Cosmo, as the union would bind the duke still more closely to the interests of Spain; and the nuptials were solemnized with great magnificence, amidst the acclamations of the Tuscan people<sup>23</sup>.

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1537—1540.

His nuptials.

The line of public conduct, pursued by Cosmo, evinced the strength of his capacity; and betrayed, at an age when the passions usually take the lead, a judgment and aptitude for affairs, which partook more of the riper period of life. Unseduced by pleasure, or indolence, his attention to consolidate his recent greatness, was unremitting, and his vigilance ever on the watch, to anticipate danger, or attack. The machine of government was conducted with a firm and steady hand. Every proper precaution to prevent internal commotion, was taken. The delicate and unpopular measure of an augmentation of the taxes, indispensable for the defence of his dominions, was sustained on his part, with becoming resolution, and submitted to, on that of his subjects, almost without a murmur. His activity in personally inspecting all the departments of state, enabled him to form a correct estimate of its situation, and to adduce a remedy to its disorders. He visited, successively, every part of Tus-

1540—1543:  
Wife, and  
politic ad-  
ministration  
of Cosmo.<sup>23</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 18—59. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 757, 758.



C H A P. VII. 1540—1543. cany; ordered the construction of forts, at Arezzo and Pistoria; repaired the fortifications of Pisa, while he gave directions for draining the adjacent country; regulated the modes of paying the public contributions, and instructed himself in the grievances of his subjects. With equal wisdom and beneficence, he caused grain to be imported from Sicily, and distributed or sold to the people, during a season of scarcity; and this act of munificence acquired him deserved popularity. Towards Paul the Third, who had laid Florence under an interdict, and omitted no means of exciting disaffection, or revolt, Cosmo uniformly acted with firm, but, temperate dignity. In his researches after those who had been concerned in conspiracies or insurrections, with a view to restore the antient commonwealth, greater severity was exercised, and capital punishment, or exile, inflicted. Conscious of the effect of objects, even the most inanimate, which are constantly acting on the senses, he transferred his residence from the old palace of the house of Medecis, to that denominated "the Palace of the Republic;" in order that the perpetual view of an edifice, once sacred to freedom, might not painfully remind the Florentines of the extinction of their liberties. In these measures, we recognize the talents of a statesman, and the qualifications of a prince, who was not undeserving of the elevation, to which he had been conducted by fortune<sup>22</sup>.

He procures the recall of the Spanish troops.

But, the most important object remained yet uneffected; and Cosmo could only regard his condition as a splendid vassalage, while the garrisons of Pisa and Leghorn were composed of Spaniards, and even the citadel of Florence was in possession of the emperor. Availing himself with address, of the necessities of that monarch, he prevailed on Charles to restore to him the fortresses, on payment of a considerable sum of money; and on his engaging to protect against all invaders, peculiarly the French and Turks, the cities of Piombino and

<sup>22</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 59—88.

Sienna,

Sienna, together with the coasts of Tuscany. It is only from the moment of this evacuation, that his reign may be justly dated; and that, having completed his emancipation from a foreign yoke, he could adopt, without controul, such principles, as, while they consolidated his own authority, might establish the felicity of his people<sup>23</sup>.

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1543.

Animated equally with gratitude towards the emperor, as his benefactor, and induced by a consideration of his own true interests; Cosmo, during the war, which speedily commenced between Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, evinced his steady adherence to the former prince. Barbarossa, commander of the Ottoman fleet, having, in conjunction with that of France, appeared in two successive years, off the coast of Tuscany; the duke not only took the most vigorous and efficacious measures for defending his own dominions; but, he extended succours to the neighbouring states. Piombino, and the island of Elba, ports of the highest importance, situated in the center of the Florentine territories, were held by James, count of Appiano, as fiefs of the empire, and owned no allegiance or subjection to Cosmo. Unable to withstand the combined forces, and destitute of troops or resources, Appiano, on the approach of Barbarossa, reluctantly called on the duke for protection. Piombino was saved by the prompt introduction of a body of Tuscan soldiery, and the Turkish admiral was compelled to relinquish his prey. The Republic of Sienna, which had long been in a state of internal declension, and alternately governed by the French, or the Imperial faction, possessed a tract of coast, not less important, comprehending in it, the maritime places of Orbitello and Porto Ercolé. The latter of these was captured, and reduced to ashes, by Barbarossa; and the former only escaped a similar fate, by the exertions of the duke, who sent immediate assistance to the garrison<sup>24</sup>.

1543, 1544.  
Measures for  
securing the  
repose of  
Tuscany.

Conscious of the value of Piombino and its dependencies, by which Tuscany might with facility be invaded, in the most vulnerable

1545—1548.  
He attempts  
to gain Pi-  
ombino.

<sup>23</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 90—96.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 97—118.

quarter;



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VII.

1545-1548.

quarter; and the inability of so feeble a feudatory as Appiano, to maintain these exposed possessions, being manifest; Cosmo exerted every endeavour to induce the emperor, as sovereign of the fief, to compel the possessor to alienate it in his favour, on receiving for it an adequate indemnification. But, Charles, distrustful, and rendered suspicious by the duke's anxiety to become master of Piombino, was long undecided. Even, after his apprehensions that the place might be seized on and retained by France, had induced him to admit Cosmo to take possession of it, as a deposit; he resumed the donation in a few weeks, and caused it to be garrisoned with Spanish forces. Humiliating as was this treatment, and subversive of his views, the duke submitted, and waited till a more favourable juncture should

1549-1551.

enable him to resume his exertions with better success". Meanwhile, his vigilance and attention to public affairs, were unintermitted. During the temporary tranquillity, which took place between the crowns of France and Spain, after the decease of Francis the First, he was not inattentive to any transaction, by which his own power, or the happiness of his subjects, could be affected. All his internal regulations were dictated by policy, and carried into effect with vigour. He constructed an arsenal at Pisa; relieved his people from the severe misfortunes, caused by an inundation of the river Arno, which had desolated Florence and the surrounding country; and superintended with minute solicitude the progress of arts, manufactures, and commerce. His coffers were constantly full; and his credit such, as to enable him, on emergency, to command still more ample funds, both at home, and in foreign states. Nor were his inspection and care confined to Tuscany: Julius the Third was elevated to the papal see, principally by his recommendation and assistance; while, at the same time, he opened a negotiation with Henry the Second, king of France, and even eventually signed a treaty of neutrality with that

Able policy,  
and great ex-  
ertions of  
Cosmo.

<sup>27</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. chap. v. and p. 172-184.

power,

power, in case of a future rupture between the French and Charles the Fifth<sup>28</sup>.

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The penetration of Cosmo had anticipated, and foreseen, that hostilities would recommence in every part of Italy, as soon as the French monarch conceived himself able to resume his father's quarrel against the emperor; and the event justified his expectation. Alarmed at the approach of the storm; unwilling to devolve on Appiano the defence of Piombino, and unable to leave in the place a sufficient garrison, at a moment when his forces must, of necessity, be occupied in Piedmont, Milan, and Naples; the Imperial court, a second time, confided Piombino and Elba, to the care of the duke; though only on condition of restoring those possessions, whenever he should be reimbursed for the expences incurred in their protection. Hard as the conditions appeared, they were accepted by him; and his troops took possession of the fortresses, evacuated by the Spaniards<sup>29</sup>.

1551, 1552.  
He acquires  
possession of  
Piombino.

A far more important object excited his ambition, and animated his hopes. The Republic of Sienna, from its situation, was capable, in the hands of an enemy, of being eminently injurious, if not ruinous to Florence, by the access which it afforded into the center of Tuscany. Henry the Second, well aware of its value, and intent on invading the kingdom of Naples, fomented by every means, the disaffection of the Siennese towards the emperor. Instigated by the emissaries, and emboldened by the promises of France, the inhabitants of Sienna had expelled the Spanish garrison, though reinforced by a body of Cosmo's troops; and proceeding to every extremity of resentment, they had devoted themselves to the interests of the French monarch. Charles, justly incensed at the outrage, determined to make them experience the full extent of his vengeance, and gave orders to the viceroy of Naples to form the siege of the capital, in

1553-  
Affairs of  
Sienna.

Attack of  
Sienna.

<sup>28</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. chap. vii.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. chap. i.

conjunc-



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1553.

conjunction with the duke of Florence. In consequence of his directions, Sienna was invested and attacked, by the Spanish and Tuscan forces; and, notwithstanding the resistance of the inhabitants, the place must have speedily surrendered. But, at that precise juncture, the emperor, broken in mind and body by infirmities, repulsed before Metz with dishonour, and apprehensive of the Turkish fleet, in combination with the French, re-appearing on the Neapolitan coasts; hastily relinquished his attempt, and withdrew his troops from before Sienna, in defiance of Cosmo's remonstrances<sup>10</sup>.

1553, 1554.

Second siege  
of Sienna.

No measure could be more injurious to that prince; as it left him exposed to the vengeance of France, who was become absolute mistress of the city and republic, which her arms and interposition had so recently saved from an exemplary chastisement, if not from complete destruction. Animated, however, rather than depressed, by this consideration, and apprehensive that delay would enable the French court to take precautions for securing the future possession of Sienna; the duke embraced the resolution of attempting, himself, its conquest and reduction. He proposed to Charles the Fifth, the instant execution of a plan, so replete with advantage to them both, if successful; and having received assurances of effectual support, pecuniary and military, he caused an army to advance and commence the siege. Peter Strozzi, son to the celebrated and unfortunate exile, defeated at Monte Murlo, in the first months of Cosmo's reign, and who possessed all the qualifications of a statesman and a general, was sent by Henry the Second, to command in the city; having, under his orders, a body of veteran troops, with which he embarked from Marseilles. Every effort which the most desperate courage, sustained by personal animosity against the duke, whom he considered as the tyrant and usurper of his country, could dictate or inspire, was exerted by Strozzi, to repulse the assailants; or, at least, to protract the surrender of Sienna.

Defence of  
the city by  
Strozzi.

<sup>10</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 48—70.

Ill supported by the ministers of France, opposed by the magistrates and inhabitants of the city itself, and labouring under the augmenting pressure of famine; he yet betrayed no apprehension. Oppressed by unequal forces, he twice transferred the scene of war, from the walls of Sienna, to the dominions of Florence, by breaking through the lines of the besiegers; and he even ventured to approach the capital of Cosmo. Compelled, under manifest disadvantages, to hazard a general action; wounded, and abandoned by his own soldiers, he found means again to enter Sienna, and to encourage the garrison, by his example, to the most obstinate resistance. When despairing of success, and incapable of withstanding his enemies, he effected his escape; and surviving the loss of the city, reanimated the spirit of the Siennese in the dependencies of the Republic, to make new efforts for the preservation of their freedom and constitution<sup>31</sup>.

The magnanimous struggles of Strozzi, could not, however, prolong the destiny of Sienna. Famine opened its gates; and the conqueror granted the garrison, as well as the remaining inhabitants, an honourable capitulation. The unconquerable attachment of many of the citizens to that liberty, which they had enjoyed for near four hundred years, induced them, in the vain hope of escaping from their new master, to retire to Monte Alcino, where they continued to maintain the forms of a free state, under the protection of France<sup>32</sup>. Meanwhile, the emperor, Charles the Fifth, diseased, and enfeebled by a premature decline of his intellectual vigour, had, gradually, and at intervals, divested himself of all his dominions, which he devolved on Philip the Second, his son. With that monarch, Cosmo opened a negotiation, for adjusting the future condition of Sienna; which, as an Imperial fief, forfeited to Charles, had been, by him, bequeathed, with his other extensive territories and possessions, to his

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VII.

1553, 1554.

1555.  
Surrender of  
Sienna.

1556.

<sup>31</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. chap. iii.<sup>32</sup> Ibid. chap. iv. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 758.



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VII.

1557.  
Cession of  
the city and  
territory of  
Sienna, to  
Cosmo.

Considera-  
tions on that  
event.

successor. After long contest, the new king of Spain agreed to cede to the duke, in extinction of all the sums borrowed from him at various times, the city and dependencies of Sienna; reserving, nevertheless, from this cession, the maritime places of Orbitello, and Porto Ercolé, on the coast of Tuscany; and exacting from Cosmo, the evacuation and restitution of Piombino, together with the isle of Elba. By a subsequent stipulation, he connected himself, offensively and defensively, with Philip; and even engaged not to contract his sons in marriage, except to the satisfaction of that prince. On these conditions, he took possession of the conquered country, and received the submissions of the unfortunate people, transferred to him by Spain.

However his ambition might be gratified by an accession of territory so considerable, which rendered him sovereign of almost all the antient Etruria, and increased his consequence among the Italian states; he may be justly considered, as having too dearly purchased these advantages. Philip, by retaining the fortresses of the Tuscan coast, remained the arbiter of Cosmo, and of his dominions, which he could, at his pleasure, invade with facility; while the latter power, compelled to adopt all the interests and quarrels of the court of Madrid, became dependant on the Spanish monarchy, and too deeply involved in its future destiny, or misfortunes. These reflexions, which time and experience have approved, did not, however, prevent the contemporaries of Cosmo, from admiring the dexterity and capacity, which had enabled him, by negotiation, to wrest from the most powerful and ambitious monarch of Europe, a province, that gave its possessor an entrance into the center of Italy<sup>33</sup>. The wretched survivors of the Republic of Sienna, who had taken refuge at Monte Alcino, did not long enjoy even the shadow of their antient freedom. Attacked by the duke; abandoned and even sold by Henry the Second, at the peace of Cateau; and destitute of the means of opposing the superior force of Florence, aided

1558, 1559.  
Conclusion of  
the war with  
the Siennese.

<sup>33</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 229—276.

by

by Spain; they, after protracting as long as any hope remained, their final submission, voluntarily yielded to their fate. Cosmo, on that occasion, acting with equal policy and magnanimity, extended a general amnesty to all his new subjects; and in the regulations which he enacted for their future government, united the wisest measures for confirming his own authority, with the protection and happiness of the Siennese".

CHAP.  
VII.

1538, 1559.

To the successful accomplishment of his projects of ambition and augmentation of dominions, succeeded the arts of peace, and the intrigues of a watchful policy. The court of Rome, during the two successive pontificates of Pius the Fourth, and Fifth, was constantly friendly, or subservient to the views of the duke; who, by artfully flattering the weaknesses, or ministering to the necessities of the head of the church, held all Italy in respect, and even excited the jealous vigilance of Philip the Second himself. Pius the Fourth, elevated to the papal chair by Cosmo's friendship, repaid him by every act of grateful attention, or compliance; and meditated to confer on him the title of "Grand Duke of Tuscany," when he was prevented by death. But, his successor, not less disposed to evince his attachment, completed the intention of the deceased pope; and, by virtue of the right which the sovereign pontiffs arrogated, of distributing crowns, solemnly invested and inaugurated Cosmo, with great splendor, in the church of St. Peter, at Rome. It was in vain that the emperor Maximilian the Second protested against the act, as invalid, and derogatory to the Imperial claims, or jurisdiction. Even the fullen disapprobation of the king of Spain, accompanied with some indirect menaces, was not more effectual. The new grand duke, powerful at home, sustained by Pius the Fifth, acknowledged by France and England, and well able to repel insult or attack, steadily maintained his recent dignity, and eventually triumphed over the opposition of the courts of Vienna and Madrid.

1560—1570.  
Policy of  
Cosmo.

He is created Great Duke of Tuscany, by Pius the Fifth.

<sup>34</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 345—367.



C H A P.  
VII.

1560-1570.

Partial abdication of  
Cosmo.He rejects  
the submission of the  
Corficans.1570, 1571.  
His foreign  
policy.

Previous to his acquisition of the title, conferred on him by the Romish see, Cosmo, already diminished in his bodily strength, and feeling himself unequal to the severe fatigue of government, resigned the active administration of affairs to Francis, his eldest son, and constituted him regent of Tuscany. He accompanied the act of resignation, however, with so many conditions, and reserved to himself so many prerogatives and rights; that, while he appeared to have renounced the supreme power, he, in fact, only associated the prince to it, and remained not less the real and efficient sovereign. His ambition was even powerfully awakened, and repeatedly excited, by the flattering entreaties which the Corficans made him, to receive them into the number of his subjects. That island, oppressed by the Genoese in the sixteenth, as it has been in the eighteenth century, had maintained a long, and successful contest against its tyrants. The insurgents, who were already possessed of all the most important places, earnestly besought the grand duke to liberate them from an odious servitude; and menaced to invite the Turks, and to become subjects of a Mahometan prince, rather than return to their former masters. The vicinity of Corsica to the coast of Tuscany; its position, in the center of the Mediterranean, and the addition of so considerable a dominion to those which he already possessed, were strong incentives to animate the exertions of Cosmo; who would willingly have extended to them his protection. But, too dependant on Spain, to venture on so hazardous a step, without consulting the court of Madrid, he returned an ambiguous answer; and Philip, not only long allied to the Republic of Genoa, but jealous of the further aggrandizement of the house of Medecis, interposed such obstacles, as effectually prevented the prosecution of the design.

Humiliating as this restraint upon his inclinations must have been to an ambitious and high-spirited prince, he nevertheless pursued his original system of policy; and, even in defiance of the earnest soli-

<sup>25</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. chap. iv. v. and 6. Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 759.

citations of Catherine of Medecis, and her son Charles the Ninth of France, adhered steadily to his connexion with the court of Madrid. Tranquil at home, and enriched by a wise œconomy, Cosmo was able to extend assistance to other powers. He aided the emperor Maximilian the Second, against Soliman and Selim, in Hungary; sent a body of forces to the duke of Alva, in the Netherlands; and advanced pecuniary support to that general, when unable to pay the Spanish soldiery under his command. The island of Malta being pressed by the Ottoman arms, he dispatched his gallies, to the relief of the knights; assisted the king of France against his Hugonot subjects; and bore no inconsiderable part in the memorable victory, gained over the Turks, at Lepanto.<sup>36</sup>

The splendor and repose which accompanied the conclusion of his reign, and which rendered him one of the most fortunate princes of the age, were not, however, extended to his private life. His felicity was embittered by some of the severest privations, or afflictions, to which humanity is subject. His eldest daughter died in the flower of youth, before the accomplishment of her intended nuptials with the duke of Ferrara; and, her sister, Lucretia of Medecis, substituted in her room, did not long survive the marriage, and left no issue.<sup>37</sup> Two of his five sons, John and Garcia, who had already nearly attained to manhood, and given expectation of the most promising virtues, were snatched from him in the space of a few days, by a malignant fever; and the duchess, his wife, overcome with grief, expired soon afterwards. Calumny ventured even to insult the pungency of his distress, by propagating reports, equally false and cruel, relative to the manner and circumstances of their deaths. It was confidently asserted, and long believed in Italy, that one of the princes having stabbed his brother, the survivor had been sacrificed to the fury of his incensed father, in the presence, and in defiance of the entreaties of

CHAP.  
VII.  
1570, 1571.

Domestic  
misfortunes  
of Cosmo.

Death of his  
sons.

<sup>36</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. chap. vii.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 23, and p. 48.

the



C H A P.  
VII.

1572—1574.

Administra-  
tion of Fran-  
cis, prince  
regent of  
Tuscany.

Bianca Ca-  
pello; her  
history.

Amours of  
Cosmo.

the duchess, Eleanora. This fable, so injurious to the character of Cosmo, was invented by the malignity of his cotemporaries, and is now deservedly exploded<sup>31</sup>.

A more lasting source of uneasiness and disquietude, presented itself, in the conduct and character of Francis, his eldest son, prince regent of Tuscany, whom he had associated to the government. Inferior to his father in all the arts of reigning, destitute of application and energy, difficult of access, and unpopular in his manners; Francis did not promise to his future subjects that felicity, which they had enjoyed under Cosmo. In his affection to the arts, and protection of letters, he alone discovered a resemblance to his ancestors. Domestic misfortunes and dissensions, encreased the defects of his public character. Though he was married to the arch-duchess, Jane daughter of the emperor Ferdinand the first, he had, previous to contracting that alliance, entered into the closest ties of affection with Bianca Capello, a noble Venetian lady; whose history, adventures, and final elevation, have rendered her too celebrated in the annals of Tuscany. Her beauty, insinuation, and endowments of mind, enabled her to assume and preserve, an unbounded influence over her lover; who, in contempt of decency, had, almost immediately after the celebration of his nuptials, avowed his connection with Bianca, and lodged her publicly in the ducal palace. No remonstrances of Cosmo could dissolve, or weaken the union; and though the princess of Tuscany had given daughters to her husband, she had not yet produced any male successor<sup>32</sup>.

To these alarming symptoms of future misfortune, the errors and irregularities of the grand duke himself, gave additional force. After the death of his wife, Eleanora, he had attached himself to a Florentine lady, of the family of Albizzi; who being pregnant by him, might, it was apprehended, be raised to the situation of great duchess. Almeni, valet de chambre to Cosmo, having revealed to

<sup>31</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 74—93.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 164—174.

the prince regent his father's connexion, and pointed out the consequences which were to be dreaded from his fondness, Francis ventured to oppose such a proof of weakness. Irritated to a degree of frenzy against the author of the discovery, the grand duke instantly passed his sword through the body of Almeni, who expiated his imprudence, by his death; and Cosmo was even with difficulty restrained from proceeding to signal acts of resentment against his son<sup>40</sup>. Some years subsequent to this event, having become enamoured of Camilla Martelli, a young Florentine, and being exhorted by Pius the Fifth to legitimate his union with her, he espoused her; but, without associating his wife to his honours or dignity. She continued to live with him till his death, and obtained over him an ascendancy which she abused<sup>41</sup>.

C H A P.  
VII.

1572-1574

His death.

He was, unquestionably, one of the most illustrious princes, whom Italy, or Europe, produced during the sixteenth century. The history of his reign, forms the best eulogium of his character. Called from an obscure and private station, at a very early period of life, and placed at the head of the Republic of Florence, he approved himself worthy of his high fortune. Emulous of the fame, acquired by the elder Cosmo, and Lorenzo of Medecis, he revived the study of polite letters, and extended his munificence to the most eminent artists of Tuscany. Michael Angelo Buonaroti, Cellini, Vafari, Ammannato, Bandinelli, and a number of celebrated men, were protected, and enriched by his bounty. His letters to Michael Angelo, which still exist, evince a mind susceptible of the finest impressions, and penetrated with admiration of the sublime talents of that distinguished person, whom he caused to be interred in the chapel of the Medecis, with the utmost solemnity<sup>42</sup>. He did not disdain to attend the funeral of Jovius the historian, followed by his whole court<sup>43</sup>. In capacity for government, he has been rarely excelled. His œconomy was free

1574.  
Character.Genius and  
capacity of  
Cosmo.<sup>40</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 161-164.<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 232-237.<sup>42</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 436-444.<sup>43</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 327, 328.

from



C H A P.  
VII.

1574.

His moral  
qualities.His submis-  
sion to the see  
of Rome.

from any taint of avarice, and his vigilance was not degraded into suspicion. Clement, and even magnanimous, he was yet severe; and, like Augustus, he seemed never to forget, that he had succeeded to a power, usurped over a free Commonwealth. His personal courage and activity enabled him to meet danger, and his policy extricated him from repeated embarrassments, under which a prince of meaner talents must have sunk. The choice of his ministers proved his discernment and knowledge of mankind; but, able as they were, he never suffered them to assume an authority, independent of himself.

His moral qualities are less pure and brilliant, than his political; nor can we excuse many of his actions, which flowed from very relaxed, or vicious principles. If we forgive him for having sent persons to Venice expressly to assassinate Lorenzo of Medecis, the murderer of his predecessor, Alexander; it is not possible to contemplate without horror, his retaining wretches near the person of Strozzi, in order to administer poison to that unfortunate exile. Truth, however, compels to add, that Strozzi practised similar machinations against the great duke and his family<sup>44</sup>. The age, and peculiarly, Italy, was familiar with the use of poisons. Cardinals, and even pope Paul the Third himself, the head of the christian church, were publicly accused of using these detestable compositions<sup>45</sup>. Cosmo was esteemed to be more learned in their nature and preparation, than any prince of his time: he occupied himself in his laboratory, with the research; and attained, as his contemporaries asserted, to the greatest perfection, in the science<sup>46</sup>. The adherence of the great duke to the catholic religion, was tinged with bigotry, and inclined him to persecution. Even, with every allowance for the manners and modes of thinking of the sixteenth century, we cannot regard without indignation, his celebrating the massacre of St. Bartholomew with demonstrations of joy, and sending an embassy to congratulate

<sup>44</sup> Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 122 and 123, and p. 226, 227, and vol. iii. p. 359.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid. p. 123-125, and p. 105-107.

<sup>46</sup> Ibid. p. 312, and v. iii. p. 434-436.

Charles

Charles the Ninth, on that atrocious act of barbarity and perfidy<sup>47</sup>. C H A P.  
VI.  
1574  
Towards Pius the Fifth, a pontiff, who breathed the sanguinary spirit of an inquisitor, he behaved with unbecoming and unworthy submission; nor can we pardon his sacrificing to the ferocious zeal of that pope, Carnefecchi; a man of genius and letters, who had rendered him distinguished services. Cosmo, after much expostulation and reluctance, delivered him up to the ministers of the holy see, by whom he was transferred to the prisons of the inquisition at Rome, for the crime of heresy. He expiated his guilt, by a public and ignominious death, on the bridge of St. Angelo<sup>48</sup>. We may Severity. add, as another proof of the same approbation of cruelty, the deference and devotion which the grand duke, throughout his whole reign, manifested towards his father-in-law, Peter de Toledo, viceroy of Naples; and towards the duke of Alva, who was of the same family. Human nature has rarely been disgraced by two men, who more conspicuously trampled upon all its rights, or who deluged with more blood the provinces, committed to their government<sup>49</sup>.

At the time of Cosmo's death, Tuscany was, perhaps, the best administered state in Europe; and relatively to its size and extent, the richest and most flourishing. An uninterrupted tranquillity of fourteen years, had obliterated the preceding misfortunes, and diffused general opulence. Manufactures and commerce had advanced rapidly, in the capital, and throughout all the dependencies. The gaiety and felicity, which had characterised the Florentines, under the Cosmos Felicity. and Lorenzos of the preceding century, were restored; and Strozzi, by the attachment which he found every where to their sovereign, when he invaded Tuscany, and invited the people to resume their liberties; gave an indisputable, though an involuntary testimony, to the wisdom, as well as to the lenity of the government<sup>50</sup>. Fabricks of cloth, glass, chrystal, sugar, leather, and jewellery, were established,

<sup>47</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 318, 319.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 150-158.

<sup>49</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 360.

<sup>50</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 128-132, and vol. i. p. 322, 323.



C H A P.  
VII.1574.  
Commerce.Manufac-  
tures.

Population.

Arts, and  
letters.

and produced immense profits. Even porcelain was already made at Florence, with considerable delicacy<sup>31</sup>. Trade not only received every encouragement, from the grand duke; but, he was, himself, personally, engaged in commerce; and he constantly employed two galleons in bringing home the commodities of the Levant, which he imported into Spain and Portugal<sup>32</sup>. The duchess, Eleanora, was engaged in similar undertakings, which were exceedingly lucrative, and which she did not consider as derogatory to her dignity. Merchants and factors from Florence, had already established themselves in Spanish America, India, and even in China<sup>33</sup>. Leghorn, and Porto Ferrajo in the isle of Elba, which latter place had been ceded by Spain to Cosmo, were become ports of universal resort. In 1575, the year after that prince's decease, the article of cloth only, manufactured in Tuscany, employed a prodigious number of persons, and amounted annually to full two millions of ducats, or, near nine hundred thousand pounds, sterling; exclusive of the fabricks of silk, and cloth of gold<sup>34</sup>. Colonies were brought into the Maremma, or low country of Sienna, in order to people, and cultivate that marshy and unwholesome tract of land. Similar, and greater exertions were most successfully made at Pisa. The city, which, in 1537, scarcely contained seven thousand inhabitants, and only presented a picture of depopulation and wretchedness; was, before 1572, so augmented, as to have twenty-one thousand people within the walls. Cosmo re-established the university, drained the surrounding marshes, and frequently transferred to Pisa his court and residence<sup>35</sup>.

The encouragement, extended by him to the elegant arts, tended to excite emulation, while it introduced refinement, and diffused wealth among his subjects. A manufacture of tapestry was brought to Florence, from Flanders, at his expence. The city was embellished with monuments of architecture, sculpture, and painting. Cosmo printed a superb edition of the pandects of Justinian; and, in

<sup>31</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 432—434.<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 430—432.<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 431.<sup>34</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 428—430.<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 353, 354.

1548, he opened the library of St. Laurence, though the edifice was not completed till 1571<sup>56</sup>. In it, were deposited the invaluable collection of manuscripts, made by the princes of the house of Medecis, preserved by Leo the Tenth; and transported back from Rome to Florence, by Clement the Seventh. Michael Angelo, and under his direction, Ammannato, constructed the library, with great taste and elegance. Medals, struck by Cosmo's order, and executed by the ablest artists, perpetuated the principal events of his reign and administration<sup>57</sup>.

The treasures, left by him to Francis, his successor, in money, jewels, plate, and funds, employed in commerce, were immense. The ordinary revenues amounted to eleven hundred thousand ducats<sup>58</sup>. At the close of the war against Sienna, in 1559, he had contracted a debt with the merchants of Antwerp and Genoa, which exceeded a million of ducats: yet, by the year 1562, this vast incumbrance was almost entirely discharged; and when, in 1564, he resigned the administration to his son, the ducal domains were completely redeemed, and every public debt was liquidated<sup>59</sup>. Tuscany was provided with the most ample means of internal defence, and external attack. The unremitting attention of the grand duke had foreseen, and provided for all emergencies. His military force, composed of volunteers, and formed into bands, did not fall short of thirty-six thousand men, who could be assembled on the shortest notice. Four hundred light horse, stationed at Pisa, protected the coasts<sup>60</sup>. Twelve gallies, constructed by himself, were maintained at Leghorn, or Porto Ferrajo; and to these were joined four others, belonging to the order of St. Stephen, which he had instituted; and the knights of which, were constantly employed in cruising against the Moors, or, in the Levant<sup>61</sup>. It appears, that, at the end of his

Revenues.

Military  
force.

Marine.

<sup>56</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 431.<sup>57</sup> Ibid. p. 434—446, and vol. iii. p. 453—455.<sup>58</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 350, and p. 353. Above five hundred thousand pounds, sterling.<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p. 413—417.<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p. 352.<sup>61</sup> Ibid.



G. H. A. P.  
VII.1574.  
Power, grandeur, and consideration of Tuscany.

reign, the Florentine state contained in it, about seven hundred thousand persons, and that of Sienna, nearly a hundred thousand<sup>62</sup>. We may judge, by this proportion, how much the latter country had been depopulated by war. A number of fortresses and citadels, erected in various parts of his dominions, equally retained the people in obedience, and secured them from invasion<sup>63</sup>. So wise and enlightened a government, supported by commerce, and regulated by a systematic œconomy, excited respect from the surrounding states. Cosmo was powerful in Rome, by his numerous adherents in the sacred college, by his intrigues in the conclave, his politic submission to the papal see, and the dread of his arms. The Imperial court, allied to him by marriage, and in want of his assistance against the Turks, expressed for him, peculiarly after the termination of the quarrel relative to the title of grand duke, the utmost regard. France solicited his friendship and courted his alliance; after having vainly endeavoured to prevent his conquest and acquisition of Sienna<sup>64</sup>. Even Charles the Fifth, and Philip the Second, the most powerful monarchs whom Europe had seen since Charlemagne, treated him with distinguished attention, and considered his support, as the best security for their possession of Milan and the kingdom of Naples. The conclusion of his reign may, perhaps, be regarded as the highest point of elevation to which Tuscany attained, after the extinction of the Republic; and the incapacity, or misconduct of his immediate successor, rendered the memory of Cosmo peculiarly dear to his country.

<sup>62</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 352.<sup>63</sup> Ibid. p. 351.<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p. 259—264.

## C H A P. VIII.

## PATRIMONY OF THE CHURCH.

*Review of the papacy, from the deposition of John the Twenty-third, by the council of Constance.—Pontificate of Alexander the Sixth.—Julius the Second.—Leo the Tenth.—Adrian the Sixth.—Clement the Seventh.—Paul the Third.—Convocation of the council of Trent.—Julius the Third.—Paul the Fourth.—Pius the Fourth.—Dissolution of the council of Trent.—Pius the Fifth.—Election of Gregory the Thirteenth.—State of the temporal power of the Roman pontiffs, in 1574.—Dominions.—Population.—Police.—Defective administration.—Revenues of the holy see.—Military forces.—Treasures.—State of the fine arts.—Luxuries and refinements.—Authority of the inquisition.—Examination of the spiritual power and prerogatives of the holy see.—Pecuniary impositions, and exactions.—Inquisitorial prohibitions of literary productions.*

THE strongest proof of that profound ignorance and servitude, in which the human mind was sunk, during the middle ages, is the blind and undiminished veneration of all Europe for the holy see, in defiance of the crimes with which it was disgraced, and dishonoured. The certainty of impunity, and a perfect knowledge of the state of darkness and barbarism which prevailed, and precluded any rational attempt at emancipation; seem to have induced the sovereign pontiffs to throw off every restraint, imposed on their vices and passions. The college of cardinals betrayed no less disregard to every consideration of their own character, and of the sanctity of the supreme dignity of the christian church, in the choice of persons to fill the chair of St. Peter.

C H A P.  
VIII.Abuse of the  
pontifical  
power in the  
dark ages.

The



C H A P.  
VIII.1414.  
Crimes of  
John the  
Twenty-  
third.

The list of crimes and enormities, solemnly charged against John the Twenty-third, in the council of Constance, fill us with no less wonder, than indignation. Fifty principal articles, containing almost all the flagitious excesses, which we read with incredulity, in Suetonius, even of Nero and Caligula, were proved before the fathers, assembled to restore order in the church. Yet, as if these were not sufficient, twenty other heads of accusation were suppressed, for the honour of the apostolic see. Our admiration ceases, however, in some measure, when we consider, that the pope, previous to his election, had exercised the profession of a corsair, that he was known to be stained with almost every species of moral turpitude, and that he purchased, by notorious simony, his elevation<sup>1</sup>.

1417.  
Election of  
Martin the  
Fifth.

The council, after having deposed, and delivered over to the emperor, Sigismund, so unworthy a pontiff, proceeded to fill the vacant chair; and the delegates deputed for the purpose, unanimously chose the cardinal Colonna, who assumed the title of Martin the Fifth. He was, it must be owned, exempt from the imputations and glaring impieties, attributed to his predecessor: but, he was equally an enemy to all reform; and destitute of those virtues, which awakened reason expects in the person, appointed to govern so many nations, as the supreme head of the christian faith<sup>2</sup>. Under his successors, during the fifteenth century, we trace the same interested policy, the same unjust usurpation, and the same scandalous venality, which preceded the coun-

1431—1439. cil of Constance. Another assembly of ecclesiastics, convoked at Basil, was even less successful in its attempts to diminish the abuse of the papal power, than the first had been. Eugene the Fourth, more cautious than John the Twenty-third, and instructed by his misfortunes, found means to evade the authority of the council, and ultimately to disperse that formidable body<sup>3</sup>. Pius the Second, better known by the name of Eneas Sylvius Piccolomini, is the only pontiff, who, from his love

<sup>1</sup> Platina, *Vies des Papes*, p. 559, 560. Bruys, *Histoire des Papes*, vol. iv. p. 41, and p. 46—49.

<sup>2</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 59, 60. Bzovius, an. 1431. Platina, p. 564, 565.

<sup>3</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 120—127, and p. 142, 143.

of learning, and his virtues, lays any claim to esteem<sup>\*</sup>. Sixtus the Fourth sullied the ecclesiastical profession, and excited the detestation of Italy, by his profligacy of manners, injustice, and crimes<sup>†</sup>. But, great as these were, they were eclipsed and obliterated by the memorable pontificate of Roderic Borgia, who assumed the title of Alexander the Sixth. The concurring testimony of numerous, irreproachable, and contemporary writers, can scarcely induce us to credit the recital of his enormities, continued during a reign of twelve years. His son, the celebrated and flagitious Cæsar Borgia, even surpassed in atrocity, the model which he copied; and has left a name, proverbial for infamy and turpitude<sup>‡</sup>. Yet, while Rome, and the surrounding territory groaned beneath the tyranny of two monsters, who cemented their usurpations with the blood of the principal nobility; such was the depressed and lethargic condition of mankind throughout Europe, that no effort to reform the church, or to withdraw from the supremacy of the papal see, was ever exerted. Alexander was so fully convinced of the impunity with which he might insult even the greatest princes, that he treated the embassadors of Ferdinand and Emanuel, kings of Spain and Portugal, with menaces, when they ventured, in the names of their respective sovereigns, to remonstrate with him, on his vices<sup>§</sup>. Such was the veneration which his office inspired, that it seemed to swallow up, or suspend all the faculties of reason; and we find Charles the Eighth, king of France, after he had entered Rome as a conqueror, and driven the pope to take refuge in the castle of St. Angelo; hastening to prostrate himself at the pontiff's feet, to implore his benediction, and to renew his own submission. During the jubilee of the year 1500, when, in consequence of the indulgencies granted to pilgrims, an immense concourse of strangers, from every part of Europe, crowded to Rome; the excesses and debaucheries, openly committed, as well by

C H A P.  
VIII.1491—1503.  
Pontificate of  
Alexander  
the Sixth.<sup>\*</sup> Platina, p. 619—636.<sup>†</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 262. Onuphrius Panvinus, p. 12.<sup>‡</sup> Onuphrius Panvinus, *Vies des Papes*, p. 25—36. Ciaconius, *Vitz Pontific.* p. 151. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 320—323.<sup>§</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 306, 307.

eccle-



C H A P.  
VIII.

1491—1503.  
Temporal  
power of the  
popes.

ecclesiastics as by the laity, exceeded belief; and these were encouraged by the example and permission of the pope. It was with the money extorted from all the catholic states, under pretence of a crusade against the Turks, that he completed the subjection of the Roman barons, and aggrandized the temporal power of the holy see; which, at his accession, possessed only an inconsiderable part of that territory, annexed to it since the beginning of the sixteenth century\*.

1503—1513.  
Julius the  
Second.

The pontificate of Julius the Second, was not, it must be confessed, stained with such notorious impieties; but, it was scarcely better calculated to impress the christian world, with respect for the person, or office of the sovereign pontiff. His election was not only obtained by the most flagrant corruption; but, his whole reign evinced a mind, exclusively devoted to ambition, conquest, and revenge. Inattentive to every duty, incumbent on the pastor of his flock; faithless to his promises and treaties; tyrannical towards his subjects; he was only intent on carrying his arms beyond the Apennines, and expelling the French from Italy. By a perfidious violation of his agreement with Cæsar Borgia, he despoiled that prince of his territorial acquisitions, attained at the expence of so much blood; and united his usurpations to the dominions of the church. Against Louis the Twelfth, king of France, his resentment knew no limits; and his eagerness to accelerate the expulsion of the French from the Milanese, induced him to lay aside all the decencies annexed to his sacerdotal function. Armed like a soldier, Julius, at seventy years of age, appeared in the trenches; directed the operations of war; and, on the surrender of Mirandola, was carried into the city, through the breach, in military triumph°. These proceedings, so strongly calculated to excite scandal, and to awaken reflection, produced little or no effect upon an age, nursed in superstition, and habituated to a servile obedience towards the see of Rome. Louis the Twelfth, actuated more by a just indignation, and motives

\* Bruys, vol. iv. p. 307, 308, and p. 311.

° Ibid. p. 340.

of policy, than by any enlightened sentiments, attempted to convoke a council, and to depose so turbulent and unjust a pontiff; but his effort terminated in the most abject submissions to the successor of Julius. We may form some estimate of the state of the human mind, and of its modes of thinking, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, by the conduct of the cardinal of Medecis, afterwards pope Leo the Tenth; who was taken prisoner by the French, at the victory of Ravenna, while acting as the papal legate. That dexterous prelate, by dispensing to the soldiers, absolution from the censures, in which they were equally involved with their sovereign, on account of their hostility to the holy see; effected so prompt and so considerable a desertion among the conquerors, as exceedingly to diminish their army. Numbers went over to the enemy whom they had recently vanquished; and in order to obtain more complete pardon for their preceding guilt, carried off with them, their arms and horses. It was vain and impossible to oppose a power, fortified and sustained by such prejudices<sup>10</sup>.

CHAP.  
VIII.

1503—1513.  
Superstition  
of the age.

To this martial reign, succeeded the memorable pontificate of Leo the Tenth. Rome, accustomed to the crimes of Alexander, and the tyranny of Julius, beheld with joy, a prince, whose refinement, munificence, and protection of the arts, rendered his court the center of elegance and pleasure. Leo, more decent in his vices, and more master of his passions, substituted artifice and intrigue in the place of arms; and, while he abandoned himself to the excesses of sensuality, or was occupied by the protection of genius and letters, he committed to his generals the conduct of the armies, which he sent against France. It is even evident, that he did not totally disregard the progress of immorality and libertinism; since, in the beginning of his reign, he published a very severe decree against those philosophers, who ventured to teach and to assert, that the soul was mortal, and the

1513—1521.  
Reign of Leo  
the Tenth.

Measures of  
the holy see,  
for repressing  
immorality.

<sup>10</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 359.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1513, 1514.

Resistance of  
France, to the  
papal claims  
and preten-  
sions.

1515.

Similar ef-  
forts in Spain.  
1516, 1517.

world eternal. Many of the decrees of the council of Lateran, which were promulgated by the pope, in the same year, for the reformation of manners, and regulation of ecclesiastics, merit the highest approbation". But, the pecuniary oppressions and vexations of the holy see, were become intolerable; and Europe, long plunged in the grossest ignorance, began to betray signs of approaching reason. These symptoms did not first manifest themselves in the German empire; though the reformation began in that country. The French, who, in every age, have led the way to innovation, preceded Luther in their remonstrances and invectives, against the exactions of the court of Rome. It required all the exertions and vigilance of Francis the First, to maintain the "Concordate," which he himself had made with Leo, during their interview at Bologna, and to procure its reception throughout the kingdom. The parliament of Paris, the university of that capital, and many of the clergy, publicly declaimed against the concessions, made by their sovereign to the pope; and had Francis chosen to yield to this general sentiment, and to emancipate himself from so severe a yoke, it is unquestionable that his subjects were equally prepared and willing, to have entirely withdrawn themselves from the papal supremacy".

Even, in Spain, when Leo attempted to levy, by his arbitrary mandate, a tax of the tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues, during three years, under pretence of a crusade against Selim the First, the Turkish emperor; cardinal Ximenes resisted so glaring an act of oppression, and was imitated in his conduct, by all the bishops of the kingdom. They unanimously refused submission; and Leo, apprehensive of the most serious consequences, instantly desisted. The letter, which Ximenes addressed to him on that occasion, contains the most enlightened sentiments of true patriotism; and, while it professes filial obedience to the just and equitable demands of the Romish see, de-

" Bruys, vol. iv. p. 382, 383, and p. 399, 400.

" Ibid. p. 393.

clares that all attempts to make the Spanish clergy tributary, will be attended with confusion and disappointment <sup>13</sup>.

The same experiment, which in more opulent, or bigotted kingdoms, had produced only a fermentation, that evaporated in menaces; gave rise in Germany, to a complete subversion of the authority, exercised for so many centuries, by the church of Rome. The traffic of indulgencies, taken from the Augustine order of Monks, by whom it had been usually exercised, and conferred on the Dominican, was the original cause of so vast a revolution. Luther, irritated by opposition, and conducted insensibly from one step to another, finished by a total rejection of all intercourse with, or deference towards, the pretended vicars of Christ. Leo betrayed no theological rancour, nor disposition to severity, in his treatment of that bold innovator. When informed of the circumstances, which had excited his animosity, he ingenuously confessed, that "Luther was a man of excellent capacity; and that the quarrel was merely the effect of monastic jealousy and rivalry." He long delayed the publication of the bull, by which he condemned Luther's propositions, and appeared desirous rather to mollify, than incense, so dangerous an adversary. But, the evil admitted of no cure; and reason, once directed to the examination of the pretensions of the see of Rome, soon levelled the fabric, which ignorance and bigotry had cemented <sup>14</sup>.

This diminution of his revenues and spiritual authority, neither produced any alteration in the manners, nor appears to have had influence on the temper of Leo. The Vatican was the center of magnificence, and the asylum of genius. While Michael Angelo Buonaroti exercised his sublime talents on the edifice of St. Peter, Raphael was employed in painting the gallery of the pontifical palace. The banquets of the head of the church, resembled those of Heliogaba-

CHAP.  
VIII.

1516, 1517.  
Reformation  
of Luther.

1518—1521.  
Elegance,  
and splendor  
of the court  
of Rome.

<sup>13</sup> Flechier, *Hist. de Ximenes*, liv. v. p. 665.

<sup>14</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 403—409.



CHAP.  
VIII.

1518—1521.

Death, and  
character of  
Leo.

1521—1523.  
Character,  
and reign of  
Adrian the  
Sixth.

lus, in luxury; and were seasoned with the conversation of the most eminent men in every branch of polite literature, whom Leo's bounty had attracted to his court. His enthusiasm for the productions of poetry, may be estimated, in some measure, by the extraordinary and incredible bull, which he ventured to issue, in favour of the "Orlando Furioso" of Ariosto; menacing with excommunication all such as should presume to censure it, or to prevent the profit arising from its sale<sup>15</sup>. The cardinals Sadolet, and Bembo, renowned for their eloquence and erudition, were his principal secretaries; and such was his boundless generosity towards persons, distinguished by talents of whatever nature, that it was said, the papal treasury was unequal to supplying his munificence. He was engaged in these elegant recreations, when a premature death, occasioned, as is asserted, by excess of joy, at the favourable accounts received of his troops, who had driven the French out of Parma, terminated his pontificate. If we regard him only as a prince, he possessed many of the qualities, calculated to excite esteem; and the gratitude of men of genius, whom he so liberally protected, has ensured him immortality. But, in the character of chief of the christian church, his luxury, and his neglect, or contempt of all the duties incumbent on a sovereign pontiff, rendered him highly improper to occupy that situation, at a time, when the most exemplary virtues were unequal to withstand the torrent of innovation<sup>16</sup>.

If all the simplicity, disinterestedness, and humility of the primitive ages, could have checked the progress of Luther's doctrines, or closed the breach which he had occasioned; the elevation of Adrian the Sixth to the papal chair, might have produced these effects. The preponderant influence of the emperor, Charles the Fifth, in the sacred college, raised to the pontificate, on the death of Leo, his

<sup>15</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 419.

<sup>16</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48, 49. Paul Jovius, Vit. Leon. x. p. 188, and p. 191, and 196. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 417—421.

preceptor,

preceptor; a Fleming; who neither aspired to that dignity, nor received with any emotion, the intelligence of his election. Endowed with every apostolic virtue, which ought to have qualified him to fill, with utility to mankind, the holy see; he was unfortunately deficient in the address and policy, indispensable for enabling him to conduct the temporal interests, annexed to the office. Habituated to the management of a college, he possessed no capacity for the government of a state. Versed only in theological learning, he despised the elegant arts; and turned with abhorrence, from the most finished productions of painting, or sculpture. Incapable of deceit, he avowed his detestation of the vices, which sullied the church of Rome; and candidly owned the necessity of a reformation, while he endeavoured to oppose the progress of Luther. Frugal in his expences, plain in his diet, and regarding the splendor of his predecessor, as unbecoming the character of a pontiff; he disgusted a people, accustomed to the magnificence of a voluptuous court. Adrian the Sixth, detested by the inhabitants of Rome, and not less odious to the college of cardinals; slighted in Germany, where the protestant doctrines had taken too deep a root, to be subverted; and, convinced that all his efforts to sustain the catholic religion, were ineffectual; closed his short reign: pursued, even beyond the grave, by the satirical malevolence of the poets, whom he had irritated and neglected."

C H A P.  
VIII.

1521—1523.

He was succeeded, after a long and stormy conclave, by the cardinal Julius of Medecis, who assumed the name of Clement the seventh; and under whose administration, the church, and the city of Rome, were equally oppressed by the severest calamities. His accession was, notwithstanding, tranquil and auspicious. The new pontiff was an illegitimate son of Julian of Medecis, brother to Lorenzo, surnamed the Magnificent; and who fell a victim to the conspiracy of the Pazzi. In the early part of his life, he had borne arms, and been

1523—1526.  
Clement the  
Seventh.

His character.

<sup>27</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 50—59. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 423, 424, and p. 426—428, and p. 432—440.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1523-1526.

Sack of  
Rome.  
1527.Degradation  
of the ponti-  
fical power.

a commander of the order of Rhodes; in which character, he had assisted at the coronation of Leo the Tenth, who raised him to the dignity of a cardinal, and employed him in the most eminent posts of government. None of the characteristic munificence of the house from which he sprung, was to be traced in Clement, whose predominant passion was avarice; but, blended with ambition, duplicity, and irresolution. These vices and defects, rendered his pontificate odious, and eclipsed the fame, which his protection of letters, and the decorum of his manners, might otherwise have secured. Fluctuating in perpetual uncertainty, between the two powerful monarchs, Charles the Fifth and Francis the First, who alternately menaced Italy with servitude; bound by no ties, and faithless to his most solemn engagements; his person and dignity became contemptible to all Europe. The fatal consequence of his perfidious versatility, was the destruction of Rome; which the constable of Bourbon, commanding the Imperial forces, stormed, and entered. It had not experienced a similar misfortune since the year 1413, when Ladislaus, king of Naples, captured, and abandoned to pillage, that wealthy city<sup>18</sup>. So low was the pontifical office sunk, in the estimation of a licentious and insolent soldiery, that the Lutheran troops, who had been conducted by Fronsberg, from the protestant circles of the empire, treated with contumely, the head of the christian church; and, after loading him with every opprobrious epithet, they formed a cavalcade, and elected in a mock conclave, Martin Luther for pope<sup>19</sup>. During this humiliating ceremony, Clement, shut up in the castle of St. Angelo, experienced the horrors of famine and captivity, aggravated by insults of every nature. The Spanish commander, destitute of compassion for the fallen pontiff, punished with immediate death, the attempt to introduce any sort of provisions

<sup>18</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 443, 444, and p. 447-451, and p. 458-461. Guicciardini, livre xviii. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 62-65.

<sup>19</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 460, 461.

into

into the fortress; and, after an ineffectual struggle, he was reduced to sign an ignominious capitulation with his enemies, by which he still remained a prisoner. Alarson, who, only two years preceding, had taken charge of the person of Francis the First, subsequent to the battle of Pavia, performed the same office to Clement; and such was the pontiff's distress, that, unable to furnish the sum, exacted by the Imperial general, he did not hesitate to put up to public sale three cardinal's hats, which were purchased by the highest bidder. Even after his escape from prison, he neither acted with consistency, dignity, nor energy; and he finished by supplicating the friendship of Charles, from whom he had received the severest indignities<sup>20</sup>.

C H A P.  
VIII.

1527.

Imprison-  
ment of  
Clement.

On every side, the papal power appeared to be hastening to decay. Henry the Eighth, irritated at the delays and obstacles, imposed by the pope, to his divorce; excited by a desire of seizing on the ecclesiastical revenues; and, finally incensed at the declaration, by which Clement annulled his marriage with Anne Bullen; threw off all adherence to the see of Rome. In the German empire, Luther augmented his followers, found protection in the electoral college itself, and defied the excommunications of the Vatican. The northern kingdoms, whose poverty rendered them more sensible to the pecuniary exactions of the Romish see, began to exhibit alarming symptoms of disaffection. Switzerland, whose inhabitants had always evinced themselves the peculiar champions of the pontifical dignity and office, was shaken and divided: the new opinions had penetrated into France, and threatened to subvert the ancient religion. In this embarrassing situation, Clement, pressed by the emperor to assemble a general council, as the only adequate remedy for so many evils; and deterred by his apprehensions, from recurring to an expedient, which might level, or reduce the papal authority; continually protracted any decision, and found pretexts to delay its

1528—1534.  
Decline of the  
papal autho-  
rity.Ambitious  
projects of  
Clement.<sup>20</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 461—464, and p. 468, 469.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1528—1534.

His death.

1534—1537.  
Paul the  
Third,Convocation  
of the council  
of Trent.

convocation. In the success of his schemes for aggrandizing the family of Medecis, he nevertheless found a consolation, which more than counterbalanced all the misfortunes of his pontificate. The pliability of his character and policy enabled him to profit of every means, by which to gratify his ambition; and fortune, which had treated him with so much rigor, seemed, on this favourite point, to relax in her severity. After re-establishing the power of his house at Florence, and procuring for Alexander of Medecis the support and alliance of Charles the Fifth, whose natural daughter that monarch bestowed on him; Clement listened to the flattering overtures, made him by the king of France. Catherine of Medecis, his niece, who became afterwards so celebrated in the history of Europe, espoused Henry, duke of Orleans, at Marseilles; and the pope was occupied with projects for providing her a rich establishment, either in Tuscany, or Lombardy, when death terminated his life and reign<sup>22</sup>.

The conclave, after a short deliberation, unanimously elected the cardinal Alexander Farnese, dean of the sacred college, who assumed the name of Paul the Third. He held the papal see during fifteen years, though he had already attained to a very advanced period of life, previous to his accession. Conscious, that it would be impossible, without exciting universal complaint, further to procrastinate the convocation of the council, demanded by Charles the Fifth; he affected to pursue an opposite policy from that of his predecessor: and trusting to his own ability, to prevent any invasion of the powers, claimed by the Roman pontiffs, he instantly dispatched a nuntio to signify his assent, and to propose the city of Mantua for the place of its meeting. This apparent compliance, which originated in profound dissimulation, did not, in fact, facilitate, or accelerate the object itself. Impediments, insurmountable in their own nature, and of which the papal court was well aware, prevented its execution.

<sup>22</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 65—67. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 470—484. Guicciardini, liv. xx. Fra Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, p. 63—67. Mem. de Du Bellay, liv. iv. Pallavicini, Hist. Concil. Triden. liv. iii. chap. xii.

Hostilities, preceded by personal animosity and invectives, had already commenced between the emperor and Francis the First; and it was unquestionable, that the latter sovereign would not permit the French prelates to attend the assembly. The duke of Mantua himself, under various pretences, refused to allow his capital to be made the place of its convocation; and Paul, availing himself of this new obstacle, prorogued the council<sup>22</sup>.

CHAP.  
VIII.  
1534—1537.

Occupied only with a passion for aggrandizing the family of Farnese, he exerted every endeavour to induce the emperor to concur in his design. The nuptials of Margaret, natural daughter of Charles, with Octavio, grandson to the pope, were celebrated at Rome, with great magnificence; and upon this connection, the pontiff founded his ambitious projects. Vicenza, the city which had been subsequently named for the meeting of the council, having been refused by the Venetians, in whose dominions it was situated; after a delay of several years, Trent was ultimately fixed on for the purpose. But, the war, which had recently begun a third time, between Charles and Francis, retarded the commencement of its deliberations. During this interval, Paul, in a personal interview with the emperor, offered to make every sacrifice, and to pay a considerable annual tribute, in order to obtain the investiture of the duchy of Milan, for his grandson. His expostulations, aided by the tears and entreaties of Margaret, were, nevertheless, ineffectual to induce that monarch to deprive his son of an acquisition, obtained and defended with so much difficulty. The refusal, while it alienated the pontiff, only augmented and stimulated his anxiety to elevate his house; and, despairing of success in his application to the emperor, he embraced and executed the resolution, of dismembering Parma and Placentia from the territories of the church, and bestowing them, as a fief, on Peter Louis Farnese, his son. An act, in which every principle of justice, and the very dominions of the Holy See, were

1537—1545.  
Plans for the  
aggrandizement of the  
family of  
Farnese.

Alienation of  
Parma and  
Placentia  
from the  
church.

<sup>22</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 487—498.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1537—1545.

1545—1548.  
Council of  
Trent  
opened.

Suspension of  
its delibera-  
tions.

Affairs of  
Parma.

sacrificed to the insatiable ambition of its present possessor, excited complaints in the Sacred College, and indignation among foreign states. The notorious vices of the person, in whose favour so glaring a violation of equity was committed, increased the odium annexed to it; and the Lutherans found, in the conduct of Paul himself, the strongest reasons, for withdrawing themselves from his authority and jurisdiction<sup>21</sup>.

Under these inauspicious circumstances, commenced the memorable council of Trent; the last, which the christian church has ventured to assemble. Its deliberations, continued through eight sessions, were productive neither of reformation in the court of Rome, nor of benefit to the general interests of religion. Attentive to all its debates; watchful over every attempt to diminish the papal supremacy, or to controul its exercise; fertile in expedients to embarrass and retard its operations, or decrees; the legates, who presided, as representatives of Paul the Third, were always masters of the assembly. The terror of its entering upon the numerous abuses, practised in the papal court, operated so strongly, as to induce the pope, under pretence of a pestilential distemper having made its appearance in the city, to transfer the assembly to Bologna. Only those prelates, attached to, or dependant on the Holy See, obeyed the injunction: the Imperial and Spanish faction continued their sittings at Trent; and after a schism of near two years, during which period, both parties remained in a state of inaction, Paul ultimately suspended the further existence of the council, notwithstanding the expostulations and menaces of Charles the Fifth<sup>22</sup>.

The mutual alienation of the emperor and the pope, had been heightened by the assassination of Peter Louis, duke of Parma, natural son of Paul the Third. His tyranny and acts of violence, exer-

<sup>21</sup> Fra Paolo, Hist. du Concile de Trente, liv. ii. p. 118. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 526.

<sup>22</sup> Fra Paolo, liv. ii. Pallavicini, passim. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 526—555. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 68—84.

cised over his new subjects, gave rise to a conspiracy, by which he perished, in his own palace, at Placentia. The Imperial troops instantly entered, and took possession of the city; as the papal forces did of Parma; and Octavio Farnese saw himself despoiled of his inheritance, by those, from whom he was peculiarly entitled to expect assistance and protection<sup>25</sup>. An unsuccessful attempt, made by him, in order to become master of Parma, which his grandfather had again united to the patrimony of the church, irritated the diseases, which already enfeebled the aged pontiff; and the menaces of Octavio, upon the failure of his enterprize, to throw himself into the arms of the emperor, precipitated the death of Paul the Third; who expired, at the advanced age of eighty-one years. His character and government were equally odious. As head of the church, his conduct justly excited the severest animadversion; and he was deficient in every quality, calculated to adorn, or render venerable, the chair of St. Peter. What opinion can we form of a pope, who not only made the study of magic and astrology, his favourite research; but, who ventured, in contradiction to decency, to compare the Divinity to Saturn, and Jesus Christ, to Jupiter<sup>26</sup>? Dissimulation, perfidy, rapacity, ambition, and hypocrisy, were the leading features of his mind; and he was never more to be dreaded, than when he assumed the mask of piety and religion. To gratify his resentment, or attain his objects, he did not scruple to use any engines, however detestable; and his whole pontificate was employed in exertions, at the expence of the most sacred duties of his station, to elevate a son, whose birth and whose enormities, were equally a disgrace to his father<sup>27</sup>.

The election of the cardinal del Monté to the papal dignity, who assumed the name of Julius the Third, was little calculated to augment the respect, entertained for the person and office of the vicars

CHAP.  
VIII.

1545—1548.

1549.  
Death, and  
character of  
Paul the  
Third.

1549, 1550.  
Election of  
Julius the  
Third.

<sup>25</sup> De Thou, livre iv. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 544.

<sup>26</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 556.

<sup>27</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 84, 85. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 545, 546, and p. 555—557. Ciacconius, vol. iii. p. 537. Pallavicini, liv. iii. Fra Paolo. Traité des Benefices, p. 335.



CHAP.  
VIII.

1549. 1550.

His charac-  
ter.

1550—1555.  
Resumption  
of the coun-  
cil of Trent.

of Christ. He, nevertheless, commenced his reign with an act of justice, by restoring Parma to Octavio Farnese, in gratitude for the assistance which he had received from the numerous and powerful adherents of that prince, in the conclave; and he seemed to evince more candor in his proceedings, as well as less reluctance to re-assemble the council of Trent, than his predecessor had done. But, these appearances of virtue and decorum, were quickly obliterated by the most scandalous weaknesses and excesses. Averse to every exertion which his station demanded, he abandoned himself to indolence, pleasure, and sensuality, at his villa, in the vicinity of Rome. The petulance of his temper betrayed him into continual violations of decency; and he dishonoured the college of cardinals, by immediately associating to their body, a young man, named Innocent, not only of obscure extraction, and destitute of merit; but, on whom obloquy cast the strongest insinuations. Even, though we should admit the injustice of such imputations, by supposing, as has been asserted, that he was the natural son of Julius; yet, his age, which did not exceed seventeen years, and his notorious vices, were alone sufficient to exclude him from so eminent an ecclesiastical dignity. He soon became, under the new pontificate, the channel of preferment, and the avowed minister, notwithstanding the pasquinades and aspersions, with which he was pursued by the inhabitants of Rome<sup>22</sup>.

The council of Trent, convoked anew, began, meanwhile, its deliberations, which had been interrupted by Paul the Third; and Charles the Fifth, become irresistible in the empire, since the defeat of the Smalcaldic league, and the victory at Muhlberg, already anticipated the re-union of the Lutherans to the catholic church. The ambassadors of Maurice, elector of Saxony, and head of that association, arrived at Trent, and prepared to enter upon their functions, conjointly with the delegates of the other protestant princes. Henry

<sup>22</sup> Fra Paolo, liv. iii. p. 281. Pallavicini, liv. ii. chap. vii.

the Second, king of France, who was engaged in war with the emperor, protested, notwithstanding, against every act of the council; and the approach of Maurice himself, at the head of a powerful army, which he led against Charles, compelled the fathers to abandon Trent with precipitation, and to suspend their further proceedings. The council remained in oblivion, during several years; and Julius, not only impressed with the apprehensions, common to his predecessors; but, from his indolence, incapable of exerting any vigour, or directing, with facility, its operations; saw himself relieved, by the protestants themselves, from so formidable an engine.<sup>29</sup>

The remainder of his pontificate was employed in fruitless efforts to terminate the hostilities between the emperor and France; but, it was distinguished by the temporary restoration of England to its dependance on the see of Rome, during the reign of Mary, daughter to Henry the Eighth. Notwithstanding the impetuosity of Julius's temper, which continually manifested itself, and which induced him to lament, that he had not lived in a century, when the papal power and pretensions were uncontrouled; he appeared deeply sensible to so unexpected a piece of good fortune: and he observed, not without some humour, that "he was undoubtedly happy, since he received expressions of homage from a queen and a nation, towards whom he was rather bound to offer acknowledgments." With this event, was closed his life and reign. The disease of which he died, was believed to have been caused by preceding excesses; and so little restraint did he impose on his appetites, that even the physicians found it difficult to moderate their violence. Destitute of eminent talents, or virtues, his contempt of religion, and profligacy of manners, rendered him odious; and the instances of impiety, transmitted by the most impartial historians, awaken horror and indignation, when we consider him in his capacity of head of the church.<sup>30</sup>

C H A P.  
VIII.

1550—1555.

Submission of  
England to  
the papal see.

Death of  
Julius.

<sup>29</sup> Fra Paolo, liv. iv. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 577—579, and p. 581—583.

<sup>30</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 589, 590, and p. 597—599. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 85—98.

The



C H A P.  
VIII.1555.  
Pontificate of  
Paul the  
Fourth.Character of  
that pontiff.

The short pontificate of his successor, Marcellus the Second, only served to excite universal regret; as his desire of reformation, disinterestedness, and purity of manners, had justly given birth to the highest expectations from his future government<sup>31</sup>. He survived the elevation scarcely three weeks; and the calamity of his loss was more severely felt, from the opposite character of Paul the Fourth, who was chosen to fill the vacant see. John Peter Caraffa had attained to the advanced age of seventy-nine years, when, by the intrigues of the the French faction in the conclave, he was placed in the chair of St. Peter. Previous to this event, he had obtained the reputation of severity, sanctity, and austerity. Rome received with terror, the intelligence, and dreaded the rigour of his inquisitorial character<sup>32</sup>.

But, the qualities of the cardinal, were not to be recognized in the pontiff; and all the humility which he had assumed before his election, was succeeded by the most disgusting arrogance. Every pretension, which the popes of the thirteenth century had ventured to advance, the obsolete and insolent claims of unlimited power over kings and nations, which Gregory the Seventh, and Boniface the Eighth, had attempted to establish, in ages of ignorance, were renewed by Paul. The contempt of grandeur, and desire of retirement, which he had affected, when he refused the bishoprick of Brindisi, under Clement the Seventh, were transformed into pomp and magnificence; while, governed by his two nephews, he already listened to the most extravagant projects, for the future aggrandizement of the house of Caraffa. Such was the impotence of his passions, and their indecent violence, that, unrestrained by the decorum of his high station and decrepid age, he gave a license to all his resentments. We can scarcely believe, that he could so far forget himself, as, within a few weeks after his election, to strike the lieutenant of Rome, and to take the envoy of the Republic of Ragusa, by the beard. Even to the English em-

<sup>31</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 603—606. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 105, 106.<sup>32</sup> Histoire des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 130—139.

bassadors,

bassadors, sent to offer the submissions of their sovereign, he manifested the utmost indignation, at the assumption of the title of Queen of Ireland, by Mary, without having previously obtained his permission; and he peremptorily demanded the instant restitution of all the ecclesiastical property, confiscated, or alienated by Henry the Eighth<sup>22</sup>.

CHAP.  
VIII.

1555.

Towards Charles the Fifth, and his son, Philip the Second, his animosity observed no limits. Incensed at the degree of toleration, granted by the former of those princes to the protestants, in the diet of Augsbourg; and, inflamed with the ambition of conquering the kingdom of Naples; he trampled upon all the sacred duties of his office, which dictated to preserve tranquillity among the monarchs of Europe. With a view to rekindle the war, that had been recently suspended by the truce of Vaucelles between France and Spain, he dispatched cardinal Caraffa to Henry the Second; and induced him, by magnificent assurances of assistance, to violate his late engagements, and even to send an army into Italy, under Francis, duke of Guise, for the attack of the Neapolitan dominions. An alliance, founded in such manifest injustice, and cemented by perfidy, was accompanied with the ill success, which it merited. Philip the Second, to whom his father had resigned the kingdom of Naples, took early and wise precautions for its preservation. Informed of the hostile projects of the pontiff, and his French allies, he sent the duke of Alva thither, at the head of a powerful body of forces. That commander not only compelled the duke of Guise to abandon his attempt; but, he marched into the territories of the church, approached Rome itself, and seemed to menace Paul the Fourth with a repetition of the calamities, inflicted by the constable of Bourbon, upon Clement the Seventh. The victory, gained by Philip, over his enemies, at St. Quintin, completed the humiliation of Henry, who instantly recalled his general and troops, in order to

1555-1557-  
His detestation of the  
house of Austria.

War with  
Philip the  
Second.

Peace concluded.

<sup>22</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 613-615. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 106-109.

defend



C H A P.  
VIII.

1555—1557.

defend the monarchy, which appeared to be in danger of subversion. The pope, abandoned by his ally, destitute of resources, and summoned by the Spaniards to accept the terms, offered by the moderation of Philip, reluctantly submitted; while the duke of Alva, after having obtained pardon and absolution, at the feet of the pontiff whom he had vanquished, conducted his forces in triumph to Naples<sup>34</sup>.

1557—1559.  
Conclusion of  
the reign of  
Paul the  
Fourth.

Conscious of the disgrace which his late conduct had entailed upon himself, and upon the see of Rome, he attempted to regain his reputation by an act of severity, in banishing his nephews, the Caraffas, who had incited him to take up arms. But, this mark of contrition, which appeared to indicate a mind capable of repairing its errors, was speedily followed by new outrages upon reason and moderation. Elizabeth, who had succeeded to her sister Mary, as queen of England, was not the only object of his frantic and impotent resentment. The emperor, Ferdinand, though attached by the warmest inclination to the catholic faith, and to the Romish religion, underwent every indignity, which the unrestrained fury of Paul could inflict, for having presumed to accept and exercise the functions of the Imperial dignity, without obtaining his previous approbation. As he approached the grave, his passions, instead of diminishing in violence, seemed to acquire force and asperity. He caused all books, suspected of containing heretical doctrines, to be collected and burnt; issued a catalogue, in the name of the Inquisition, of such as were prohibited to be read or printed; and as far as he was able, in virtue of his apostolic authority, tried to plunge Europe again into the state of ignorance and barbarism, from which it was scarcely rescued. His last exhortations to the cardinals, who surrounded him, before his death, were, to maintain the tribunal of the Inquisition, and to augment

<sup>34</sup> Mezerai. *Abregé Chronol. de l'Hist. de France*, vol. iv. p. 377—389. Fra Paolo, liv. v. p. 377—380, and p. 383—389. Pallavicini, *Hist. Con. Trid.* Bruys, vol. xiv. p. 615—629. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 109, 110.

its force. So detestable was his government and memory to the people of Rome, that they no sooner received the intelligence of his having expired, than they immediately assembled; burst the doors of the holy office; liberated the prisoners; and were with difficulty restrained from involving the inquisitors themselves in the flames, which consumed the edifice appropriated to their functions<sup>35</sup>.

CHAP.  
VIII.

1557—1559.

The turbulent pontificate of Paul the Fourth, was succeeded by a calm. After many struggles, the Spanish party in the conclave elevated to the supreme dignity of the church, the cardinal Medequino, known in history by the name of Pius the Fourth. He had led a very retired life during his predecessor's reign, and ascended the chair of St. Peter, with the character of a mild, humane, and virtuous man. The first acts of his government appeared to confirm this opinion, and obtained him the applause of clemency and liberality: but, his manners and conduct seemed to be speedily changed by his attainment of power; and the vices, or infirmities, which had lain concealed in the shade of a private station, became conspicuous on the throne. The court was crowded with his relations, who came to satisfy their avidity; and his treatment of the two Caraffas, nephews to the late pope, appeared to originate in the desire of the new pontiff, to enrich his own family with their spoils. Pius the Fourth had been principally indebted for his election to these men, the duke of Palliano, and the cardinal Caraffa; to the latter of whom, after that event, he had publicly renewed his assurances of friendship, gratitude, and protection. Demonstrations of amity, apparently so sincere, left them no room to apprehend the intentions of the pope; who, induced by the private entreaties of Philip the Second, against whom the Caraffas had, during their uncle's pontificate, betrayed the strongest animosity, commanded them to be arrested. Their crimes, as ministers, and as individuals, were not only manifest and incontro-

1559, 1560.  
Election of  
Pius the  
Fourth.

His character.

Punishment  
of the Caraf-  
fas.

<sup>35</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 631—637. Fra Paolo, liv. viii. p. 394, and p. 398. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 112—115.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1559, 1560.

vertible; but, were of the most flagitious nature. The duke had murdered his wife, and a person falsely accused of criminal intimacy with her, in a manner the most inhuman. Even the pregnancy of the duchess could not mollify her husband, or prolong her own life. He, and the cardinal, in the gratification of their passions or enmities, had trampled on all laws, and committed numberless enormities. They were condemned to die, by the commission, named for their trial; and the duke of Palliano expiated his atrocities, by a public and ignominious execution. His brother, from regard to his ecclesiastical profession, and his dignity as a member of the sacred college, was strangled privately in the castle of St. Angelo, notwithstanding the strongest intercessions in his favour. The dead bodies were exposed, by torch light, to the view of the populace; who, in the consideration of the ingratitude and treachery, which marked the conduct of the pope in their punishment, forgot the crimes for which they suffered<sup>36</sup>.

1560—1565.  
Council of  
Trent re-  
newed.

This scene of blood was the only one, to which Rome was witness, during the reign of Pius. More yielding than his predecessor, he immediately acknowledged Ferdinand the First, as emperor; and after many delays, and long irresolution, he consented to re-assemble the council of Trent, which had been suspended for eight years. It was opened with great solemnity, and its deliberations continued through several sessions; but, without being productive of any beneficial purpose. The decrees, enacted and promulgated, were not adopted in France, as far as they respected the ecclesiastical discipline; and, even in Spain, Philip the Second, bigotted as he was, received and admitted them, with many modulations. If they had been permitted to operate in their full force, they must have subverted every liberty of the state, and every prerogative of the crown; both of which were subjected to the uncontrollable authority of the papal see. The protestants, of all descriptions, regarded the assembly as only a venal,

<sup>36</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 115—121. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 637—641. Hist. des Conclaves, vol. i. p. 142—150.

and

and dependant engine, conducted by the legates, and calculated to perpetuate the abuses of the church of Rome. Pius profited, notwithstanding, of the first favourable occasion to accelerate its dissolution, and to emancipate himself from the terror which so formidable a body always inspired<sup>37</sup>. Liberated from this source of apprehension, which had hitherto imposed a restraint upon his conduct, he abandoned himself to the impulse of his natural character. Rapacity, violence, and avarice, became the predominant features of his government: sensuality, indolence, and neglect of public business, characterised his private life, and rendered him contemptible. In continual and abject dependance on the court of Madrid, he was ever disposed to gratify the most unjust, or criminal requests of Philip the Second; and his indulgence towards his own family, was frequently unrestrained by any considerations of justice or decency. From those enormous crimes, or violations of right, which excite our abhorrence in many of his predecessors, it must be admitted that he was exempt. Rome enjoyed a profound repose during his pontificate, unaccompanied by any calamities; and Pius, who was neither deficient in talents, nor in love of the arts, embellished the capital, extended his protection to men of letters, and took very able measures for securing general plenty and abundance. His excesses at the table, in which he had always indulged himself, were the immediate cause of his death, after a reign of little more than six years<sup>38</sup>.

Michael Ghisleri, a Dominican monk, who had long exercised the functions of inquisitor general, was raised to the papal see, principally by the faction of cardinal Borromeo, nephew to the deceased pope; and he assumed the name of Pius the Fifth. If the most implacable and sanguinary zeal against heresy, joined to purity of manners, and an austere devotion, could constitute a venerable or amiable character, the new pontiff would be entitled to that eulogium. Ani-

C. H. A. P.  
VIII.

1560—1565.  
It is finally  
dissolved.

Vices of Pius.

His death.

1565.  
Pius the  
Fifth.

<sup>37</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 651—669. Fra Paolo, liv. vi. and liv. vii. and liv. viii.

<sup>38</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 123—129. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 677, 678, and p. 683, 684.



C H A P.  
VIII.

1565.

His charac-  
ter.

Measures.

mated with the desire of extirpating the enemies of the catholic faith, he breathed throughout his whole life, the inquisitorial spirit of his original profession; and far from bringing to the apostolic see, the mild and placable genius of christianity, he substituted in its place, the rigours of persecution. We must, however, have some indulgence for the modes of thinking, and the religious or superstitious prejudices of a century, when liberality and enlargement of mind were almost unknown; when the fervors of theological animosity and controversy, were yet in all their force; and when, in every kingdom of Europe, fires and massacres were deemed the most legitimate means for suppressing doctrines, regarded as heretical. Pius the Fifth, in a more enlightened age, might have merited the applause of mankind, by his piety and virtues. He possessed an elevation of sentiment, which impelled him to acts of public benefit, or glory; an unshaken constancy, and a disinterestedness the most unsullied. But, he was unacquainted with all the arts of reigning; inflexible, severe, contracted, and imbued with the vindictive spirit of the order of St. Dominick. The vices of the cloyster accompanied him on the throne, and sullied his administration with cruelty; nor can we regard many of his acts without indignation and abhorrence, on which his contemporaries passed a very opposite sentence<sup>39</sup>.

1565—1571.  
Bigotry.

To his advice and exhortations, may, in some measure, be attributed the calamities, which desolated the fairest countries of Europe, during his pontificate. The relentless and bigotted temper of Philip the Second, naturally prone to severity, was inflamed to inexorable vengeance against his Flemish subjects, by the suggestions of a pontiff, whose sanctity gave to his entreaties an irresistible force. Charles the Ninth was encouraged to persist in a manifest violation of every sacred engagement towards the Hugonots, and finally to sacrifice them to his resentment, by the approbation of the Holy See.

<sup>39</sup> Bruys, vol. v. p. 1—5. Onuphr. Panvin. p. 129—131.

The count de St. Fiore, dispatched by the pope, and having under his orders, a considerable body of Italian infantry and cavalry, fought as an auxiliary, at the battle of Moncontour, and contributed to that victory, gained over Coligni. Pius not only excommunicated Elizabeth, and absolved her subjects from their allegiance, in virtue of his apostolic power: but, he aided her rival, Mary, queen of Scots, by money, arms, and essential succours, to enable her to ascend the throne of England. Perhaps, in candour, we ought not to omit, that, when that unfortunate princess became a prisoner, Pius continued to console and strengthen her, by spiritual comfort, by his letters and prayers. To the emperor, Maximilian the Second, engaged in hostilities against the Turks in Hungary, he sent a supply of sixty thousand crowns; and promised to furnish him with nearly as considerable a sum annually, during the continuance of the war. The knights of Malta, who had been attacked by Solyman, and had suffered greatly in their revenues, by the Ottoman arms or devastations, found a liberal support in his charitable munificence. But, the circumstance, which has, above all others, contributed to immortalize his reign, and to cover him with a degree of personal glory, was the victory of Lepanto, gained over the fleet of Selim the Second, by the confederated powers, Spain, Venice, and the pope. The league, formed to check the alarming progress of the Turkish conquests, may be, in a great degree, ascribed to the unwearied efforts of Pius; and his gallies, commanded by Mark Antony Colonna, had no mean share in the honour of that celebrated day. If so decisive an advantage was not improved, we must blame the jealousy and coldness of Philip the Second, who regarded with indifference the Venetian interests, and thereby compelled the Republic to withdraw from an alliance, which only tended to aggravate their disgraces. The antient triumphs of the Roman consuls and generals, were renewed in the person of Colonna, who made a public entry into the capital of the papal dominions, followed by the insignia of his victory, and the Turkish captives in his train. Even his

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Liberality.

Policy.

Victory of  
Lepanto.



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1565—1571.

Death of  
Pius.

Reflexions on  
the spirit of  
his govern-  
ment.

his infirmities, and the attacks of disease, did not diminish the vigour of Pius, or prevent him from endeavouring to renew the war against Selim; and this object actuated him to the last period of life, with unabated solicitude. A slow fever terminated his reign, at the age of sixty-eight years <sup>40</sup>.

In considering his character, we are divided between admiration and detestation. Unlike his predecessors, he neither enriched, nor aggrandized his nephews; and he was so far from encouraging licentiousness, either by his permission, or example, that he banished every incitement to vice, from his palace, and presence. The cardinals dreaded so austere a pontiff; and the people, irritated at the severities of the Inquisition, rejoiced that he was no more; though their opinion of his sanctity was such, that they crowded to touch his body, and to make relics of his garments. None of the successors of St. Peter, ever attempted to carry the exorbitant pretensions of the papacy to a more intolerable height, or to annihilate more completely all the rights of sovereigns and nations. But, we can still less forgive him, for his furious zeal, which stimulated him to foment rebellion and massacres abroad; while he gave to his own subjects, the spectacle of unhappy wretches, consigned to the flames, for their religious opinions. Carnefecchi, and Palearius, two of the most eminent men of letters whom Italy had produced in the sixteenth century, and of irreproachable lives, were pursued, brought to Rome, and burnt by the tribunal of the Inquisition; nor were these the only victims to barbarity and fanaticism, offered up during his pontificate <sup>41</sup>.

1571—1574:  
Gregory the  
Thirteenth.

The cardinal Buon Compagno, known by the name of Gregory the Thirteenth, succeeded to the papal chair, at seventy years of age; and from the moderation of his character, as well as the rectitude of his intentions, excited expectations of a mild and gentle reign, exempt from the severities of his predecessor. On receiving intelli-

<sup>40</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 132—141. Bruys, vol. v. p. 7—21. Strada. de Bello Belgico. vol. ii. book vii. p. 161, 162.

<sup>41</sup> Bruys, vol. v. p. 21.

gence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, committed at Paris, he sullied nevertheless, the office of head of the church, by public demonstrations of joy and approbation; but, we may fairly question, whether these were not more the result of policy and necessity, than of conviction; and many circumstances conduce to strengthen that opinion<sup>43</sup>. Equally desirous to continue the war against the Turks, as Pius the Fifth had been, he strenuously exhorted Philip the Second to equip a fleet, and to act with vigour against the common enemy: but, the spirit which had sustained the league, was extinct; and Gregory, however indignant at the measures of the Venetians, who had concluded a peace with Selim, was obliged to acquiesce in the reasons for their conduct. Prevented from exerting his efforts against the infidels, he lent his aid to the king of Spain, towards subjecting the Flemings; and was not less liberal in assisting the king of France, to reduce his revolted subjects, of the reformed religion. Nor was he deficient in his attention to domestic regulations. The embellishment of Rome; the construction of granaries and fountains, occupied his cares; and these salutary or magnificent decorations, were even extended to other places in the ecclesiastical dominions<sup>44</sup>.

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VIII.  
1571—1574.

His admini-  
stration.

It may be regarded as equally curious and instructive, to review the state of the temporal and spiritual power of the papacy, at this period; though unfortunately, on many interesting particulars, the sources, from whence information is to be drawn, are neither clear, nor ample. To Alexander the Sixth, the most flagitious pontiff who ever disgraced the chair of St. Peter, almost all the territorial possessions of the bishops of Rome, are due. Previous to his reign, their authority and government extended very little beyond the city, in which they resided. Julius the Second annexed to the apostolic see, the numerous petty states and towns, acquired by the crimes of Cæsar Borgia; and to these he added Bologna, from whence he expelled the family of Bentivoglio<sup>44</sup>. During the pro-

1574.  
State of the  
papal power,  
at this period.

Temporal  
authority,  
and domi-  
nions.

<sup>43</sup> Bruys, vol. v. p. 25, 26.

Gregorio Leti, vie de Sixte V. liv. iv. p. 175.

<sup>44</sup> Bruys, vol. v. p. 27, 28.

<sup>44</sup> Guicciardini, liv. vi. Bruys, vol. iv. p. 330.



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gress of the league of Cambray, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, the city of Ravenna, and several inferior places in the Romagna, were likewise conquered by that martial pontiff, who united them to the patrimony of the church<sup>45</sup>. Under Leo the Tenth, Perugia, from which the house of Baglioné was driven, encreased these acquisitions; and they were still further augmented by the capture of Parma and Placentia, in 1521<sup>46</sup>. But, Paul the Third, bent on aggrandizing his natural son, even at the expence of the pontificate itself, again detached those duchies from it, and conferred them, as a male fief, on Peter Louis Farnese, subject to an annual tribute of eight thousand crowns. This investiture was made without the consent of a considerable part of the Sacred College, who protested against the alienation<sup>47</sup>.

Population.

The patrimony of the church, in 1574, consisted of the same territories still subject to it, at the close of the eighteenth century, with the exception of Urbino and Ferrara. The former of these small states, situated between the provinces of Romagna and Umbria, near the Adriatic, was then governed by the family of Roverè; and was not united to the see of Rome, till the year 1631, on the death of Francis Maria, the last duke of Urbino, without male issue<sup>48</sup>. Ferrara, long in the possession of the house of Esté, was seized on by pope Clement the Eighth, in 1597, under pretence of the illegitimacy of Cæsar, son to Alfonso the Second<sup>49</sup>. The population of the papal dominions bore, however, no proportion to their extent and fertility. The "Campagna di Roma," extending almost from the gates of the capital, to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, presented a scene of desolation, which was rendered still more striking, by the infectious nature of the air; and, even in the best inhabited provinces, the number of people was inconsiderable. Rome itself was a melancholy and deserted city. Under the prosperous pontificate of Leo the Tenth, it had encreased in its inhabitants very rapidly; but,

<sup>45</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 335.<sup>46</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48.<sup>47</sup> Fra Paolo, liv. ii. p. 118.<sup>48</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 765.<sup>49</sup> Bruys, vol. v. p. 120, 121.

after

after the memorable sack committed by the forces of Charles the Fifth, in 1527, to so miserable a state was it reduced, that they reckoned, within its whole circumference, only about thirty-two thousand souls, exclusive of eight thousand Jews<sup>50</sup>.

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1574.

In the succeeding reigns, Rome gradually recovered her former population; but, the severe edicts, and persecuting spirit of Pius the Fifth, would have again rendered it a vast solitude, if he had continued long to occupy the chair of St. Peter. He not only pursued with rigour every person, suspected of heresy; but he attempted to banish all women of bad life, or corrupt manners. At the instigation of the clergy, who did not dare to take upon themselves the avowed protection of a class of females, consecrated to public debauch; the civil magistrates attempted to remonstrate with the pope, and to convince him, that, by so unwise a proscription, he would augment, instead of repressing immorality; besides the obvious danger of substituting vices infinitely more detestable, in the place of those which he meant to eradicate<sup>51</sup>. But, a bigotted Dominican monk was incapable of listening to such enlarged and moderate advice. He commanded all women, convicted of prostitution, or exercising that profession, to be confined in one place, without the liberty of appearing by day, or by night, except within the limits prescribed; and upon a repetition of the remonstrances, he menaced the Senate, to quit Rome, and to transfer his court and residence elsewhere, if his orders were not immediately obeyed<sup>52</sup>. Prohibitions so rigorous, were not calculated to draw foreigners to the capital; but, such was the ardent enthusiasm of the catholics to gain indulgencies, and such the veneration in which the pontifical office was held, that in 1574, on Christmas Eve, when Gregory the Thirteenth opened the year of jubilee, by striking the gate of St. Peter's church with the golden mallet, above three hundred thousand pilgrims and strangers were already assembled to view

Severe police, and regulations of Pius the Fifth.

Jubilees.

<sup>50</sup> Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. x. p. 401.

<sup>51</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 139.

<sup>52</sup> Bruys, vol. v. p. 7.



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VIII.

1574.

Administra-  
tion.

Taxes.

Trade.

Revenues,  
and imposi-  
tions.

the ceremony. During the whole of the ensuing year, they never fell below ninety thousand; and the prodigious influx of money, resulting from these crouds of devotees, may be easily conjectured<sup>53</sup>. The apostolic treasury, as well as the inhabitants of Rome, were largely benefited by their residence and liberality.

No country or state, in the sixteenth century, was so ill administered, or so severely plundered, as the ecclesiastical territories. A succession of profligate, or bigotted priests, who usually ascended the throne, at a late period of life, were little calculated, or disposed to attend to the encouragement of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. Famine continually visited the city, and dominions of Rome, from the neglect of cultivation, and discouragement of industry. Taxes, the most cruel and oppressive, were levied on the people. The necessaries of life were loaded with them; and we can scarcely believe, that, under Paul the Fourth, in 1557, the Caraffas, his nephews, not only imposed a duty upon every loaf of bread, baked in the public ovens; but, issued an order, compelling all persons, without distinction, to carry their bread to the bakers, licensed for that purpose<sup>54</sup>. Pius the Fourth taxed corn, meat, and every kind of merchandize, in so severe a manner, as to excite the maledictions of the inhabitants of Rome<sup>55</sup>. Almost every article of convenience, or luxury, was bought of foreigners. Though the situation of the patrimony of the church, in the center of Italy and of the Mediterranean, extending from the Tuscan to the Adriatic sea, and having ports on each coast capable of receiving vessels, seemed to invite trade; yet, scarcely any traffic was carried on, either from Civita Vecchia, or Ancona. The papal exchequer was, nevertheless, continually replenished, and the pontifical revenues were very ample. All Europe contributed, before the reign of Leo the Tenth, to enrich the Romish see; and even after the reformation had so considerably diminished the exactions of the

<sup>53</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 369.<sup>54</sup> Galluzzi, Hist. de Toscane, vol. ii. p. 416.<sup>55</sup> Oeuphr. Panvin. p. 125.

pontiffs, the modes of levying, or obtaining supplies from the catholic states and clergy, were numerous and productive. Annates, tenths, and offerings, under various names or pretexts, levied in France, Spain, Portugal, Italy, and the German empire, filled the pontifical treasury. The council of Trent, while, on one hand, they maintained and declared the validity of indulgencies, had, on the other, prohibited the sale of them; but, that scandalous and disgraceful traffic did not the less subsist, after the assembly had been dissolved<sup>56</sup>.

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1574.

These abundant sources of wealth, internal, and external, enabled the popes, however declining in their authority, and circumscribed in their spiritual jurisdiction, to levy, and maintain, very numerous bodies of forces. Julius the Second, and Leo the Tenth, had attempted to hold the balance of Italy; and though they were unequal to the enterprize, and sunk under the weight of France and Spain, yet they achieved considerable conquests, and were respectable as military powers. The irresolution and fluctuation of Clement the Seventh, involved himself and his capital, in ruin. The pillage of Rome, in 1527, is said to have amounted in value, to fifteen millions of crowns<sup>57</sup>. Yet, such were the resources of the pontificate, that Paul the Third, in 1546, engaged to furnish Charles the Fifth with twelve thousand infantry, and five hundred horse, besides two hundred thousand crowns, in order to enable that monarch to humble the protestant princes<sup>58</sup>. In the year 1562, Pius the Fourth levied four thousand Switzers, three thousand German cavalry, and sent a body of troops to Avignon, to defend the city and its dependancies, against the Hugonots. Besides these expensive armaments, he advanced a considerable sum to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, in order to enable him to occupy the passages of the Alps, and to prevent any invasion of Italy, from the French insurgents<sup>59</sup>. His successor, Pius the Fifth, exerted still greater efforts, pecuniary and military. He dispatched four thousand, four hundred

Military  
forces.

<sup>56</sup> Œuvres de Voltaire, vol. x. p. 184.

<sup>57</sup> Voltaire, vol. ix. p. 435, 436.

<sup>58</sup> Sleidan, liv. xvii.

<sup>59</sup> Fra Paolo, liv. vi. p. 499.



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VIII.

1574.

## Gallies.

## Treasures.

State of the  
fine arts.Encourage-  
ment of them  
by the popes.

foot, and nine hundred cavalry, to the aid of France, engaged in war against the prince of Conde and Coligni<sup>60</sup>. The emperor, Maximilian the Second, received repeated supplies of money from him, when attacked by Solymán; and his proportion of the armament, which vanquished the Turkish fleet at Lepanto, in 1571, amounted to twelve gallies, three thousand infantry, and two hundred and seventy cavalry<sup>61</sup>. Pius, not possessing any naval force, was compelled to have recourse to Cosmo, great duke of Tuscany, who furnished the gallies; of which six were defrayed by himself; and for the remaining six, the apostolic chamber paid, at the rate of seven hundred and fifty ducats of gold, each, a month<sup>62</sup>. Notwithstanding so many expensive undertakings, such were the revenues of the papacy, in the hands of a frugal pontiff, that a sum, amounting to above a million and a half of crowns, was found in his coffers, after his decease<sup>63</sup>.

Rome, during the sixteenth century, abounded in the most eminent artists. The construction of the church of St. Peter, continued through ten successive pontificates, employed the greatest architects, and painters. Michael Angelo Buonaroti expired in that capital, in 1564, at the advanced age of ninety, and in the enjoyment of honours, almost above humanity. The attribute of "Divine" was conferred on him by his countrymen; and the admiration, entertained for his talents, approached to idolatry<sup>64</sup>. With the exception of Adrian the Sixth, and Pius the Fifth, all the popes of the sixteenth century were lovers of the fine arts. Paul the Third, and his grandson, the cardinal Farnese, made superb collections of antique statues, gems, paintings, and medals<sup>65</sup>. Julius the Third passed almost his whole time, at his villa and voluptuous gardens, near Rome, which he adorned, with profuse magnificence. He was even exceeded in this passion, by

<sup>60</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 132.<sup>61</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxvi. p. 365.<sup>62</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 266.<sup>63</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 139.<sup>64</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 436—444.<sup>65</sup> Ibid. p. 451.

Pius

Pius the Fourth, who converted it into a nobler channel, that of public ornament and embellishment. Rome began to revive out of its ruins, and to assume a more elegant appearance<sup>66</sup>. The Tiber, always subject to sudden inundations, had caused great damage, under the reign of Clement the Seventh, in 1530. But, in that of Paul the Fourth, its ravages were far more destructive. The streets, in many quarters of the city, were completely covered with water during two days; and it rose to the height of the square of the Pantheon. In order to prevent the renewal of so dreadful a calamity, Pius the Fourth constructed dykes, which repressed the current of the stream<sup>67</sup>.

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1574.  
Condition of  
Rome.

It was not till the pontificate of Gregory the Thirteenth, that the streets began to be generally paved<sup>68</sup>; and coaches were not then in use, except among the cardinals. They had been first introduced into Rome, by the marchioness of Mantua, under Pius the Fourth, about 1562<sup>69</sup>. That city, and the papal dominions, in general, were extremely deficient in police. The dagger and stiletto long remained in use, and rendered the streets, or roads, equally unsafe. It was reserved for the energy of Sixtus the Fifth to eradicate this practice, and to render travelling less hazardous<sup>70</sup>. The inquisition had become a most detestable scourge, under the pontificate of Paul the Fourth. At his death, about seventy persons, accused of heresy, were found in the prisons of that tribunal, and liberated by the people<sup>71</sup>. His successor, Pius the Fourth, relaxed its rigour; but it revived in all its force, when Ghisleri, who had been inquisitor general, ascended the throne. He employed spies in every part of Italy, to discover heretics; and Venice, the governors of the Milanese, and the great duke of Tuscany, gratified the bigotted pontiff, by delivering up to him all such as were demanded, or suspected<sup>72</sup>. After the decease

Want of  
police.

Establishment  
of the in-  
quisition.

<sup>66</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 124.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. p. 111.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid. p. 145.

<sup>69</sup> Ibid. p. 129.

<sup>70</sup> Voltaire, vol. x. p. 381. Bruys, vol. v. p. 39, 40.

<sup>71</sup> Onuphr. Panvin. p. 114.

<sup>72</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 1,0—158.



C H A P. of Pius the Fifth, the severity of the holy office gradually diminished.  
VIII.

1574.  
Spiritual authority of the pontiffs.

It is not very easy to define, or ascertain the extent of the spiritual authority of the popes, at this period, because it varied considerably in the different catholic states of Europe. Venice and Tuscany submitted to the decrees, enacted by the council of Trent, as to church discipline; which were highly favourable to the power and pretensions of the holy see. Philip the Second, though he permitted their publication in his dominions, yet interposed strong and perpetual obstacles to their execution in Spain, and Naples, notwithstanding his pretended obedience to the church of Rome. France adopted the decrees, so far as they laid down the rule of faith; but, never could be induced to sacrifice the ecclesiastical liberties and franchises of the nation. The emperor, Maximilian the Second, however menaced by Pius the Fifth, refused to publish them, or to obtain their sanction by the diets of the empire<sup>73</sup>. The same uncertainty prevailed, as to the limits of the papal power over priests and the monastic orders; which was the constant source of dispute between the throne and the altar. The popes asserted, that all ecclesiastics of every description, were solely amenable to, and punishable by, the holy see; and if this reclamation had been admitted in its full extent, it is evident, that no prince could have exerted any act of authority over the clergy.

Vast pretensions of the Romish see.

Spiritual revenues.

The revenues of the sovereign pontiffs, arising out of the exercise of their plenitude of apostolic power, were not only considerable; but, the modes of levying the contributions imposed, were very oppressive. The tenths and annates were general, throughout the countries which remained in the obedience of Rome, and frequently occasioned disturbance, from the severity with which these taxes were raised<sup>74</sup>. But, the ingenuity of the popes, and their necessities

<sup>73</sup> Bruys, vol. iv. p. 668, 669, and p. 671, 672, and vol. v. p. 26, 27. Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, vol. iv. p. 246, 247.

<sup>74</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 383—388.

or their profusion had invented many other devices, to draw money to the exchequer. Julius the Second, when he began the construction of St. Peter's church, in 1509, issued a bull, by which, as a common contribution of all christians towards that superb edifice, he imposed a singular tax throughout Europe. It enacted, that all legacies, bequeathed to uncertain persons, or which, from whatever cause, were not paid according to the intention of the testator, should be applied to the completion of the object above stated. A tribunal for exacting the receipts, was named, with very extensive jurisdiction; and commissioners for receiving the money, were sent into the different countries. In order to secure its due execution, the princes, or government, were rendered participators in the sums produced by it; and the oppressions, exercised on the people, were infinite<sup>75</sup>. Another grievance of the same nature, calculated to enrich the papal see, was derived from the principle laid down by the popes, that "all benefices belonged exclusively to them, as vicars of Christ and St. Peter, and might be disposed of by them accordingly." Under the sanction of this bold assertion, they laid claim to the property of ecclesiastics, as reverting of right to the holy see, on their decease; and incredible vexations were used, to enforce the decree. Paul the Third, in 1541, published a bull, to justify the right; and it was even extended, by a second, which Pius the Fourth issued, in 1560<sup>76</sup>.

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VIII.

1574

Impositions,  
and griev-  
ances.

But, injurious as were these impositions to the authority of kings, Papal bulls, and the tranquillity of their subjects, they were far inferior in their operation, to the effect of the memorable bull, solemnly promulgated by Pius the Fifth, in 1567, and which was absolutely subversive of all royal, or temporal jurisdiction. By the twenty-first clause, he expressly, under pain of excommunication, prohibits every sovereign from laying any new tax whatever on their subjects,

<sup>75</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 393—396. Giannoné, Hist. de Naples, vol. iv. p. 187—191.

<sup>76</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 367—372.



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or from augmenting those already imposed. The insolence and violence of such a mandate, incensed the princes, whom it was intended to coerce; and even Philip the Second disdained to allow himself to be divested of the most essential prerogatives of his crown. The bull was unanimously and immediately rejected, by every catholic power in Europe<sup>77</sup>.

Great prero-  
gatives, and  
powers.

Notwithstanding this defeat, the Roman pontiffs arrogated, and exercised an authority, not only supreme, but, in many cases, unlimited. Pius the Fifth presumed, in contempt of the Imperial dignity and rights, to confer on Cosmo, duke of Florence, the title of "Grand Duke of Tuscany;" and he publicly crowned and inaugurated that prince, at Rome. The oath, taken by him, to the holy see, was that of a vassal to his liege lord, and contained a promise of "obedience and entire devotion to the pope and his successors." The reiterated protestations and remonstrances, made by the emperor, Maximilian the Second, against so extraordinary an assumption of power, were treated with indifference or contempt<sup>78</sup>.

Edicts ag: inf  
literary pro-  
ductions.

Perhaps, of all the indecent and pernicious edicts, which have proceeded from the Vatican, the one issued by Paul the Fourth, in 1559, against the printing or publishing of such books as the holy see thought proper to suppress, merits the highest indignation. It was complied with, at least, in a degree, throughout many catholic states. The index, promulgated in the name of the pope, by the inquisitors, to whom that function was entrusted, contained the names of all books and authors, prohibited, or condemned. Every anonymous production whatever, published since the year 1519, was included in this proscription; and it was rigorously enjoined, to abstain in future, from printing any work, without the previous permission and approbation of the inquisitor<sup>79</sup>. It can scarcely be credited, that in the number

Inquisitorial  
rigors.

<sup>77</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 382—389. Bruys, vol. v. p. 15. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 248—270.

<sup>78</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 216—224, and p. 228—232. Bruys, vol. v. p. 16, 17.

<sup>79</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 378—383.

of books thus suppressed, were comprehended bibles; the Greek and Latin poets, and historians; and above all, every work, indiscriminately, published in Germany, at Paris, and at Lyons<sup>80</sup>. The loss in Florence only, which would have been sustained by a compliance with the bull, was estimated at one hundred thousand ducats. Cosmo, grand duke of Tuscany, moderated, and in part suspended its execution; restraining it to books injurious to religion. With this modulation, a great number of literary works were publicly committed to the flames, at Florence, in March, 1559<sup>81</sup>. Under the more temperate administration of Pius the Fourth, the rigors of the inquisitors were lessened; but no sooner had Pius the Fifth acceded, than he immediately renewed his menaces against any infraction of the original bull. The council of Trent having approved and confirmed the index, all further opposition was regarded as impious<sup>82</sup>. It is a well-known fact, that the "Decameron" of Boccaccio, so much admired for the elegance of its diction, and the variety of entertainment contained in it, was among the number of suppressed productions; and that the cardinal of Mantua, in 1562, vainly pleaded its cause, and endeavoured to procure its exemption from the index, revised by the council of Trent. The only grace, which the prelate could obtain from the censors, appointed by the assembly, was a permission to correct the "Decameron," in order to submit it anew to the censure of the inquisitors. After many impediments, and great emendations, that amusing work was again printed and published in 1572<sup>83</sup>. Happily, the effect of the reformation, added to the gradual progress of the human mind in improvement all over Europe, dispersed these attempts to restrain its pursuits and faculties. The Romish see grew insensibly more tractable, and abated in its arrogance, presumption, and tyranny. Conscious, that the age of

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Confirmation  
of them, by  
the council of  
Trent.Effect of the  
reformation.<sup>80</sup> Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 378—383.<sup>81</sup> Idem, *ibid*.<sup>82</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 455—459.<sup>83</sup> *Ibid*. p. 459—463.



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blind submission and darkness was past, the pontiffs adapted their conduct to the change in the temper of their subjects; and, aware of the danger annexed to the experiment of extending the bounds of their spiritual power, they limited their ambition to defending and retaining the prerogatives, of which they were already in possession.

## C H A P. IX.

## N A P L E S.

*Review of the Neapolitan history, from the accession of the Arragonefe race of kings.—Irruption of Charles the Eighth into Italy.—Extinction of the Arragonefe line.—Subjection of Naples to Spain.—Reign and policy of Ferdinand the catholic.—Oppressions and exactions, committed by the Spanifh princes, and viceroys.—Commencement of Don Pedro de Toledo's government.—Anarchy of Naples at that period.—Severity of the viceroy.—Embellifhment of Naples.—Ravages of the Turks.—Unfuccefsful attempt to introduce the inquisition.—Persecution of heretics by order of Philip the Second.—Declenfion of the kingdom of Naples, in 1574.—Tyranny, and exactions of the Spaniards.—Calamities refulting from bad adminiftration.—Extinction of trade.—Degradation of the Neapolitans.—Depreffion of the arts.*

OF all the European kingdoms, that of Naples appears to have undergone the moft numerous revolutions. In the courfe of about four centuries, the fceptre was transferred fo frequently, as even to excite our admiration at the rapidity with which thefe fubverfions were atchieved. The Normans, the Imperial houfe of Suabia, the family of Anjou, and the Arragonefe princes, fucceffively reigned, and were expelled. The laft mentioned dynasty was founded by Alfonfo, king of Arragon, who having, after feveral years, vanquifhed his competitor, Renè, duke of Anjou, terminated his life, at Naples. He was furnamed “the wife and the magnanimous;” and though the impartial review of his reign might, in many inftances, call into queftion his title to thofe qualities, he was, undoubtedly,

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<sup>1</sup> Giannoné, *Hist. de Naples*, 4 vols. quarto, vol. iii. p. 539—541.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 608—620, and p. 663.

who

who had succeeded to his father, Ferdinand, than to the unpopularity and odium of his character. Charles the Eighth, scarcely in possession of the Neapolitan crown, was soon compelled rather to fly, than to retreat; and esteemed himself fortunate to repass the Apennines, in defiance of the Italian powers, leagued to prevent his passage. The French irruption appeared to have left hardly any trace. Their remaining troops were speedily reduced to capitulate; and after a short time, Frederic, brother to Alfonso, who was adorned with every virtue and quality, capable of contributing to the felicity of his subjects, ascended the throne. This event was followed by the death of the king of France; and the momentary subversion of the Arragonese family, seemed to have only confirmed them in their dominions<sup>2</sup>.

But, the tranquillity, produced by the decease of Charles the Eighth, preceded new and greater convulsions. Louis the Twelfth, with his predecessor's crown, inherited his pretensions; and he prepared to renew the attempt upon the kingdom of Naples. In order to facilitate the conquest, and to secure its permanency, he embraced a policy the most injudicious; by allying himself with Ferdinand the catholic, and Isabella, sovereigns of Spain, whose ambition and thirst of power were well known to be unrestrained by any regard to the sanctity of treaties. Though Ferdinand was nearly connected by blood and marriage with Frederic, king of Naples, he did not hesitate to agree upon a partition of that prince's territories, at the precise time when he affected to offer him assistance against France. The attack, and immediate acquisition of the proposed object, instantly took place; while, the unfortunate Frederic, become the victim of a faithless relation, from whom he expected aid, voluntarily took refuge in the dominions of Louis, his avowed enemy. The event, which had been foreseen, as the inevitable result of the compact, speedily happened. Disputes arose between the two sovereigns, which could only be decided by

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1495—1498.  
Invasion of  
Naples, by  
Charles the  
Eighth.

1498—1503.  
Division of  
Naples, be-  
tween the  
kings of  
France and  
Spain.

Gonsalvo de  
Cordova  
drives out the  
French.

<sup>2</sup> Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 667—679.

arms;



C H A P. arms; and Gonfálvo de Cordova, who commanded the troops of  
 IX. Ferdinand, acted with so much vigor and decision against the French  
 1498—1503. commander, that, notwithstanding a suspension of hostilities was  
 agreed on, the Spaniards ultimately expelled their enemies, and re-  
 mained sole possessors of the kingdom \*.

1503—1507.  
 Subjection of  
 Naples to  
 Spain.

Ferdinand  
 the catholic.

From this memorable period, Naples sunk into a dependant pro-  
 vince; and being no longer governed by its proper kings, as heretofore,  
 ceases, in some measure, to have any history, except as a part of the  
 Spanish monarchy; in all the wars and convulsions of which, it bore  
 no inconsiderable share. The lover of history will not, however,  
 think it beneath his attention, to review the condition of that beauti-  
 ful country, after its subjection; and to contemplate the principal fea-  
 tures of the policy and government, introduced by Ferdinand the  
 catholic, and his two immediate successors. The first act of the new  
 sovereign, was a proclamation, by which he confirmed the privileges,  
 conceded to the Neapolitan people, during the reigns of his immediate  
 predecessors, since the death of Alfonso the First; though he pre-  
 tended to claim the crown, as legitimate heir to that prince. Alarmed  
 at the reports which were spread, that Gonfálvo de Cordova, whom  
 he had continued in the post of captain general and governor of  
 Naples, entertained views of ascending the throne himself; and  
 aware of the precarious tenure by which the kingdom was held, Fer-  
 dinand, notwithstanding his advanced age, and encreasing infirmi-  
 ties, determined on passing over thither in person, without delay.  
 It is not unworthy of observation, that, when he embarked from  
 Barcelona, for Italy, with fifty galleys, so imperfect was the art of  
 navigation, and so dangerous was it esteemed to venture out to sea,  
 that he only sailed along the coast; and having touched in the ports  
 of France upon the Mediterranean, as well as at Genoa, he reached  
 Gaieta, from which place he proceeded by land to Naples'. He was re-  
 ceived by his new subjects, with every demonstration of attachment;

\* Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 679—699. Mezerai, vol. vii.

† Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 711—714. Abregé Chron. d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 46.

and,

and, notwithstanding the important concerns which arose in Spain, during his absence, occasioned by the death of his son-in-law, Philip, king of Castile, he remained seven months in Italy, occupied in regulating the administration, and laying the foundations of the government which he thought proper to adopt, for the preservation of his conquest.

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1503—1507.  
Measures of  
his govern-  
ment.

Conscious that the Neapolitans required a strong and steady hand, he began by subverting the antient forms of the monarchy, and removing every impediment, which might prevent him from completely extinguishing the usages, antecedently practised under the Arragonefe kings. Naples having ceased to be any longer a royal residence, the great officers of state were suppressed, as equally expensive and unnecessary. A viceroy, invested with almost unlimited authority, and to whom Ferdinand associated two counsellors, versed in the jurisprudence of the country, was appointed, to represent the person of the sovereign. The courts of justice, and all the other tribunals, had been originally modelled upon those of France, by the princes of the house of Anjou, when they subjected Naples. Alfonso the First, at his accession, conforming himself to the manners which he found already established, made no alteration; and his successors pursued the same conciliating policy. But, Ferdinand accommodated them universally to the genius of his own nation, and ordered all the public acts, which had been hitherto drawn up in the Latin language, to be in future promulgated in the Spanish<sup>6</sup>. A still more injurious change was introduced, by the venality of offices and dignities. Under their antient kings, of every race, these had been gratuitously conferred on merit, valour, and science. But, the continual wants of the Spanish monarchs gradually rendered the highest posts venal, and exposed them to sale, not only for the life of the purchaser, but in reversion, and exclusively, to particular families in perpetuity. The subversion of all right and equity was the inevitable result of so iniquitous a system<sup>7</sup>.

Policy of Fer-  
dinand.

Venality of  
offices and  
dignities.

<sup>6</sup> Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 720—729.

<sup>7</sup> Ibid. p. 737.



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Severe exactions of Ferdinand.

With Ferdinand, likewise, arose another evil; in multiplying titles and honours. That of prince, which had been ever exclusively confined to the royal blood, was rendered common; and all the inferior marks of dignity were sold by the Chancery to such, as could afford to pay the prices annexed to their purchase<sup>8</sup>.

Even the confirmation of the immunities, enjoyed by the Neapolitan nobility and people, was accompanied with a demand of three hundred thousand ducats, exacted as an acknowledgment for that act of grace; and Ferdinand appears to have exerted no mark of munificence or liberality towards his new subjects, except in causing the sum of two thousand ducats to be annually paid towards reviving the university of Naples, which the preceding troubles had involved in ruin. His apparent parsimony may, however, be justified by the necessity in which he found himself, of restoring to the barons of the French party, their estates and property. That article had been stipulated by Louis the Twelfth, in the treaty, by which he renounced his claim to the kingdom of Naples; and its infringement might have been attended with very dangerous consequences to Ferdinand, who was compelled to compensate, from the royal treasury, for the lands of which he deprived his own adherents<sup>9</sup>.

1507—1529.  
Return of Ferdinand to Spain.

Charles the Fifth.

After having effected these momentous and fundamental changes, which reduced Naples into the form of a province, Ferdinand returned to Spain. During about nine years, which that monarch continued to reign, the Neapolitan dominions, governed by viceroys, enjoyed repose, if not felicity, and were undisturbed by foreign enemies; but, when his grandson, Charles, ascended the throne, the condition of Naples became infinitely more unfortunate, in consequence of the perpetual wars in which he was engaged. Even, previous to the commencement of any hostilities, the election of the new king of Spain to the Imperial crown, was made the pretext for demanding a

<sup>8</sup> Giannoné, vol. iii. p. 737, 738.<sup>9</sup> Ibid. p. 714, 715, and p. 739.

supply,

supply, of equal magnitude with that, which had been granted to his predecessor, when he first took possession of the kingdom ; and these severe exactions, disproportionate to the wealth, and superior to the ability of the Neapolitans, were repeated and augmented <sup>10</sup>. Foreign invasions encreased the evils, caused by the Spanish government ; and every attempt of Francis the First to recover the crown of Naples, proving unsuccessful, the oppression of the viceroys degenerated into tyranny. After the memorable expedition of Lautrec, Philibert of Chalons, prince of Orange, exercised the severest vengeance on the persons and estates of those nobles who had joined the French, or who appeared to demonstrate any attachment to that nation ; and the necessities of Charles the Fifth, who stood in want of money for the payment of his mutinous forces, induced him not only to permit, but to encourage the confiscations, which enriched his treasury. A tribunal was constituted for the trial of all offenders, and the prince of Orange distributed to the principal Imperial officers, the lands of such as were condemned <sup>11</sup>. He was not ashamed to retain one of the most ample fiefs for himself ; and we may form some estimate of the magnitude of the fines imposed, by that to which the city of Aquila, in the province of the Abruzzo, was sentenced. One hundred thousand ducats were levied on the wretched inhabitants ; who, from their inability to raise so vast a sum, were reduced, after selling all the plate in the churches, to mortgage the crop of saffron belonging to the town <sup>12</sup>. The prince, not less an enemy to the arts, than rapacious and oppressive in his government, spared no monument, however venerable ; and the Neapolitans saw, with peculiar indignation, that, among the edifices in the neighbourhood of Naples, which he caused to be demolished, was the famous villa of "Mergellina," constructed by the poet Sannazarius their countryman, and dedicated by him to the muses <sup>13</sup>.

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1507—1529.

Tyranny of  
the viceroys.Confisca-  
tions.Government  
of the prince  
of Orange.<sup>10</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 19.<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 21—43.<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 44.<sup>13</sup> Ibid. p. 37.



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IX.1529—1532.  
Cardinal  
Colonna.Measures of  
his admini-  
stration.1532.  
Viceroyalty  
of Pedro de  
Toledo.

These multiplied disorders received no effectual redress during the short administration of cardinal Colonna, who succeeded to the prince of Orange. He was a prelate of amiable manners, gallantry, and refinement; whose taste for letters and pleasure had endeared him to Leo the Tenth, by whom he was raised to the highest ecclesiastical dignities. The age, accustomed to see priests exercise the functions of civil and military professions, beheld without astonishment, a cardinal, archbishop of Montreal, invested with the office of viceroy, and captain general of Naples. He attempted to revive the laws, which had been wantonly violated under his predecessor, and he even made some examples; but, the evil demanded vigour and severity, to eradicate; nor did his government, which only lasted two years, admit him to accomplish a task so difficult and arduous. In raising supplies of money for the emperor Charles the Fifth, he was more successful; and it is not without astonishment, that we reflect on his compelling the Neapolitans to send that prince the sum of nine hundred thousand ducats, in 1530, and the following year. For these prodigious donations, exacted from the States, they obtained a new confirmation of their privileges; but, the viceroys, who were always foreigners, paid little regard either to the immunities, or to the essential and permanent interests of the kingdom<sup>14</sup>.

To the cardinal Colonna, was substituted Don Pedro de Toledo, who governed Naples, with power almost unlimited, during near twenty-one years. His viceroyalty forms a memorable epocha in the annals of the country, and demands attention. In the course of it, by his own confession to one of the confidential secretaries of his son-in-law, Cosmo, grand duke of Tuscany, he put to death near eighteen thousand persons, by the hand of the executioner. Yet, Giannoné, a Neapolitan, and one of the ablest historians, as well as the most impartial, whom the present century has produced, not only acquits, but even commends his severity, as equally wholesome

<sup>14</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 52—61.

and

and necessary". To explain this seeming paradox, it is requisite to take a survey of the condition of the kingdom, and particularly, of the capital, at the time of Toledo's arrival. It will convey an idea of the manners, and of the anarchy, which then prevailed in Naples. To so deplorable a state of contempt, were fallen the courts of judicature, that the nobles openly employed importunities and presents, to corrupt the judges: menaces and violence were added, whenever they became necessary to liberate a prisoner. The streets of Naples were infested with robbers, who rendered the passage of them unsafe, peculiarly in the night; and they had even the audacity to form themselves into bands so numerous, as to set the laws at defiance. The great barons not only gave them refuge and protection; but, their palaces had the privilege of asylums, in which the culprit was secure from punishment; and many of the most desperate of these wretches were retained and paid by the nobility. The state of public morals was, in the highest degree, dissolute and relaxed. The voluptuous shore of Baiæ, which from the earliest antiquity had been consecrated to pleasure, and to which the Cæsars retired from the splendor and fatigue of the Imperial functions, to indulge in dissipation, or plunge in excesses; continued still to retain its characteristic qualities. Debaucheries, the most contrary to nature, were avowedly tolerated; and the sale of daughters by their parents, for purposes of prostitution, scarcely excited disapprobation, from the universality of the practice. The prince of Orange, during his government, had permitted, and even encouraged by his example, the crime of carrying off women by violence; nor could any rank, or any place, however elevated, or sacred, secure the honour of the sex. Outrages were committed, and monasteries entered by force, from whence they were taken with impunity. Similar enormities prevailed in the provinces, where oppressions of every kind were exercised by the barons<sup>15</sup>.

The inflexible and stern character of the viceroy, speedily redressed these grievances, and restored order in the capital. His regu-

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1532.  
State of Na-  
ples at To-  
ledo's arrival.

Dissolution of  
manners.

1532—1545.  
Severe admi-  
nistration of  
Toledo.

<sup>15</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 66.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 66—70.



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1532—1545.

Beneficial,  
and elegant  
institutions.

Protection of  
the coasts  
against the  
Turks.

lations were sustained by prompt and exemplary punishment; nor did any dignity, or connexions, protect an offender. The counts Pignatelli, and PolICASTRO, whose crimes had long defied justice, were seized, tried, and put to death. A young man of condition, detected in placing a ladder of ropes against the house of a lady, was beheaded, notwithstanding the most powerful intercession; and these examples, followed by others, soon produced a salutary change in the manners, which had so long prevailed in Naples. All the tribunals underwent a severe examination, and justice began again to preside in their determinations<sup>17</sup>. Proceeding from the reform to the embellishment of the city, he erected the palace, since appropriated to the viceroys, removed the arcades and porticoes which afforded shelter to assassins, and caused the streets to be enlarged and paved. Fountains were constructed, to dispense water to the different quarters of the capital; and a regulation which, above all, contributed to its salubrity, was effected by him; that of draining the country in its vicinity, and procuring for the stagnant waters, a free passage into the sea. The famous grotto of Paulisippo, an excavation of unknown and remote antiquity, through which lay the road to Pouzzoli, was widened and repaired by Toledo; who delighted to retire from the fatigues of business, to the delightful coast of Baiæ, where he always passed a considerable portion of the winter months. When Pouzzoli had been completely laid in ashes, by the subterraneous fires which broke out in its neighbourhood, and drove the inhabitants to take shelter in Naples; the viceroy encouraged them by his presence and example, to return thither, and to rebuild the place, which rose more beautiful out of its ruins. His activity and vigilance were by no means confined to the capital. All the provinces experienced equal attention, and became the objects of his personal inspection. The coasts of Calabria and Apulia, subject to the continual devastation of the Turks, were fortified with towers and beacons, to announce the enemy's approach; and from

<sup>17</sup> Giannoné, vol. v. p. 70—76.

Reggio, at the southern extremity of Italy, to the frontier of the papal territories, all the towns were put into a posture of defence. The kingdom, which, under several preceding viceroys, had been left a prey to every species of licentiousness, evinced by its obedience and tranquillity, the effects of a wise and vigorous administration<sup>18</sup>.

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Repeated attempts were made by Solyman the Second, emperor of the Turks, either alone, or in conjunction with the fleets of France, to effect the conquest of Naples, during this period: but the exertions of Toledo were attended with success, in repulsing the Turkish invaders, and in rescuing the country, committed to his charge. Though he was able to oppose insurmountable obstacles to the reduction, he could not, however, prevent the pillage of the kingdom. In no part of the middle ages, either under the feeble tyranny of the Byzantine emperors of Constantinople, or during the decline of the Saracens, were the coasts of Naples and Sicily so frequently plundered, ravaged, and desolated. Thousands of persons, of both sexes, and of all conditions, were carried off by Barbarossa, Dragut, Sinan, and the other bashaws, or admirals of the Porte. Not content with landing and ravaging the provinces, their squadrons perpetually appeared in sight of Naples; laid waste the islands of Ischia and Procida, in its immediate vicinity; attacked the towns of Pouzzoli and Baiæ; and committed every outrage of wanton barbarity. In 1534, Barbarossa, after having failed, unopposed, through the Faro of Messina; destroyed seven gallies, constructing at Monté Cassino; and terrified the capital itself; insolently detached some of his vessels to Fondi, in order to carry off Julia de Gonzaga, esteemed one of the most beautiful women in Italy. He had destined her for the seraglio of Solyman; and the Turks landing in the night, she had only time to escape over the mountains, on horseback, and almost naked. Fondi experienced the vengeance of the disappointed Mahometans, who sacked it without mercy<sup>19</sup>. The invasion of 1552, when Dragut blocked up the harbour of Naples, with a hundred and fifty large gallies, during

Invasions and  
depredations  
of the Turkish  
fleets.

Barbarossa.

Dragut.

<sup>18</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 87—97.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 77.



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near four weeks, spread still greater consternation; and if the fleet of France had arrived, as had been concerted, it is more than probable, that the city must have fallen into their hands. But, the delays of Henry the Second proved its preservation. The Turkish admiral, corrupted by a present of two hundred thousand ducats, which the viceroy found the means of conveying to him, retired, and made sail for Constantinople<sup>20</sup>. We need no more convincing proof of the defenceless state of the kingdom, than the necessity for adopting so humiliating an expedient.

Arrival of  
Charles the  
Fifth, at Na-  
ples.

The emperor, Charles the Fifth, who continually visited his vast dominions, after his triumphant expedition against Tunis, in 1535, made a public entry into Naples, and remained, during the whole winter, in that capital. All the nobility of Italy crowded to behold him; and Don Pedro, the viceroy, exhausted every pleasure, in order to detain and gratify so illustrious a guest. But, Charles, who foresaw the war in which he was ready to be engaged against Francis the First, convened the States, and demanded a supply, proportionate to the danger with which he was menaced, by the united forces of the French and Turks. The Neapolitans, captivated with the gracious demeanor of their sovereign, and desirous to evince to him their zeal and attachment; without examining into the means by which the sum might be raised, instantly granted him a million and a half of ducats<sup>21</sup>. The emperor himself was so sensible of the impossibility of realizing the money, that he instantly remitted one third; and contented himself with the remainder. It is a circumstance highly deserving attention, because it proves the wealth and preponderance of the nobility, as well as the poverty of the inferior orders; that, when the assembly met, to deliberate on the mode of levying so enormous a supply, it was agreed that the barons should furnish three-fourths, and the people, only the remaining quarter. An incontestible proof, that the former body of men was possessed of almost the whole property of the State<sup>22</sup>.

Loyalty and  
liberality of  
the Neapoli-  
tans.

<sup>20</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 169, 170.

<sup>22</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 85—87.

<sup>21</sup> A sum, exceeding six hundred thousand pounds.

Prefuming on the merit and loyalty of their late conduct, the nobility, by whom the viceroy, on account of his rigor and impartiality, was universally detested, endeavoured to procure from the emperor, his dismissal. But, Charles, however highly gratified by the demonstrations of liberality, which his Neapolitan subjects had given him, was not disposed to grant their request. He esteemed Toledo for the severity of his administration; and far from withdrawing the authority antecedently delegated, he, before his final departure, augmented and enlarged the viceroy's power. A confirmation of their antient privileges, which Charles readily granted, was the only compensation, obtained for so vast a supply, as he had drawn from the kingdom of Naples<sup>23</sup>. That country, though molested by the Turks, continued in a state of internal repose, for several years; during which period, the Jews, who had settled in great numbers, both in the capital and provinces, were expelled. Their usury was the pretext for an act of such impolitic violence; but, the religious antipathy, in which they were held, stimulated the government to proceed to extremities. Their loss was felt in a greater degree, because the usurious exaction of large interest, far from being diminished by their departure, was encreased, when the Christians remained without competitors in so lucrative a branch of traffic<sup>24</sup>.

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1532—1545.  
Charles refuses to dismiss Toledo.

Expulsion of the Jews.

The administration of Toledo, which had only acquired force by the unsuccessful opposition of the nobles to his measures of policy, was, notwithstanding, completely subverted, when he attempted to introduce the inquisition. Ferdinand the catholic, in violation of the oath which he had taken, on receiving the submission of the Neapolitans, after the expulsion of the Arragonese kings; made a feeble and fruitless effort, to establish inquisitors general. They were compelled to desist, without exercising any function; and the experiment was not renewed for more than forty years. The doctrines of Luther, notwithstanding the perpetual vigilance of the viceroys, had gradu-

Ineffectual attempt to introduce the inquisition.  
1546.

<sup>23</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 84—87.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid. p. 97—99.



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1546.

Measures, to  
impede the  
progress of  
knowledge.Revolt of the  
Neapolitans.Amnesty  
granted to  
the insur-  
gents.

ally penetrated into the south of Italy. Many persons of the highest rank, male and female; even some, among the monastic orders, had either openly embraced, or secretly cherished the reformation. The watchful and bigotted precautions of the viceroy, had checked, but, could not extinguish, the spirit of religious enquiry. In order to repress disquisition on these subjects, and to preclude information, he therefore, not only caused all books, suspected of containing heretical tenets, to be burnt; and prohibited, under rigorous penalties, the printing, or retaining any such productions: but, he even suppressed all the literary academies, instituted for the encouragement of polite letters, rhetoric, philosophy, and poetry<sup>23</sup>. The emperor sustained him in these acts, which evidently tended to banish knowledge, and to prevent the introduction of every branch of science. In his zeal for maintaining the purity of the catholic faith, he sent orders to Toledo, without further delay, to attempt the introduction of the inquisition itself. Conscious of the hazard, incurred by such an experiment, and aware of the consequences which might arise from it, that minister, contrary to his natural genius, proceeded by indirect and gentle methods. While he caused the Imperial edict to be rendered public, through the medium of the archbishop of Naples, he retired to Pouzzoli, as if uninterested in its success. But, the Neapolitans, patient under every other species of oppression, instantly revolted at the establishment of the inquisition. They even forgot, in the general terror, the distinction of ranks; and the barons united with their fellow-citizens, to oppose that formidable tribunal. The viceroy, returning to the capital, and reinforced by three thousand veteran Spaniards, determined to support the measure. Hostilities took place, and the city, during near three months, was abandoned to anarchy, while the inhabitants invested the castle, and besieged their governor. They persisted, notwithstanding, invariably, in their allegiance to Charles the Fifth, and only demanded the abolition of the holy office, as the price of their immediate

<sup>23</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 107—117.

submission. The emperor, convinced by experience of the impracticability of success in his attempt, desisted; commanded the inquisitors to cease all further exercise of their powers; and granted an amnesty to the Neapolitans, on condition of their paying a fine of a hundred thousand crowns<sup>26</sup>.

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1546.

The viceroy survived this unsuccessful contest, during several years, and continued till his decease, to retain the favour of his sovereign. The close of his life was deeply tinged with cruelty; and the rebellion of the prince of Salerno, gave ample scope to the natural severity of his temper. Age, together with a disease, contracted by fatigue, terminated his long administration, at Florence; to which city he had conducted the Imperial forces, destined against Sienna. He was succeeded by the cardinal Pacheco, as viceroy; and the abdication of Charles the Fifth, in the following year, devolved on his son Philip the Second, the sovereignty of Naples<sup>27</sup>. Alarmed at the preparations of Henry the Second, king of France, that prince, in conjunction with Paul the Fourth, who had newly ascended the papal throne, dispatched Ferdinand duke of Alva, to the aid of his Neapolitan subjects; and to the vigorous measures, embraced by him, on his arrival, was due the safety of the kingdom. Nothing can more clearly evince the change, that had taken place since the accession of Ferdinand the catholic, and the profound submission established by the Spanish viceroys, than the ill success which attended the French invasion, though conducted by one of the greatest generals of the sixteenth century. The forces of Charles the Eighth, and Louis the Twelfth, had entered, and subjected the country, almost without opposition. But, when Francis, duke of Guise, at the head of a disciplined army, attempted to penetrate into the province of the Abruzzo; far from finding any symptoms of disaffection to the established government, he was repulsed before the little town of Civitella, on the

Death of  
Toledo.  
1546—1553.

1554—1557.  
War with  
France.

Unsuccessful  
invasion of  
the duke of  
Guise.

<sup>26</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 117—136.

<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 166—174. Galluzzi, Hist. de Toscane, vol. ii. p. 57—59.



C H A P.  
IX.

1554—1557.

Frontiers, and compelled to retreat, with loss, into the papal territories. The duke of Alva, sustained by a body of Spanish veterans, not only awed such of the nobility as were disposed to revolt, but, prevented either the clergy or the people from declaring in favour of the invaders; and France, instructed by experience, desisted from any further attempt to recover the crown of Naples<sup>28</sup>.

1558—1571.  
Administra-  
tion of the  
duke of Al-  
cala.

The administration of the duke of Alcala, to whom Philip delegated the supreme power, soon after the recall of Alva, lasted near twelve years, and was marked by almost every species of misfortune and calamity. Famine equally afflicted the capital and the provinces; while earthquakes increased the general consternation. The Turks, who, in 1558, under the bashaw Mustapha, had burnt Reggio, and carried off into captivity the inhabitants of Massa, and Sorrento; continued to desolate the coasts, and even pushed their audacity to such a length, as to pillage, and massacre the people in the Chiaia, one of the suburbs of Naples. It is difficult to adduce a stronger proof of the defenceless and unprotected state, in which the kingdom was left, under so powerful a monarch as Philip the Second, the master of Mexico and Peru<sup>29</sup>. Internal commotions were added to foreign invasion. An insurrection, commenced by a troop of robbers, who elected for their leader Mark Berardi, a native of Cosenza in Calabria, long plunged that province into confusion. He was styled the king Marconé, by his followers; and was not reduced, without difficulty, by regular troops. The court of Madrid, deeply sensible to so wounding an indignity, stimulated the viceroy by reproaches, not to allow the majesty of the throne to be thus trampled on, and violated with impunity<sup>30</sup>. Philip found it a more easy task to exterminate the doctrines of the Reformation, which had long remained dormant, in the villages of the Further Calabria, at the foot of the Apennines.

Insurrection.

<sup>28</sup> Abregé Chron. d'Espagne, vol. ii. p. 326—330. Leti, Vie de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 120—136, and p. 156—164.

<sup>29</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 222, and p. 233, 234. Leti, vol. ii. p. 393, 394.

<sup>30</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 473—477.

Informa-

Information of the existence of this heresy had no sooner reached him, than he issued peremptory orders to the duke of Alcala, to put the inhabitants, indiscriminately, to the sword; and his savage directions were obeyed, in their full extent. The people of Guardia and St. Sixtus, two small towns, having refused, notwithstanding every menace, to abandon their faith, were massacred. Sixty, reserved for the executioner, perished either by fire, or by the gibbet<sup>31</sup>. Even in the city of Naples, some terrible examples of the same sanguinary and persecuting spirit, were exhibited. In 1564, two heretics were beheaded, their bodies reduced to ashes, and so severe an enquiry was begun, to discover all persons, suspected of having embraced the Lutheran opinions, that the inhabitants, terrified at the prospect of seeing the inquisition gradually established, prepared again to rise in arms against its introduction, as they had done under Charles the Fifth. During several months, they continued in a state, approaching to revolt; till Philip, rendered cautious by his father's experience, and apprehensive of the consequences of his own intolerance, sent assurances of his determination never to attempt the revival of that odious tribunal<sup>32</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.  
1558—1571.  
Persecutions  
of heretics.

The incursions and devastations of the Turks, far from diminishing, appeared to augment under cardinal Granvelle, who succeeded to the duke of Alcala, as viceroy. Even the victory of Lepanto, which was so much extolled, if not exaggerated, by the contemporary historians, gave a very short respite to the misfortunes of the Neapolitans. Only two years afterwards, while the city of Naples was occupied in magnificent diversions for the birth of a prince of Spain, intelligence arrived, that the Ottoman fleet, more formidable than ever after its recent defeat, had appeared in the neighbourhood of Otranto, and renewed its accustomed ravages. Tunis, which Don John of Austria had recently taken from Selim

1571—1574.  
Cardinal  
Granvelle.

<sup>31</sup> Leti, Vie de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 371, 372.

<sup>32</sup> Leti, vol. ii. p. 491, 492. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 136—153.



C H A P.  
IX.

1574.

the Second, was reconquered by the same enemy; and the cardinal viceroy was obliged to call out the militia, to the number of near thirty thousand, in order to protect the kingdom from an expected invasion<sup>33</sup>.

Condition of  
the kingdom  
of Naples, at  
this period.

To so ruined and degraded a condition, had the Spaniards reduced Naples, in the space of about seventy years, which had elapsed since the expulsion of the French, by Gonfalso de Cordova. A survey of their principles of government and policy, will too satisfactorily account for this declension, which was common to every other province of that vast, and disjointed monarchy. It seemed to be the invariable maxim of the viceroys, to depress the national spirit, to extinguish science, and to impoverish the people by exactions the most oppressive. The Spanish despotism was not softened or mitigated by any of those arts, that conceal, in some degree, the slavery, which they confirm. Their laws appeared frequently to be the result of wisdom and justice; but, no attention was paid to enforce their execution. Even the privileges, which, by perpetual donations of money, the Neapolitans purchased of their sovereigns, were infringed and disregarded. All the great offices were held by Spaniards: the post of general of the galleys, of which they were peculiarly jealous and tenacious, was never entrusted to a native; though the emperor, Charles the Fifth, in 1536, during his stay at Naples, in return for the testimonies of loyalty and liberality which he received, had, in general terms, assured the States, that, as far as circumstances would permit, that employment should in future be always conferred on a noble Neapolitan<sup>34</sup>.

Pecuniary  
impositions.

When we consider the vast sums, extorted by Philip the Second, from the kingdom, in the space of about twenty years after his accession, we are filled with wonder, at the ability of the people to sustain such heavy impositions. The short war, maintained in 1557,

<sup>33</sup> Giannone, vol. iv. p. 332—340.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 728, 729, and vol. iv. p. 85, 86.

against

against Henry the Second and his allies, the Caraffas, cost Naples two millions, six hundred thousand ducats<sup>35</sup>. The duke of Alcala, whose affability of manners, and attentions to the nobility, had rendered him extremely popular, exerted himself with so much dexterity and address, as to procure, between 1564 and 1570, in four distinct assemblies of the States, no less an aggregate sum, than four millions, four hundred thousand ducats<sup>36</sup>. During the viceroyalty of his successor, cardinal Granvelle, these exactions continued. Philip the Second, engaged in a ruinous and expensive war with his Flemish subjects, in which his tyranny and religious persecution had involved him, found all his treasures unequal to their subjection. To enable him to maintain his forces in that country, he drained all his other dominions, impoverished Spain itself, and eventually alienated the royal domains. The money, levied from the Neapolitans, instead of remaining among them, and returning into circulation, was sent to Flanders. Compelled by his perpetual necessities, and actuated by an insatiable thirst of power, Philip had recourse to the most pernicious and destructive expedients, in order to obtain money. In Naples and Sicily, which were treated as vanquished provinces, no measures were observed towards the people. The cities and lands belonging to the crown were sold; the produce of the taxes, anticipated and mortgaged; titles and employments were put up to sale, and every thing became venal. The only quality, indispensable for a viceroy, was that of extracting, and remitting sums to Spain<sup>37</sup>.

C H A P.  
IX.

1574.

Pernicious  
exactions.

To augment the calamity, and render it irremediable, the utmost profusion and want of œconomy prevailed in the expenditure of the public revenue. Notwithstanding the immense receipt from so many kingdoms and provinces, in Europe and in America, Philip became annually more embarrassed in his finances: even his troops perpetually revolted, from the failure of their pay. The Neapolitans were

Profusion of  
the govern-  
ment.<sup>35</sup> Considerably more than a million sterling. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 222.<sup>36</sup> Near two millions sterling. Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 327.<sup>37</sup> Ibid. p. 333, 334.

exhausted,



C H A P.  
IX.

1574.

Depredations  
of the Turks.

exhausted, in order to maintain wars, with which they had not the most remote connexion; and from the success of which, however complete, they could not derive any possible advantage; while, at the same time, their coasts were ravaged, and their cities desolated by the Turks. It is impossible to estimate, or calculate the extent of loss, suffered from that implacable enemy, between the years 1504, and 1574. The hostilities, being carried on, not as between two states, engaged in a political controversy; but, between christians and infidels, there intervened neither peace, nor truce, under the reign of Charles the Fifth, and a considerable part of that of Philip the Second. Religious antipathy encreased the mutual rancour; and such numbers of the inhabitants were carried into captivity, that the sea-shore was totally abandoned in many parts of Calabria and Apulia. Vast sums were annually transmitted to Constantinople, in order to ransom these unfortunate persons; and the evil was rendered greater, from the circumstance of the Turks never extending similar attention to their own countrymen, who fell into the hands of the christians<sup>38</sup>.

Decline of  
commerce.

Under such a government, it cannot be matter of surprize, that manufactures and commerce not only declined, but, became almost extinct. The kingdom of Naples, favoured by nature, above any other part of Europe; surrounded on three sides by the Mediterranean, in the midst of which sea it is situated; abounding in ports and harbours; calculated by its happy position, to maintain a beneficial intercourse with Asia and Africa; producing many of the most valuable articles of foreign consumption, and capable of carrying on a very extensive trade; was destitute of shipping, or mercantile industry and emulation. Famine frequently visited the capital, and drove the inhabitants to demand bread of their viceroys, with importunity and menaces<sup>39</sup>. The absence of the sovereign, and the distance of Madrid, aggravated the general misfortunes. Charles the Fifth, a

<sup>38</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 333, and p. 335, and p. 341, and p. 347.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. passim:

prince

prince of activity and energy, had visited Naples in person; but, none of his successors ever followed the example. Philip the Second, immured in the Escorial, affected to govern his immense dominions, from the recesses of his cabinet; and after having once retired to Spain, no inducements or exhortations were sufficiently powerful, to prevail on him to quit that country. He was equally deaf to the entreaties of the Neapolitans, and to the cries of the Flemings. The effect of so oppressive a tyranny seemed to extinguish all exertion in the human mind; and we find scarcely any men of genius, or talents, among the Neapolitans of this period. The Spaniards dreaded the energy, which accompanies knowledge, and spared no endeavours to impede the entrance of science among the people. Even the fine arts were slow in their progress, while Rome, Venice, and Florence, abounded in the most eminent artists. It was not till towards the close of Toledo's administration, as late as 1553, that theatrical exhibitions were performed, for the first time, at Naples. The actors were brought thither from Sienna, as well as the dramatic pieces, and comedies, represented<sup>40</sup>. The duke of Alcala, and cardinal Granvelle, seem to have paid some attention to the police of the metropolis; and the former viceroy commanded exact registers of all births, to be kept<sup>41</sup>. In order to restrain the national propensity to games of chance, it was prohibited by the latter, for any person to risk at play, a greater sum than ten ducats, in the course of a day<sup>42</sup>. These remarks may appear too minute for the dignity of history; but every regulation, by which manners are humanized, or society polished and improved, better merits commemoration, than descriptions of sieges, and details of war and slaughter.

CHAP.  
IX.

1574.

Depression of  
the human  
mind.

<sup>40</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 224.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 330.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid. p. 344.



## C H A P. X.

## G E N O A.

*Survey of the Genoese state and history, during the middle ages.—Its power, commerce, and revolutions.—Decline of the Genoese greatness, after the subversion of the Greek empire.—Establishment of the Republic by Andrew Doria.—Conspiracy of Fiesco.—Death, and character of Doria.—Revolt of Corsica.—Domestic dissensions.—State of Genoa, in 1574.—Its dependance on Spain.—Policy of Philip the Second.—Origin of the practice of funding.—History of the bank of “St. George.”—Political consequences of that institution.*

C H A P.  
X.

Grandeur,  
and com-  
merce of  
Genoa, in the  
middle ages.

GENOA stands confessedly at the head of the smaller Italian states; and, like Venice, is an object of great curiosity, during the middle ages. The disadvantages of its situation, at the foot of the mountains of the Apennines, on the barren shore of Liguria, and the sterility of its contracted territory, were amply compensated by the enjoyment of freedom and commerce. Their fleets covered the Mediterranean, navigated the Black Sea, ascended the Nile, and divided with Pisa, the profits of a vast and lucrative trade, as early as the twelfth century. These two small, and rival Republics, which, like Sparta and Athens, were frequently engaged in hostilities, possessed incredible resources, and effected, either partially, or totally, many important conquests. The Genoese obtained, even before the year 1100, very ample immunities, and commercial exemptions or privileges, from the princes who had invaded and conquered Palestine; as a return for the assistance given them, in transporting troops, and carrying supplies of provisions to the coast of Syria. Michael Paleologus, emperor of Constantinople, whom they aided to recover the Byzantine throne, of which the Latin princes had deprived

Conquests of  
the Republic.

prived him, ceded to the Republic a suburb of the Imperial city itself; and with it, the island of Chios in the Archipelago, so famous among the antients, for the delicacy of its wines. This event took place in 1261<sup>1</sup>. When Louis the Ninth undertook the memorable Crusade, and invasion of Tunis, in 1270, before which city he expired, the Genoese furnished the shipping, which conveyed the French monarch and his army into Africa<sup>2</sup>. In the course of that century, continually extending their acquisitions, they became masters of Caffa, in the peninsula of the Crimea, the Theodosia of the Romans; contested with Venice the navigation and commerce of the Euxine; and possessed factories or establishments in Egypt, and every part of the Levant<sup>3</sup>.

Notwithstanding the internal feuds and dissensions, which perpetually agitated the Commonwealth, Genoa still continued in a progressive state of improvement and aggrandizement. Even the vast naval armaments, fitted out to combat their rivals the Venetians; and the defeats which they occasionally sustained, in their contest with that power, do not appear to have exhausted their revenues, or to have impaired their national vigor. In 1373, a powerful fleet and army effected the reduction of the island of Cyprus; though the magnanimity or policy of the Genoese commander induced him only to retain possession of Famagosta, the capital; and six years afterwards, their forces besieged Venice itself, and were on the point of subjecting or destroying the Republic<sup>4</sup>. These great exertions impress with the more wonder, as during the space of fourteen years, which intervened from 1317, to 1332, Genoa was convulsed and desolated by the two factions of the Guelphs and Ghibbelines, to such a degree, as to reduce the coast of Liguria, on which the city is situated, to a barren desert: but, their industry and extensive trade repaired these temporary misfortunes<sup>5</sup>. Early in the four-

Internal  
feuds and  
convulsions.

<sup>1</sup> Hist. de Genes, en 3 tomes, vol. i. p. 121

—123.

<sup>2</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 732.

<sup>3</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 137—161.

<sup>4</sup> Ibid. p. 227—229, and p. 240—254.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid. p. 170—182. Villani, liv. ix.



CHAP.  
X.  
1300—1396.

Election of  
Henry the  
Seventh to  
the sove-  
reignty.

Changes in  
the govern-  
ment.

1396.

1397—1521.  
Declension of  
Genoa.

teenth century, the inhabitants, by a voluntary act, elected the emperor Henry the Seventh for their governor, or patron, during the term of twenty years; and they accompanied this mark of their confidence, with an annual donation of considerable magnitude. The office, with which they had invested Henry, appears, however, to have been more titular than real, and did not affect the independance of the State, as a free commonwealth<sup>6</sup>. His death having taken place two years afterwards, and Robert, king of Naples, coming in person to the assistance of Genoa in 1318, at that time besieged by the Ghibbelines; the gratitude of the people to their deliverer, induced them to delegate the sovereignty to him, for ten years. The term was prolonged, before its expiration, for six years more; but, at its conclusion, the Genoese, among whom new political changes had arisen, compelled the vicar of the king of Naples to withdraw, and resumed their republican form of constitution<sup>7</sup>. Its duration was short; for, in 1353, their fleet having sustained a complete overthrow from the Venetians, the consternation which it occasioned, was such, as to reduce them to claim the protection of John Visconti, archbishop and lord of Milan. He held the sovereignty only about three years; and the Republic again relapsed into anarchy, rather than recovered its freedom, after his decease<sup>8</sup>. They continued, notwithstanding, during forty years, to retain the appearance of liberty, and to extend their commerce, though Genoa was a prey to the most inveterate factions: but, towards the close of the fourteenth century, wearied with dissensions which exhausted their strength, and despairing of the establishment of tranquillity, they sent delegates to Charles the Sixth, king of France, offering him their submission in perpetuity. He accepted the proposal, and took possession of the city<sup>9</sup>.

From this period, for near a hundred and thirty years, the history of Genoa is only that of a state, abandoned to perpetual fluctua-

<sup>6</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 733. Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 167.

<sup>7</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 173, and p. 194—211.

<sup>8</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 409. Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 212—216.

<sup>9</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 286—294.

tions;

tions; destitute of order, or subordination; and, transferring its allegiance to France, to the dukes of Milan, the marquises of Montferrat, or the emperors of Germany, as the caprice of a tumultuous populace, or the ambition of its leaders, impelled. Subjected repeatedly by all these powers, tyrannized by their governors, and held in awe by citadels, they only emerged from oppression, to relapse into it with greater violence. Their foreign possessions, which had been so numerous and considerable, on the coasts of the Black Sea, and in the Archipelago, gradually fell into the hands of the Turks, as that nation advanced towards the final conquest of the Greek empire<sup>10</sup>.

Yet, in 1453, the Genoese, then in the enjoyment of an interval of freedom, made a magnanimous use of it, by sending a naval and military force to the assistance of Constantinople, besieged by Mahomet the Second. It ought not to be forgotten, that this succour, consisting of nine hundred men, was the only effectual aid given to the emperors of the east, by any of the European powers; the fleet, dispatched by the Venetians, not arriving till after the capture of the Imperial city. Justiniani, who commanded the troops of Genoa, signalized himself, and died of the wounds, received in the attack, which rendered Mahomet master of Constantinople. Pera surrendered on the following day to the conqueror; and the loss, sustained by the Genoese, was not only great, but ruinous to their commerce". Caffa, together with many inferior settlements in the Crimea, and on the shore of Anatolia, were subjected to the same power, in 1475; and the vast trade, which, by means of these possessions, Genoa had carried on, for near two hundred years, with the Tartar nations, became totally extinct. The Republic, if it could be said to deserve that appellation, oppressed beneath the odious and feeble tyranny of Galeazzo Sforza, duke of Milan, was too much occupied with its domestic misfortunes,

Justiniani,  
sent to the  
relief of Con-  
stantinople.

<sup>10</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. i. p. 294-391, passim; and vol. ii. p. 1-143, passim.

<sup>11</sup> Laugier, Hist. de Venise, vol. vii. p. 70-74. La Croix, Abregé Chronol. de l'Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 236-242. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.



C. H. A. P.  
X.

1397—1521.  
Revolutions  
in the go-  
vernment of  
Genoa.

either to send proper support to its distant colonies, or to attend to their preservation".

All the calamities, incident to a state, incapable of liberty, and impatient of servitude, were redoubled, at the commencement of the sixteenth century. Genoa, in the course of a few years, passed through numerous revolutions, which alternately transferred the supreme power to France, or to the emperors, as the French, or Imperial faction predominated. Louis the Twelfth, yielding to the impulse of his placable and beneficent disposition, repeatedly pardoned their insurrections. But, the marquis of Pescara, who commanded the army of Charles the Fifth, when he became master of the city, in violation of the articles of surrender, abandoned it to pillage. Genoa was at that time regarded as only inferior to Venice, in opulence; and its commerce, though diminished, was still very considerable". Francis the First, aided by the celebrated Andrew Doria, admiral of the Genoese galleys, again obtained possession of it soon afterwards; but, having refused to concur with that generous and patriotic citizen, in his request to restore the liberties of his country, 1527. Doria, profiting of the weakness of the French garrison, attacked and carried the place, without drawing his sword. His adherents had already prepared the people to receive him; and the citadel being surrendered after a short siege, Genoa remained at the disposal of its new master". It was in this situation, so trying to human virtue, that Doria, who might have established his own greatness, and that of his house, on the complete extinction of freedom, disinterestedly preferred its revival. He laid the foundations of its permanency, by putting the Republic and all its dependancies, under the protection of the emperor, Charles the Fifth; but, with an express stipulation, that, neither in his capacity of head of the empire, nor as king of Spain, should he, or his successors, claim any sovereignty over the Genoese;

Doria expels  
the French.

1528.  
He restores  
Genoa to  
freedom.

" La Croix, vol. i. p. 278. Hist. de  
Genes, vol. ii. p. 38, 39.

" Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 134, 135.

" Ibid. p. 143—145.

and

and still less, exact any species of pecuniary tribute, or contribution, as the price of his protection. We may, perhaps, justly question, whether antiquity can furnish any more sublime example of patriotism; and may doubt, whether the virtue of Harmodius and Aristogiton among the Athenians, or that of the elder Brutus in the history of Rome, was more pure and elevated.

C H A P.

X.

1397—1528.

Having taken these wise precautions to secure his country from external violence, he endeavoured to provide for its internal tranquillity. For that purpose, he committed the State to twelve reformers, who suppressed even the names of the antient factions, and who associated, under certain restrictions, the people with the nobles, in the government. Content with his own approbation, and with the veneration which so generous a conduct must necessarily produce, in the minds of his fellow-citizens, he retired to his palace; and declared, that he emulated no other rank in the councils of Genoa, than that, to which he might pretend, in common with others of the nobility, and members of the Commonwealth. The public gratitude conferred on him by general consent, the title of "Father of his Country, and "Restorer of Freedom." To these glorious distinctions, they added the offices of censor, and captain general of the fleet, for his life; with an exemption from all taxes or impositions of every kind".

Disinterestedness of Doria.

Sustained by the ability and valour of Doria, and protected by the arms of Charles the Fifth, the Republic, during near nineteen years subsequent to this revolution, continued in the enjoyment of independence and repose. But, the memorable conspiracy of Louis Fiesco, count of Lavagna, had nearly subverted Genoa, and reduced it anew to the obedience of France; or, exposed it to all the misfortunes of anarchy. The massacre of Doria and his family, was among the primary objects of the plot; and the dissimulation, intrepidity, and capacity, which marked its leader, at a very early period of life,

1528—1546.  
Conspiracy of Fiesco,

1547.

<sup>21</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 145, 146. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 462, 463. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 738.



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X.

1547.

quelled.

and throughout the prosecution of so hazardous an enterprize, have rendered the attempt one of the most extraordinary, related in history. It was accompanied with complete success, till the moment of its termination. Jeannetin Doria, the heir of that house, was stabbed: Andrew, his uncle, was with difficulty saved by his servants, who carried him out of the city; and the Senate was ready to submit unconditionally to Fiesco, when that nobleman, by a sudden and accidental death, cut short his own hopes, and those of his followers. The government, resuming courage, expelled the surviving conspirators; and Doria, on his return to the city, sullied the lustre of his high character, by proceeding to acts of cruelty against the brothers and adherents of the count of Lavagna<sup>16</sup>. Notwithstanding this culpable excess, he continued invariably firm to the principles which he had inculcated, for maintaining the freedom of the Commonwealth. Philip, prince of Spain, son of Charles the Fifth, having visited Genoa in the succeeding year, attempted to induce the senate, under specious pretences of securing their safety, to consent to the construction of a citadel, garrisoned by Spaniards. But, he found in that assembly, as well as in Doria, an insurmountable opposition to the measure, which was rejected with unanimous indignation<sup>17</sup>.

1548—1558.  
Revolt of  
Corfica.

The island of Corfica, subjected for ages to Genoa, and oppressed by a tyrannical administration, took up arms, at this period; and the French having aided the insurgents, they maintained a long and successful struggle. But, the peace, concluded at Cateau between Philip, become king of Spain, and Henry the Second, in which the Spanish court dictated terms to France, obliged that nation to evacuate their Corfican acquisitions, and to restore the island to the Genoese<sup>18</sup>. Soon afterwards, at the very advanced age of ninety, Andrew Doria expired, in his own palace, surrounded by the people on whom he had conferred freedom and tranquillity: leaving the

1559.  
Death, and  
character of  
Andrew  
Doria.

<sup>16</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 161—198.  
L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 738, 739.

<sup>17</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 198, 199.

<sup>18</sup> Ibid. p. 205—211.

Commonwealth in domestic repose, and undisturbed by foreign war. CHAP.  
X.

He may be considered as one of the most illustrious persons, whom modern Italy has produced; nor can it be doubted, that if he had lived in the fabulous ages of Greece, altars and temples would have been erected, to commemorate his virtue. His moderation and superiority to the thirst of power, which he might have gratified at the expence of his country, have justly given him a high reputation. It is, nevertheless, probable, that his sagacity, and intimate knowledge of the Genoese, enabled him to see the impracticability of establishing, on any solid basis, his own authority; and he equally foresaw, that they were too weak and turbulent, to subsist, without recurring to the protection of some foreign prince. He, therefore, wisely put them under the safeguard of the Spanish monarchy, then in the plenitude of its prosperity; and he obtained from Charles the Fifth, conditions the most favourable. During his whole life, he continued to serve that sovereign, and his successor, as commander of the galleys; and he ordered his dying injunctions, enjoining adherence and fidelity to Philip the Second, to be transmitted to his heir; but, accompanied with the command, to defend the liberties of Genoa, at the price of his blood and fortune. Munificent, intrepid, calm in the article of danger, temperate, modest, and inflexibly attached to the principles of justice, he united in his character, many of the most sublime virtues, or qualities, which can adorn, or elevate humanity. The rare felicity of emancipating his country, and enjoying for more than thirty years, the perpetual prospect of a Commonwealth, rescued from foreign servitude by his arms and counsels, was reserved for Doria; who may be justly regarded as the most fortunate man of the age in which he lived<sup>19</sup>.

The commotions in Corsica, suspended, but not extinguished, broke out anew, shortly afterwards, and exhausted the revenues of Genoa, in their suppression. Alfonso Ornano, a native of that island, 1561—1568.  
New commo-  
tions in Cor-  
sica.

<sup>19</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 211—213. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 739.

equally



C H A P.  
X.

1561—1568.

Submission of  
the Corsicans.

1569—1574.

Internal ani-  
mosities be-  
tween the no-  
bility.

equally distinguished for his crimes and his hatred of the Genoese,<sup>20</sup> commanded the insurgents, and obtained many signal advantages. Even the assistance of a body of German and Spanish auxiliaries, furnished by Philip the Second, as protector of the Republic, was insufficient to reduce a people, exasperated by oppression, and inured to every kind of hardship. The animosity of the two nations, increased by reciprocal injuries, rose to a degree of fury; and stimulated each party to acts of barbarity, perfidy, and atrocity, unknown in the history of ordinary wars. Poison, assassination, and outrages of every sort, were committed. Ornano fell by the treachery of his own servant, who betrayed him into an ambuscade, where he was massacred; and, after several years, his son obtained honourable conditions from the Genoese commander. The Corsicans, abandoned by France, whose intestine dissensions, under Charles the Ninth, incapacitated the government, from interfering with vigour, submitted to the tyranny of their antient masters<sup>21</sup>. To this foreign war, succeeded domestic misfortunes. Notwithstanding the endeavours, which the famous Doria had so successfully exerted, to allay the feuds of the Commonwealth, they were too inveterate not to revive from a variety of causes. The jealousies, subsisting between the antient, and the new nobility, involved the State in confusion, produced a temporary subversion of all government, and compelled the two factions to have recourse to the dangerous interference of foreign powers. Philip the Second offered his arbitration, and the emperor Maximilian the Second, his good offices, to terminate the disputes; and the Court of Madrid again ineffectually urged the Genoese to permit the construction of a citadel, garrisoned by Spaniards. The old nobility, meanwhile, overpowered by numbers, quitted the city. Each party took up arms, and mutual hostilities were commenced; nor was it till a year after the termination of the period under our review, that a final accommodation took place, which restored tranquillity to the Republic<sup>22</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 213—249.<sup>21</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 482—500. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 254—302.

Such was the situation of Genoa, at this period of time. All those valuable colonies and foreign possessions, in the Levant, and the Euxine, which had given the Commonwealth so great a lustre, and enabled the Genoese to carry on so beneficial a trade for centuries, were lost. Corsica, the only remaining province, desolated by tyranny, and held by violence, produced neither revenue nor advantage, adequate to the expence of perpetually subjecting it by arms. The naval and military forces of the State were inadequate to its protection, and could not defend it against any powerful enemy, who might attempt its conquest. Philip the Second, whom they had chosen for their defender, might easily have become their master, and anxiously desired to reduce Genoa to the same degree of subjection with Milan. Though the Senate and people had rejected the proposal, made them by that monarch, for introducing Spanish troops, they were not less, in reality, become dependant upon the court of Madrid. Pensions, gratifications, and lands in the kingdom of Naples, which Philip bestowed on the principal nobility, attached them inviolably to him; and Genoa might, without injustice, be regarded, if not among the provinces, yet as a dependancy of Spain. To these powerful bands of connection, was added another still more coercive; the vast sums, borrowed by Charles and Philip, of the Genoese, and for which they received an enormous interest. The emperor, incensed at the refusal which his proposition for constructing a citadel, met with from the Republic, had, in 1548, embraced a resolution of never paying the capital; by which measure, the creditors, terrified at the prospect of losing their property, in case of a rupture with Spain, were held in perpetual dependance on that crown<sup>22</sup>. Philip pursued the same policy, and with great success. He permitted the Genoese to carry on a lucrative commerce in silk, with his Neapolitan dominions, and to import grain from Sicily; besides granting them permission to trade with

C H A P.  
X.1574.  
State of  
Genoa, at  
this period.Dependence  
on Spain.Pecuniary  
connexions  
with that  
crown.Loans made  
to Philip the  
Second.<sup>22</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 199.



C H A P. X. Milan, Antwerp, and his other possessions. These privileges, revocable at pleasure, when added to the sums in which he stood indebted to the nobility, enabled him to threaten, and to exact obedience. To unite their interests indissolubly with those of his own people, he mortgaged to them the domains of Naples, Sicily, and Milan, as a security for the money which he had borrowed". In 1574, when he wished to oblige the two factions to submit to his decision, he not only refused to discharge the capital; but, he reduced the interest to five *per cent.* which had been previously at eleven, twelve, and, in some instances, as high as eighteen *per cent.* In the following year, he proceeded to much greater infractions of public faith, by withholding payment of the arrears of interest, and ordering a revision to be made of all accounts for the preceding fifteen years". The old nobility, who were the principal creditors, would have been, in a great measure, reduced to poverty, by such an inquest, and by the suspension of their receipts. It may be easily conceived, how powerfully this engine must operate, in retaining the Genoese, and fettering their counsels. They were, in reality, notwithstanding their apparent freedom, enslaved to Spain.

Origin of the  
practice of  
funding.

Bank of St.  
George.

History of  
that institu-  
tion.

The system and practice of funding, unknown to the nations of antiquity, and by which a fictitious circulation is produced, owes its first creation to the Genoese. As early as the year 1407, near three centuries before similar national establishments were formed in France and England, arose the celebrated "Society or Bank of St. George," at Genoa". It is an object of the most liberal curiosity, to trace the outlines of its origin and progress, not only as it was, in some degree, the model of all those which have successively arisen in Europe; but, as it powerfully evinces the extensive commerce, and credit of the Republic, at that early period, when those advantages were exclusively confined to the Italian states. At the beginning of the fifteenth century, the Genoese, from the expence attending their wars, and

<sup>23</sup> Giannoné, vol. iv. p. 334. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 339, 340, and p. 347.

<sup>24</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 286, and p. 299, and p. 33.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. vol. i. p. 322.

from

from other causes, having contracted a considerable public debt, mortgaged the revenues to the persons who had thus advanced money to the State. In 1407, the individuals were formed into a corporate body, and eight administrators, or directors, were appointed to regulate its concerns. The creditors themselves chose these; who were not only declared independant of the government; but, possessed a power of determining finally all matters relative to their constituents. The Doge and the Supreme Council of State, when they entered on the administration, took an oath, never to interfere with, or to violate the privileges of the Bank<sup>26</sup>. It became necessary in 1444, to add eight new directors, who constituted a separate and distinct board from those originally appointed; and a council was afterwards added, composed of one hundred proprietors, vested with unlimited powers<sup>27</sup>.

C H A P.  
X.

1574.

The fluctuations in the value of the stock, appear to have been very considerable, and to have always borne an exact proportion to the prosperity, or misfortunes of the Commonwealth. In the first years after the institution of the Bank, the troubles, which were excited by the Gueff and Ghibelline factions, greatly reduced its value: but, on the election of a Doge, acceptable to both parties, in 1415, and the restoration of a temporary calm, the stock, or shares, rose forty-four *per cent.*<sup>28</sup> Previous to the capture of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second, the Republic resigned to the Bank the island of Corfica, as a security for their property; and when, in the year 1453, that conqueror made himself master of Pera, the stock, given to their commerce and credit, was so great, as to induce them to make over to the body of creditors, the city of Caffa, and every other colony or possession in the Black Sea<sup>29</sup>. The calamities, foreign and domestic, were such at this period, that the shares fell sixty-seven *per cent.* before the year 1464<sup>30</sup>. But, when Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, became so-

Fluctuations  
in the value  
of the stock.<sup>26</sup> Foliotta Hist. Gener. liv. ix.<sup>27</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 8.<sup>28</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 428.<sup>29</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. p. 439. Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 12, 13.<sup>30</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 442.



C H A P.  
X.

1574.

veraign of Genoa, the wisdom and vigour of his government soon revived its credit. Such was the confidence, excited by these qualities, that the Bank of St. George voluntarily resigned to him, in 1465, the sovereignty of Corsica: he, notwithstanding, declined its acceptance, and immediately restored it to that body<sup>31</sup>.

Inviolability  
of the Bank.

Under his son, Galeazzo, Caffa was lost, the Genoese commerce suffered severe depredations, and the State was again rent by civil war and commotion: but, in 1488, Louis Sforza having made himself master of the Republic, credit revived under his administration, and the shares in the Bank rose proportionally in value<sup>32</sup>. It is matter of equal admiration and attention, that, during all the revolutions, conspiracies, and political convulsions, with which Genoa was affected, no prince ever attempted to violate the privileges enjoyed by the Bank, or to invade the public credit, inseparably connected with that institution. In 1508, when Louis the Twelfth, king of France, entered Genoa as a conqueror, caused the records and archives of the Commonwealth to be burnt, and constructed a citadel at the expence of the vanquished citizens; he caused a solemn declaration to be registered, importing, that the society of St. George should remain in the possession of all its antient rights and prerogatives. To this inviolability, was owing its permanent credit, which, though continually shaken, as constantly revived<sup>33</sup>.

Political  
power, en-  
joyed and  
exercised by  
the Bank.

After the middle of the fifteenth century, some of the most essential and important functions of the sovereign power, were devolved on, and executed by the Bank; nor is it easy, in many cases, to discriminate its acts and authority, from those of the State itself. In 1484, that society received the city of Sarzana in deposit, and immediately sent a garrison thither<sup>34</sup>. When Corsica revolted, in 1497, they dispatched forces to reduce the island to subjection, and named the general, to whom the expedition was entrusted<sup>35</sup>. At the peace

<sup>31</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 36.

<sup>32</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 38. Mod.  
Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 447.

<sup>33</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 109, 110.

<sup>34</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxviii. p. 445.

<sup>35</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 88, 89.

of Cateau, in 1559, Henry the Second, king of France, restored his Corsican conquests, not to the Republic, but to the society of St. George<sup>36</sup>. In like manner, when the insurrection began anew in that island, in 1563, the same company prosecuted the war to its conclusion; and the oath of submission, taken by the rebel chiefs, when they laid down their arms, and returned to their allegiance in 1568, was tendered by, and received in the name of the Bank<sup>37</sup>. It continued long afterwards in the enjoyment and possession of all these powers.

C H A P.  
X.  
1574.

To encrease the singularity of the institution, its administration was as permanent and unchangeable, as that of the Republic was agitated, mutable, and fluctuating. No alterations ever took place in its mode of regulation and government. Two sovereign and independent powers were seen, within the walls of the same city, without their producing any sort of discord, or shock<sup>38</sup>. It has, however, been matter of enquiry and discussion, whether, notwithstanding the advantages which Genoa derived from so vast a source of public credit, the establishment did not accelerate the decline of the State. This question is one, which, depending upon principles of finance, it is difficult to resolve; but, the facility which the Bank lent to many operations of commerce, and the security which it held out to those who had vested in it their property, unquestionably tended to give a consideration to the Republic, after the loss of her colonies, and diminution of her trade. The present digression will not, perhaps, appear long or uninteresting, when it is considered that almost all the nations of Europe have since imitated the model, exhibited to them by the Genoese; and that the grandeur of those states is inseparably connected with the maintenance of an artificial circulation, and of the faith, pledged to the public creditors.

Permanency  
of its admin-  
istration.

Considera-  
tions on the  
institution.

<sup>36</sup> Hist. de Genes, vol. ii. p. 210, 211.

<sup>38</sup> Folietta, Hist. Gen. liv. ix. Ann. 1407.

<sup>37</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 214, and p. 248.



## C H A P. XI.

## F E R R A R A.

*History of Ferrara during the sixteenth century.—State of the duchy in 1574.—Protection accorded to letters.—State of Mantua in 1574.—Establishment of the Family of Farnese, in Parma and Placentia.*

C H A P.  
XI.

History of  
Ferrara, in  
the sixteenth  
century.

AFTER Genoa, Ferrara may be accounted the most powerful among the minor states of Italy, at the period which we are reviewing. It then comprehended under one head, the dependant duchies of Modena and Reggio; but, Ferrara was a papal fief, held of the holy see; and the two latter were Imperial fiefs, which the emperor, Frederic the Third, raised to the rank of duchies, in 1452<sup>1</sup>. Paul the Second, who occupied the chair of St. Peter, in 1471, conferred the same title upon Ferrara<sup>2</sup>. During the fierce and obstinate wars, which took place in the beginning of the sixteenth century, between France and Spain, relative to the possession of Milan, the dukes of Ferrara were necessarily involved, and compelled to take a decided part. Alfonso the First, who succeeded to the government at that period, was a prince of valour and capacity; and in the course of a reign of considerable duration, he evinced, under many reverses, an invincible constancy. His inveterate enemies, the popes, were constantly attentive, to find a favourable occasion of re-uniting Ferrara to the patrimony of the church; and in the prosecution of the attempt, they spared neither violence, perfidy, nor excommunications<sup>3</sup>. Francis the First, king of France, whose anxiety to retain, or recover the Milanese, rendered him sensible to every circumstance by which it might

Alfonso the  
First.  
1505.

<sup>1</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 698.

<sup>2</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 698, 699.

be facilitated, endeavoured to attach to his interests, by strong ties, C H A P. XI.  
 the dukes of Ferrara. He, therefore, conferred on Hercules, son to 1505—1534.  
 Alfonso, the princess Renée, daughter of Louis the Twelfth, his own Hercules the Second.  
 predecessor, in marriage. That prince, after his accession, evinced  
 his unshaken adherence to the French crown and nation, throughout 1535—1558.  
 his whole life, and was regarded as their chief support and ally beyond  
 the Alps. It would be difficult to adduce a stronger proof of his de-  
 votion, than his acceding to the league, formed by Henry the Second,  
 and the Caraffas, for the conquest of Naples. The entreaties of  
 Henry, and the menaces of Paul the Fourth, induced him, reluc-  
 tantly, to embark in so unjust, ill-concerted, and unfortunate an en-  
 terprize. Philip the Second, granted him, nevertheless, honorable  
 conditions of peace, by the mediation of Cosmo, grand duke of Tuf-  
 cany\*. He was succeeded by his son, Alfonso the Second; whose 1559—1574.  
 near affinity with the kings of France, and the employments, or  
 honours, which they conferred on him, retained him in the same  
 political connections. He occupied the ducal throne, in 1574.

The united territories of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, formed a 1574.  
 considerable tract of Lombardy, extending from the shore of the Territories of Ferrara.  
 Adriatic, and the mouths of the river Po, to the frontiers of Tuf-  
 cany, and the Republic of Lucca. The revenues were ample; and Forces.  
 rendered more so, by the salt works of Comacchio, which supplied  
 many parts of Italy with that important article. On several occa-  
 sions, the dukes of Ferrara brought into the field, numerous bodies  
 of troops; and their situation, between hostile and contending  
 powers, involved them in continual war during the course of the six-  
 teenth century. The court of Ferrara was one of the most polished Arts.  
 and magnificent of Italy, under the princes of the house of  
 Esté; and they were peculiarly distinguished for their love of letters,  
 and protection of genius. Borzo d'Esté, before the year 1470, esta-

\* Galluzzi, vol. ii. p. 315—323. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 699, 700.

blished!



C H A P.  
XI.1574.  
Ariosto.

blished in his capital the art of printing, by inviting and retaining in his service, Andreas Gallus, who exercised that profession<sup>1</sup>. Ariosto, whose "Orlando Furioso" may rank among the finest productions of poetic genius, resided and died at Ferrara, under the reign of Alfonso the First, by whom, and his brother, the cardinal Hypolito, he was beloved and cherished. He was employed in various negotiations, and made by the duke, governor of Graffignana. Not content with the care of his fortune, Alfonso gave him the most flattering testimonies of admiration for his talents. Such was the enthusiasm which they excited, that the comedies of Ariosto were performed on a splendid theatre, constructed for the purpose, in the hall of the ducal palace at Ferrara, and the respective parts were filled by persons of the highest quality<sup>2</sup>. Renée of France, wife to Hercules the Second, was the protectress of merit and learning. She possessed an elevated mind, cultivated by all the knowledge of the age in which she lived; and her liberality of disposition attracted to the court of her husband, strangers of eminence, from all parts of Italy<sup>3</sup>. The same taste for science, equal munificence, and endowments of every kind, characterised her son, Alfonso the Second, who, in 1565, invited to his court, the celebrated Torquato Tasso. That poet enjoyed for many years the distinguished favour and regard of the duke, and of his brother, Louis, cardinal of Esté; though reasons, not clearly ascertained by historians, induced Alfonso afterwards to confine, and even to treat him with rigour<sup>4</sup>.

Tasso.

Beauty of the  
city of Fer-  
rara.

The city of Ferrara, under the reign of Alfonso, was inferior in beauty and elegance, only to the great capitals of Italy, and was adorned with stately edifices, statues, and fountains. Sculpture and painting, protected by the duke, embellished his palaces, which afforded an asylum to the most eminent artists. The country was populous, industrious, and flourishing. But, all these advantages ceased

<sup>1</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 698.<sup>2</sup> Biograph. Diction. vol. i. p. 306, 307.<sup>3</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 699, 700.<sup>4</sup> Biograph. Diction. Article Tasso, vol. xii.

with

with his life, before the close of the sixteenth century, when Ferrara was seized on by the popes, and was sunk in the ecclesiastical state.

C H A P.  
XI.  
1574.

## M A N T U A.

THE house of Gonzaga reigned at Mantua in the sixteenth century, and had been in possession of that country, since the year 1328. Sigismund, emperor of Germany, conferred on them the title of marquis, in 1433; and Charles the Fifth, in 1530, raised them to the ducal dignity.<sup>9</sup> The Mantuan was far inferior in extent to the dominions of Ferrara; and its sovereigns were not ashamed to accept the command of the papal or Venetian armies. Louis the Third, who flourished towards the middle of the fifteenth century, derived a considerable part of his revenues, from the sale of his troops to the Italian powers, his neighbours<sup>10</sup>. Yet, Mantua, in 1574, was a superb capital, containing near fifty thousand inhabitants, and adorned with monasteries and religious edifices, of singular beauty. The palace of its dukes is described, as containing five hundred apartments, in which luxury and magnificence had exhausted their efforts<sup>11</sup>. None of the capitals beyond the Alps could boast of similar edifices, at that period. The Thuilleries at Paris, and the Escorial, near Madrid, were not yet finished; and the arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture were only to be found in Italy, at their summit of perfection. The dukes of Mantua, like those of Ferrara, protected letters. Balthazar Castiglione, a man of the finest genius whom Italy has produced, flourished in the beginning of the sixteenth century, and was employed by Frederic the Second, duke of Mantua, in the most difficult affairs. We may judge of the enthusiastic veneration, in which Virgil was held, by the construction of a palace, called "Virgiliana,"

1500—1574.  
History of  
Mantua.

Magnificence  
of the capital.

Fine Arts.

Castiglione.

<sup>9</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 664, and p. 665, and p. 668.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 666.

<sup>11</sup> Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvii. p. 463, 464. Etat de Mantoue, p. 273, 274.



C H A P. XI. in order to commemorate the spot, which is supposed to have given birth to the Roman poet, in the vicinity of Mantua". William the Third occupied the ducal dignity, in 1574. The marquisate of Montferrat, now a part of the dominions of Savoy, was then subject to the dukes of Mantua, and gave them no inconsiderable influence in Lombardy, at a period when that country was almost perpetually the scene of hostilities".

*PARMA and PLACENTIA.*

1521—1544. THE two duchies of Parma and Placentia, after having undergone many revolutions, were conquered by Leo the Tenth, from Francis the First, king of France, and incorporated into the patrimony of the church". The ambition of one of his successors in the papal see, Paul the Third, dismembered them again, and conferred them on his son, Peter Louis Farnese. That prince, who is justly said to have had all the vices of Cæsar Borgia, without possessing his talents, abandoned himself, in his new sovereignty, to every excess of unbridled licentiousness, and to all the crimes which rapacity, supported by power, could perpetrate. His reign was short, and it was terminated by a conspiracy, which his enormities had occasioned. Several noblemen, secretly supported by Ferdinand Gonzaga, governor of the Milanese, assassinated him in his own palace at Placentia; and every indignity, which an enraged populace could inflict, was exercised on his dead body". The Imperial troops immediately took possession of the city and citadel of Placentia, in the name of Charles the Fifth; who refused to release them to Octavio, son of the late duke, though that young prince had married his natural daughter, Margaret, widow of Alexander of Medecis. Paul the Third, at the same time, deprived him of Parma, which he re-united

History of Parma.  
Elevation of the family of Farnese to the duchy.  
1545.  
1547.  
1548.

" Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxvii. p. 464. Etat de Mantoue, p. 276.

" L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 640.

" Onuphr. Panvin. p. 48.

" Galluzzi, vol. i. p. 164, 165. Etat de Parme. p. 391—398.

to the ecclesiastical dominions; but, at his death, soon afterwards, Julius the Third, his successor, restored the place and its territory to Octavio. By the assistance of Henry the Second, king of France, whose protection he sought and obtained, Parma was preserved from the fate of Placentia; but, Octavio, sensible that he could neither maintain himself in the former, nor regain the latter city, without the friendship of the house of Austria, threw himself on the generosity of Philip the Second, who, by the abdication of his father, was lately become master of Placentia. That monarch, who loved and esteemed the duchess of Parma, his sister, so far granted Octavio's request, as to reinstate him in the city; but, he withheld the citadel, and garrisoned it with Spanish troops, which he even compelled the duke to maintain<sup>16</sup>. Such was the situation of these duchies in 1574. They were totally dependant on Spain; and Alexander, prince of Parma, so renowned in history for his military capacity and virtues, was educated under the eye of Philip, with his own son, Don Carlos. He had been sent to the court of Madrid, as a pledge and a hostage for his father. Octavio's fidelity; and the important services which he rendered to the Spanish crown, ultimately procured his complete emancipation, and that of his posterity, from the ignominious servitude in which they were held by the troops of Philip the Second<sup>17</sup>.

CHAP.  
XI.

1549—1574.  
Wars, and  
revolutions.

State of Par-  
ma in 1574.

Of Milan, which, since the extinction of the family of Sforza, in 1536, had become a province of the Spanish monarchy, it is unnecessary to say any thing, as its history is lost in that of Spain. The Milanese was administered by governors, sent from Madrid. Sicily and Sardinia were in the same situation, during the sixteenth century. Still less can it be of importance to enumerate, or to enter into any detail, upon the minor principalities and republics of Italy. They neither influenced the fate of Europe, nor merit historical attention.

<sup>16</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 657, 658.

<sup>17</sup> Leti. Hist. de Phil. II. vol. ii. p. 267.



C H A P.

XI.

1549—1574.  
General picture of Italy.

On a review of the situation of this beautiful country in 1574, we shall perceive that the predominant power was that of Spain; which, by the absolute possession of Naples, Sicily, Sardinia, the Milanese, and the Tuscan garrisons, added to its ascendancy in Genoa and Parma, reduced the remainder of Italy, to a species of servitude. We shall observe, that Venice and the papal see were on the decline; that Savoy and Tuscany, well administered, retained their independence in a certain degree, though they looked to Philip the Second, as their ally and protector against France; and that the other states were of no consideration in the great scale of European politics.

## C H A P. XII.

## S W I T Z E R L A N D.

*Review of the Swiss history, from the era of their revolt, under Albert the First.—Ineffectual efforts of the Austrian princes to subject Switzerland.—Defeat of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy.—Participation of the Switzers in the wars of France and Italy.—Battle of Marignan.—Stipendiary treaties with the crown of France.—State of the Helvetic confederacy, in 1574.—Introduction of letters.—Simplicity of manners.—Tolerance.—Police.—Manners.—Military force, skill, and discipline.—Weapons, offensive, and defensive.*

THE history of that revolution which produced the independence of the thirteen cantons, is one of the most memorable and important lessons, ever given by mankind to tyrants. The freedom, enjoyed during several centuries by the Helvetic confederacy, and which renders that body so respectable, originated among the poorest inhabitants of the desolate tracts of the Alps, in the midst of snows and precipices. That the Italian cities, rich, flourishing, and commercial, should either purchase an exemption from the indefinite supremacy of the German emperors, or should expel their own domestic oppressors, excites little surprize. But, the peasants of Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, destitute of allies, and incapable from their poverty, of buying protection, opposed and vanquished their sovereigns, although supported by numerous forces, and frequently armed with the terrors of the Imperial power. The emperor, Albert the First, son to Rodolphus of Hapsbourg, who founded the greatness of the house of Austria; a prince of a cruel, rapacious, and unjust

C H A P.  
XII.

1300.

Origin of the  
Swiss Republic.Revolt of the  
three Cantons  
from Albert  
the First.



C H A P.  
XII.

1300.

just disposition, by his repeated and wanton acts of violence, alienated the affections of a people, slow to resent; and who, in defiance of insults and injuries, long abstained from any attempts at resistance. Even though we should suppose, with some modern historians, that the infancy of the Swiss liberty, has, like that of Greece, been disfigured, or embellished, by a mixture of fable; yet proofs innumerable, and incontestible, will still remain, of the insolent abuse of authority, in the Austrian governors. Towards the close of the thirteenth century, these outrages became so insupportable, as to excite universal indignation; and after patiently enduring, or humbly remonstrating for several years; the inhabitants of three mountainous cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Underwald, took up arms. Their enterprise, was crowned with complete success. The Austrians were every where expelled; and the emperor Albert, who, incensed at their revolt, prepared to inflict on them an exemplary punishment, having been assassinated in the following year, by his own nephew, at the passage of the river Rufs, not far from Zurich, the insurgents derived from this event, a short and precarious respite.

1307.

Assassination  
of Albert.

Leopold, duke of Austria, who succeeded to his father's claims, prepared to assert them, at the head of a great military force; and rejecting the entreaties of the three cantons, who offered to refer the dispute to arbitration, he determined to reduce them to implicit obedience. In this desperate condition, thirteen hundred men, to which number their united strength amounted, having assembled, embraced the generous resolution of perishing, or securing their freedom. It is a fact, transmitted to us by history, and too memorable to be passed over in silence, that this little troop refused to admit into their body, about fifty exiles of the canton of Schwitz; who having fled to the most inaccessible fastnesses, implored permission of their countrymen, to be allowed to die in defence of their common liberty.

\* Simler. Hist. de la Repub. des Suisses, a Paris, en 1578, p. 8—41. Abregé de l'Hist. de Suisse, par Plantin, a Geneve, 1666, p. 133—136.

Nor ought it to be omitted, that these exiles, thus denied the honourable privilege of mixing with their virtuous fellow-citizens, and driven out by them, were yet incapable of betraying the cause of freedom. They even contributed, in an eminent degree, to the victory, obtained at Morgarten, by seizing on an eminence, overhanging the valley through which the Austrians passed; from whence they rolled down stones, threw the army into confusion, and facilitated the defeat that followed. Leopold himself fled: above fifteen hundred cavalry, besides a greater number of foot, perished in the action; and the three cantons, who had hitherto only associated together for the term of ten years, immediately changed their temporary league, into a perpetual alliance<sup>2</sup>. Supported by their courage, and destitute of every external aid, they continued to oppose an invincible barrier to the numerous attempts of the house of Austria; and their infant confederacy was soon afterwards strengthened and augmented by the accession of Lucern.

C H A P.  
XII.

1307.

Battle of  
Morgarten.

1315.

1332.

To this city, after an interval of near twenty years, succeeded Zurich, one of the most opulent and commercial places in Switzerland. Zug, and Glaris, conquered by their joint forces, were next received into the union; which was rendered more formidable from the junction of Bern. These eight, distinguished by the title of "the antient Cantons," remained during near a hundred and twenty-five years, before they admitted any new associates; and in that period of time, they sustained and repelled the rudest assaults<sup>3</sup>. Every weapon, which resentment and disappointed ambition could arm against them, was used by the descendants of Albert and Leopold. It will not be regarded as among the least injurious, that they were repeatedly excommunicated by popes, and bishops of Constance, the allies of their enemies. To weak, and superstitious minds, in a dark

Union of the  
eight antient  
cantons.Efforts of the  
Austrian  
princes, to  
subject the  
Swiss.

1350.

<sup>2</sup> Simler. p. 47—51, and p. 53—57. Plantin. p. 139—144.<sup>3</sup> Simler. p. 61—158. passim. Plantin. p. 161—167.

and



C H A P.  
XII.

1350.

Excommuni-  
cations.

and bigotted age, such anathemas were matter of pious terror and consternation, in an extreme degree. The cantons addressed the most urgent supplications to the emperor Louis the Fifth, beseeching his interposition with the fovereign pontiffs, to obtain their release from a state of reprobation. Nor can their anxiety appear either ridiculous or extraordinary, when we reflect, that, during its continuance, all the ceremonies and exercises of religion were completely suspended. The priests, and monastic orders quitted the city, and territory, on which the papal interdict fell, as if driven from thence, by a pestilential malady; and they even refused to administer to the dying, any of the sacraments of the Romish church. We can scarcely believe, that Zurich remained near eighteen years, in this deserted state, from 1332, to 1350; and that, of all the regular, or secular clergy, only the Cordeliers, of the order of St. Francis, continued to reside in the city\*.

Conspiracies.  
1351—1385.

Conspiracies, and even attempts to compel submission, by prohibiting the supplies of provisions, of which their sterile and contracted territory rendered them in perpetual want, having proved ineffectual; Leopold the Second, duke of Austria, uninstructed by the fate of his ancestors, renewed his attack upon the cantons. At the memorable action of Sempach, he perished, together with more than six hundred gentlemen, and almost half his army, consisting of four thousand men. The victory was obtained with the loss of scarcely more than two hundred†. The battle of Naefels, in the canton of Glaris, fought two years afterwards, is less celebrated; though the disparity of forces was far greater, and the event equally glorious to the Swiss‡. Such repeated proofs of intrepidity and constancy, at length secured their repose. A truce of fifty years was made between them

1386.  
Battle of  
Sempach.

1388.

Truce.

and the Austrian princes, who did not venture to repeat their attacks before the fifteenth century. During that interval, the cantons, far

\* Simler. p. 84, 85.

† Ibid. p. 135, 136. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 591. Plantin. p. 176—181.

‡ Simler. p. 137, 138. Plantin. p. 182—184.

from

from relaxing in vigilance, were attentive to carry their military discipline to the highest point of excellence; and they succeeded in the endeavour, beyond any European nation of the age.

C H A P.  
XII.  
1383.

Louis the Eleventh, before his accession to the throne of France, when commanding the troops of Charles the Seventh, his father, received the most incontestible proof of their hardy virtue and contempt of death. A detachment of only sixteen hundred Switzers, marched to meet, and engage his army near Basil, which was thirty thousand strong. They perished in the attempt, which partook of temerity; but, they left five times their number of the enemy's troops, on the field of battle. Penetrated with equal respect and admiration for such a people, Louis not only desisted from the further prosecution of hostilities, and led back his forces; but, he determined to conciliate their affection, as one of the best supports of his own power. Twelve Switzers are said to have survived the slaughter of their fellow-soldiers before Basil; and these were noted with infamy, by their countrymen. In the perusal of their early history, we are perpetually reminded of the Spartans; and we trace the same heroic sacrifice of their lives for the safety of their country, which has immortalized Leonidas, and his three hundred followers<sup>7</sup>.

1444.  
War with  
France.

Heroism of  
the Swis.

The reputation and renown, acquired by so many acts of prowess, were still heightened, during the war, which Charles the Bold, last duke of Burgundy, imprudently undertook against the allied cantons. They deprecated his resentment, and endeavoured, by expostulation, as well as entreaty, to induce him to desist from his unjust enterprise. But, that prince, intoxicated with the idea of his own greatness, persisted, even after his first defeat, at Granson. A second, and more signal victory, gained by the Swis, at Morat, near Bern, in which, it is asserted, that near eighteen thousand Burgundians perished, broke the power of their invader, and prepared the final ruin of his house, which

1474—1476.  
War with  
Charles the  
Bold.

<sup>7</sup> Simler. p. 140, 141. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 594, 595. Plantin. p. 203—208. Hondorf. Theatrum Historia, p. 453.



C H A P.  
XII.

1474—1476.

1477—1481.  
Internal dif-  
fensions.

1482—1498.

War renewed  
with the house  
of Austria.

1499.

1500.  
The Switzers  
become sti-  
pendiaries.

shortly followed. The bones of the slaughtered soldiers, collected together, and preserved by the conquerors, long presented the most eloquent lesson to unjust ambition, and the rage of conquest<sup>1</sup>.

Some dissensions, which arose among the Cantons, at this period, relative to the distribution of the spoil, taken from Charles the Bold, had nearly proved fatal to their union, and involved them in a civil war; but, by the intervention of a patriot hermit, named Nicholas d'Underwald, who quitted his retreat, in order to appease the disputes of his countrymen, they were amicably terminated. Friburg and Soleure, two cities, which had long been partially united by treaty with some of the members of the Helvetic confederacy, were incorporated into the general league, which encreased to ten the number of Cantons<sup>2</sup>.

Powerful as they were now become, and justly dreaded by every surrounding power, yet, the house of Austria, unwilling to relinquish their antient claims of supremacy, did not totally desist from endeavours to subject Switzerland, before the conclusion of the fifteenth century. The emperor, Frederic the Third, heir to the possessions and pretensions of his ancestors, during a long reign of more than fifty years, never lost sight of the object. Unable, from his poverty and weakness, to attack them in person, his intrigues had produced, or fomented the invasions, undertaken by France and Burgundy. Maximilian the First, his son, commenced that, denominated the Swabian war, which only confirmed the independence, that it was intended to subvert. He was repeatedly defeated, and compelled formally to renounce his title to the territories, conquered from his family<sup>3</sup>.

This unsuccessful attempt of Maximilian, may be esteemed the last effort to shake the liberties of the Switzers; who, after near two centuries of avowed, or concealed hostility, on the part of their antient masters, remained in the undisturbed enjoyment of their well-earned

<sup>1</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 523. Simler. p. 143—147. Plantin. p. 224—228. Mémoires de Comines, liv. vii.

<sup>2</sup> Simler. p. 149, 150, and p. 163—170. Plantin. p. 254.

<sup>3</sup> Annales de l'Empire, par Voltaire, p. 373. Simler. p. 172—174. Plantin. p. 268—274. freedom.

freedom. We are, from this period, to view them in another, and, in some respects, a less pleasing point of view; as stipendiaries, entering into the service of foreign princes or powers, and occasionally sustaining, or attacking the French, the Papal, and the Venetian interests. Even the Austrian princes, and Maximilian himself, so lately their enemy, availed himself of their assistance. The same intrepidity and martial spirit accompanied them beyond the Alps, which they had displayed in the defence of their own invaded rights; and so high was the esteem, entertained for their valour and discipline, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, that every sovereign was anxious to secure their friendship. Basil, and Schaffhausen, which were admitted soon afterwards into the union; and Appenzel, which obtained the same privilege twelve years later, completed the number of thirteen Cantons; beyond which the confederacy has never extended". The Grisons, who inhabited the Rhætian Alps, and whose character for patriotism had been established by the same severe trials, to which the Switzers were subjected, connected themselves likewise with the Helvetic body, in 1498, by the closest ties of alliance; though they still continued to remain a distinct political state, and were never entirely incorporated into the Swiss Republic".

C H A P.  
XII.

1500.

The Helvetic  
confederacy  
is augmented.

1501.

1513.

Previous to this æra, and almost immediately after the close of the Burgundian war, in 1479, and the following year, the Switzers were already active in the concerns of France and Italy. Louis the Eleventh, who, by artfully inflaming the quarrel between the Cantons and Charles the Bold, had rendered them subservient to his vindictive policy, omitted no means to attach them closely to his interests. He found that money was one of the most effectual. Repeated treaties, in which reciprocal immunities and exemptions were stipulated, but which were cemented by gold, connected the two countries. The Cantons, in 1480, sent him a military aid; and, under his son, Charles the Eighth, their soldiers fought, as auxiliaries, in the battle of St. Aubin,

Treaties be-  
tween France  
and the Can-  
tons.

<sup>11</sup> Simler. p. 177—188, and p. 195—199. Plantin. p. 278, and p. 294.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 218—224. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 596, 597. Plantin. p. 267, 268.



C H A P.  
XII.

1513.

which determined the fate of Bretagne; as well as in that of Fornoua, in the year 1495, which secured the safe retreat of Charles from Italy, after his Neapolitan expedition. The survivors of the latter of those enterprizes, on their return home, first introduced among their countrymen, the fatal distemper, said to have been brought by Columbus from the New World, and which they contracted during their stay at Naples<sup>13</sup>.

Surrender of  
Louis Sforza.

One of the most disgraceful circumstances in the annals of Switzerland, is the surrender of Louis Sforza, duke of Milan. That unfortunate prince, besieged in the city of Novarra, by the forces of France, and relying on the valour and adherence of five thousand Switzers, experienced a treatment unworthy their national character. He was not only abandoned, but betrayed. Having, in order to effect his escape, assumed a military disguise, and mixed in the ranks of his auxiliary friends, a private foldier discovered, and delivered him up to Louis the Twelfth. A captivity, which only terminated with his life, was the consequence: but an indelible stain attached to the act; and so sensible were the Cantons to the infamy incurred by it, that they endeavoured to expiate the guilt, by inflicting on the individual who had dishonoured them, a public and ignominious death<sup>14</sup>. They gloriously repaired their crime, some years afterwards, on the same spot; as if determined to efface its remembrance, by rendering to Maximilian, son and successor of Louis Sforza, the most important services. It is rarely, that in the history of nations, we find the fault and the atonement so closely united.

1513—1514.  
Battle of  
Novarra.

Louis the Twelfth, during the course of his reign, had derived from the Switzers, the same assistance, as his predecessors; but an injudicious parsimony, joined to some mortifying insults, on the part of the king of France, converted their attachment into an inveterate enmity. Determined on revenge, they flocked to their standards with such eagerness, that they solely demanded, without receiving any pay,

<sup>13</sup> Simler. p. 147, 148, and p. 170, 171, and p. 188, 189. Hottinger. p. 416. Plantin. p. 265.

<sup>14</sup> Simler. p. 174, 175.

to be led against the French, who were occupied in the siege of Novarra. Maximilian Sforza, with four thousand Switzers, had retreated to that city, and could not long maintain himself against the assailants. Only eight thousand men, destitute of cavalry, magazines, or artillery, and unsupported by any aid, except their own enthusiasm, having formed a junction with their countrymen, ventured to attack the marshal Trivulzio in an entrenched camp, fortified with twenty-two pieces of cannon. Their battalions, though repeatedly swept away by the discharge of the French artillery, advanced in order, leapt the trenches, and fell upon the enemy with an impetuosity, that rendered all resistance ineffectual. The victory was complete; and was followed by the restitution of the Milanese to Maximilian, of which their defection had deprived his father. Even the Italian writers of the sixteenth century, though little disposed to magnify, or exaggerate the Swiss exploits, have ventured to compare the battle of Novarra, with the most sublime actions of antiquity. Not content with having inflicted on Louis the Twelfth this exemplary chastisement, they entered the province of Burgundy, laid siege to Dijon, the capital, and could scarcely be induced, by the promise of an ample indemnification, to withdraw from before the city, and to evacuate the kingdom<sup>33</sup>.

C H A P.  
XII.

1513, 1514.

Victory of  
the Switzers.

At the accession of Francis the First, to the crown of France, that prince exerted every endeavour to mollify their resentment; and to obtain, if not their assistance, at least, their neutrality, during his invasion of the Milanese. But, the Cantons, irritated at the infraction of the articles, which had been agreed on with his predecessor, and stimulated by the suggestions of the celebrated Schiener, bishop of Sion, in the Valais, rejected the offers of the king, at the moment when the conditions were on the point of adjustment. The memorable battle of Marignano ensued. After near two days of obstinate conflict, the Switzers, rather worsted than vanquished, fullenly and slowly retreated. But, their retreat bore no resemblance to flight: they

1515.

Battle of Ma-  
rignano.

<sup>33</sup> Simler. p. 191—193. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 595. Machiavel. liv. ii. chap. xvii. Guicciardini, liv. xi. Plantin. p. 290—293.

placed



C H A P.  
XII.

1515.

1521.  
Treaty with  
the French  
crown.Privileges,  
accorded to  
Francis the  
First.1549.  
New treaties  
with the  
French kings.

placed their wounded in the center of the army, marched in complete order, back to Milan ; and even, in this situation, impressed with so much respect, the French forces, though victorious, that not the slightest attempt was made to impede or pursue them<sup>16</sup>. Francis, charmed with their valour, and penetrated with a sense of their political importance, judged it expedient to secure their future friendship, at almost any price. He succeeded in his object, and concluded with the Republic two successive treaties, by which he rendered their troops subservient to all his projects of ambition. It ought not, however, to be omitted, that only twelve of the thirteen Cantons could ever be induced to sign a compact of so binding a nature ; and which, in some measure, compelled them to enter into every war, however unjust, in which the French monarchy might be eventually involved. Zurich, alienated by the inflammatory harangues of the cardinal bishop of Sion ; and still more sensible to the exhortations of the famous Zuinglius, who introduced the reformation into his native country, and who forcibly depicted the immorality of adopting all the political resentments of a foreign power ; pertinaciously refused to be included in the alliance, or to partake of the French largesses<sup>17</sup>. Great, and decisive privileges were accorded to Francis, by the second treaty. He was authorized, at his pleasure, to levy in Switzerland, from six thousand, to sixteen thousand men, and to name all the superior officers. This body of troops was to be entirely at his devotion, and to act against any state or power, indifferently. In return for such concessions, which secured him a military force ever ready to march, he manifested his liberality to the Helvetic union ; and besides the immediate payment of a large sum, to the league collectively, he stipulated an annual donation in future to each separate Canton<sup>18</sup>.

On the decease of Francis the First, his son Henry the Second renewed, and even more closely cemented the alliance ; but Bern, as well as Zurich, declined to be comprehended ; esteeming the

<sup>16</sup> Simler. p. 202—206. Guicciardini, liv. xii. Paul Jovius, liv. xv. Plantin. p. 295—300.<sup>17</sup> Simler. p. 206—212. Plantin. p. 302.<sup>18</sup> Simler. p. 275—283. Plantin. p. 303.

principle

principle upon which it was founded, contrary to the immutable rules of morality and justice. The eleven remaining Cantons did not the less ratify the compact, which became permanent and hereditary<sup>19</sup>.

C H A P.  
XII.

1549.

Charles the Ninth confirmed his father's engagements; and that prince, during the civil wars against his protestant subjects, repeatedly derived, from the fidelity and valour of their troops, the most important services. In the battle of Dreux, they extorted involuntary applauses from their enemies. At the memorable retreat of Meaux, Fifer, with six thousand Switzers, received the young king, his mother, Catherine of Medecis, and the whole royal family, into the center of their battalions; and opposing their pikes to the attack of the Hugonot cavalry, conducted Charles in safety to Paris<sup>20</sup>.

1567.

After this short review of the outlines of the history of Switzerland, it is requisite to survey their situation in 1574; and it may not be unpleasing to compare it with the earlier periods of their political existence. They were, in many respects, essentially altered from the rude and uncultivated people, whom the Austrian oppression drove to resistance, and who were unacquainted with every science, except that of war. In the course of near three centuries, a degree of refinement had gradually been introduced among the more opulent Cantons, and had softened the manners of their inhabitants. As early as the year 1459, Pius the Second, who, previous to his elevation to the papacy, had been secretary to the general council, convoked at Basil; founded in that city, a university<sup>21</sup>. Seminaries for the instruction of youth, were successively established at Bern, Zurich, and Laufanne. The introduction and study of letters were facilitated, by the printing houses, opened in the two former of those places, and at Geneva; which last city, from its vicinity, and close alliance with the Cantons, might be regarded as almost an integral part of the Helvetic confederacy<sup>22</sup>. A very considerable, and lucrative commerce was carried on, in the article of books, with which Switzerland furnished France and Italy<sup>23</sup>.

1574.  
State of  
Switzerland,  
at this period.

Letters.

Seminaries of  
learning.

<sup>19</sup> Plantin. p. 335. Simler. p. 283—285.

<sup>20</sup> Plantin. p. 346.

<sup>21</sup> Plantin. p. 216. Simler. p. 302.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 302.

<sup>23</sup> Galluzzi, vol. iii. p. 356.

Their



C H A P.  
XII.

1574.

Condition of  
the moun-  
tainous Can-  
tons.Moderation  
in religious  
concerns.Internal mode  
of govern-  
ment.

Their close connexions with the French crown introduced a circulation of money; and the troops, constantly retained in its service, at their return home, with the vices, brought the improvements of a more polished nation.

These remarks were, however, principally applicable to the Cantons bordering on the Rhine, or the lake of Geneva. Among the mountainous ones, the primitive simplicity of earlier times, still subsisted, and civilization had faintly penetrated. Their ceremonies, laws, and usages, had suffered little alteration. The catholic religion, which had been expelled from Bern, Zurich, and several others of the more fertile Cantons, maintained itself among the highest Alps, in all its purity and bigotry. The doctrines of Luther, Zuinglius, and Calvin, which had spread over so large a portion of Europe, were eagerly imbibed by the Switzers. But, the same religious difference of opinion, which had rudely agitated the German empire, and subverted France; caused little effervescence, and no animosity, among a people, whose organs and passions were less delicate and susceptible. They retained the same mutual affection for their common country, and the same ardor to unite for its defence. In the two Cantons of Glaris and Appenzel, there was not any predominant religion; and in the first of those, on the anniversary of the victory of Naefels, which was gained over the Austrians, in 1387, when three hundred and eighty Switzers defeated nine thousand of their enemies; the sermon, preached to the people, was delivered alternately by the catholic priest, and the Calvinist minister<sup>24</sup>.

As their tenets of faith were different, so were their forms of government. The three earliest Cantons, Uri, Schwitz, and Unterwald, small, and destitute of cities, were pure democracies; and they were imitated in this mode of constitution, by Zug, Glaris, and Appenzel<sup>25</sup>. But, the larger and more wealthy members of the union, embraced an aristocratic government; or, at least one, in

<sup>24</sup> Simler. p. 390—395.<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 287, 288.

which that principle strongly predominated<sup>26</sup>. Throughout every part of Switzerland, the laws were implicitly obeyed, and rigidly enforced. Property was more secure than in any European state; and while Italy, through all its various sovereignties, was infested with robbers, who rendered the public roads unsafe; the meanest and most unprotected individual travelled through the Cantons, without alarm or molestation<sup>27</sup>. This superiority was one of the most enviable circumstances, attached to their freedom; and resulted, in a great degree, from the extermination of the numerous feudal tyrants, who had long committed depredations on the inferior orders of the people, with impunity. Their hospitality was a characteristic virtue; but, intoxication too frequently accompanied and disgraced their public festivals. Songs, commemorative of the victories, obtained by the first Switzers, over their oppressors, usually exhilarated these banquets, and kept alive the spirit, which had given birth to the Republic<sup>28</sup>. The jurisprudence was, like every other institution, simple and concise. If the interference of friends was ineffectual to produce a reconciliation between the parties in litigation, the council, which was usually assembled at Baden, proceeded to try and determine the cause, not by the principles or ordinances of the Roman, or civil law; but, by the dictates of equity, and the usages, immemorially received among the people. The necessary consequence of so succinct a form of trial, was to extinguish, in a great measure, the delays and chicane, that too frequently accompany and disgrace the distribution of justice, in countries which boast of higher civilization<sup>29</sup>.

But, the political feature, which distinguished the Switzers, from every other European nation, and which gave them a manifest superiority over all, was their military skill and discipline. Unlike to the inhabitants of France, or Germany, where the profession of arms was confined to a few, whose choice and genius determined them to

C H A P.  
XII.1574.  
Security.

Jurisprudence.

Military skill  
and discipline.<sup>26</sup> Simler. p. 288.<sup>27</sup> Ibid. p. 306, 307.<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 301, and p. 307—311.<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 302—304, and p. 327—329.



C H A P.  
XII.

1574.

embrace it; throughout all the Cantons, the meanest peasant was born a foldier. He was, from his cradle, accustomed to the use of those weapons, used in war; and inured to the vicissitudes of cold, hunger, and fatigue. Nature, independant of practice, had peculiarly qualified them for the field, by the characteristic virtues of patience, submission, and the endurance of hardships without murmur, or revolt<sup>30</sup>. Their affection towards each other, which was almost fraternal, and their disposition to extend mutual kindness, discriminated them, in an eminent manner, from the German mercenaries of that age, denominated Landsquenets, who served in the armies of France and Spain. The Switzers were rarely engaged in private quarrels, and were expressly enjoined by the magistrates, to forget every personal injury, and to dismiss all resentment, while acting together in the camp, against an enemy<sup>31</sup>. The Roman discipline was not more severe: they were forbidden, under pain of death, to quit their ranks, or to plunder, before the victory was completely gained; and the most sacred regard to every edifice, appropriated to religious uses, as well as to the honour and safety of women, was inculcated and enforced<sup>32</sup>.

Infantry.

The Swiss infantry of that century, was regarded as the most invincible in Europe, and able to stand the shock of cavalry, without breaking, or disordering their ranks. At the battle of Dreux, in 1562, between the Hugonots, and the forces of Charles the Ninth, the French and German horse, in the service of the Prince of Condé, repeatedly charged the Swiss battalions: almost all the officers were put to the sword; but, the troops rallied three times, preserved their order, and repulsed the assailants. In 1574, their offensive weapons

Armour, and  
weapons.

consisted of the harquebuss, halberd, and two-edged sword: but, their principal and distinguishing strength lay in their pikes, which were eighteen feet in length, and being crossed, presented, like the Pha-

<sup>30</sup> Simler. p. 291, 292.<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 296—298.<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 299, 300.

lanx of the Macedonians, an impenetrable forest of spears<sup>21</sup>. The defensive armour, worn by the private soldiers, varied according to their ability and choice. Some were covered with a shirt of mail, a corselet, or a cuirass; but, the meaner sort contented themselves with a helmet; and substituted the hides of oxen or bears, in the place of iron armour. Every Switzer wore on his head, a plume, partly white, and partly of the colour of the ensign of his peculiar Canton; besides which, they had on their breasts, a white cross. It is not undeserving of remark, that the military music, then in use, was precisely the same which is still common in armies; namely, the drum, fife, and trumpet<sup>22</sup>. When their fidelity, intrepidity, and skill, are considered, it cannot be matter of surprize, that every prince was desirous to secure their friendship; and that they frequently, during the sixteenth century, compelled victory to incline towards that side, whose interests they espoused.

C H A P.

XII.

1574.

<sup>21</sup> Simler. p. 300, and p. 294.<sup>22</sup> Ibid. p. 295, 296.



## C H A P. XIII.

## THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

## HOUSE of AUSTRIA.

*Rise, and elevation of the house of Hapsburg.—Election of Frederic the Third, to the Imperial dignity.—Character, and reign of Maximilian the First.—Review of the great features of the administration and policy of Charles the Fifth.—His abdication.—Accession of Ferdinand the First.—Condition of Hungary and Bohemia, at that period.—Reign of Ferdinand.—Character of that monarch, and of Maximilian the Second, his successor.—Toleration of Maximilian.—State and limits of the Imperial power, in 1574.—Want of revenues, or supplies.—Prerogatives exercised by the emperors.—Ceremonial.—Condition of Hungary.—Contracted authority of Maximilian in Austria.—Revenues.—State of the clergy.—General Reflexions.*

## C H A P. XIII.

1273.  
Origin, and  
elevation of  
the house of  
Austria.

Rodolph the  
First.

THE power of the house of Austria, which, from the time of Charles the Fifth, to the treaty of Westphalia, impressed Europe with so much apprehension, was due to the vigour and ability of Rodolph of Hapsburg. That prince was unanimously chosen to fill the Imperial throne, after the long state of interregnum and anarchy, which followed the death of the emperor Frederic the Second, in the thirteenth century. Having vanquished Ottocar, king of Bohemia, and dismembered from his dominions, the extensive duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola; Rodolph, with the consent of the diet, assembled at Augsburg, conferred those fiefs on his eldest son, Albert<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Annales de l'Empire. p. 248. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 31.

Notwith-

Notwithstanding the facility, with which the emperor procured so important an investiture, he was unable to secure to Albert the succession to the Imperial crown; which the latter did not obtain till after the battle of Gelheim, when he dethroned Adolphus of Nassau. On the death of Albert, ten years afterwards, his son Frederic, who aspired to the same dignity, was taken prisoner by his competitor, Louis of Bavaria; and the house of Austria, for more than a century, sunk into its original obscurity, while the family of Luxembourg rose. By the marriage of Albert, duke of Austria, with the daughter of Sigismund, last emperor of the dynasty of Luxembourg, he inherited, on that monarch's decease, the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia; to which was added in the following year, the Imperial dignity. But, Albert, who might have founded a powerful race of princes, and who possessed talents, civil and military, was carried off by a premature end. The electors, assembled to supply his place, chose Frederic, duke of Styria, his cousin.

C H A P.  
XIII.1282—1291.  
His successors.

1298.

1437.

1439.

It was not possible to have made a selection, less calculated to support the majesty, annexed to the title of chief of the empire. Frederic the third possessed neither the personal qualities, nor the revenues and territories, indispensable to inspire respect, and enforce obedience. In an age, when the only honorable profession was that of arms, and when chivalry diffused universally a martial spirit through all the higher orders of society, Frederic betrayed no aptitude for war. Slow, irresolute, and destitute of talents for conceiving, or executing enterprizes of difficulty; he remained, during the course of his long reign, a quiet, and almost an indifferent spectator of the dissensions which arose in the empire, or exerted himself ineffectually for their suppression. Far from being master even of Austria, and its dependancies, he was involved in contests with the other princes of his family, for Styria, and Carinthia. The Imperial crown was only a splendid title, stripped of the revenue, by which

1439—1493.  
Election of  
Frederic the  
Third to the  
Imperial  
throne.Character of  
that prince.Weakness of  
Frederic.

\* Annales de l'Empire. p. 344—347. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 37.



C H A P.  
XIII.

1439—1493.

alone its possessor could dictate to the great vassals, with whom he was surrounded. The nobility of his hereditary dominions refused to aid him in that quality, or to accompany him in any expeditions, foreign to the interests of their own duchy. From all the provinces of his patrimonial inheritance, he only drew the annual sum of fourteen thousand marks of silver; and the nominal successor of the Cæsars, was inferior in pecuniary resources, to the meanest prince of Italy<sup>1</sup>.

These internal defects were aggravated by external attacks and misfortunes. His brother, Albert, besieged him in Vienna; and a more powerful enemy, the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, king of Hungary, after ravaging Austria, ultimately effected its conquest; and established himself in the capital, of which he maintained possession till his death. Frederic, during several years, expelled from his native dominions, led a wandering and ignominious life; transferring his residence to various cities of the German empire, and retaining little more than the external insignia of the Imperial rank. Yet, in this state of humiliation and depression, the future greatness of his house was silently preparing to unfold itself, and to astonish Europe. By the death of his brother, Albert, and the resignation of Sigismund, his cousin, count of Tyrol, the patrimony of the Austrian family became again united under one head. Matthias Corvinus having left no legitimate descendants, Vienna, and the province of Austria, returned to Frederic; and he eventually secured the rich succession of the Burgundian princes, by the marriage of his only son, Maximilian, with Mary, daughter and heiress of Charles the Bold. He even procured the election of Maximilian, as king of the Romans, and devolved on him the Imperial crown, some years afterwards, at his own decease<sup>2</sup>.

Commence-  
ment of the  
Austrian  
greatness.

1493—1519.  
Maximilian  
the First.

Of a character widely different from that of his father, the new emperor displayed talents and qualities, which might have capaci-

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt. *Histoire des Allemands*. vol. v. p. 229—232, and p. 358. *L'Art de Verif.* vol. ii. p. 37, 38.

<sup>2</sup> Schmidt. vol. v. p. 296—301, and p. 333—336. *L'Art de Verif.* vol. ii. p. 38, and vol. iii. p. 576, 577.

tated

tated him for achieving the most difficult enterprises, if he had been properly supported. Active, and ardent to signalize himself, he possessed equally the valour and conduct, requisite to command armies, Generous even to profusion, he partook, in no degree, of the parsimony, with which Frederic was, perhaps unjustly, reproached. Affable in his manners, beneficent in his disposition, and born with an elevation of mind, which never forsook him under the severest reverses of fortune; Maximilian was confessedly, one of the most amiable and accomplished princes of the age. But, the same defect of revenues, which had rendered his predecessor weak and contemptible, operated to retard, or disconcert every project, by which he hoped to augment the Imperial power, or to enlarge his territories'. The early and premature death of Mary of Burgundy, his wife, had deprived him of any participation in the government of the Low Countries; which, during the minority of Philip, his son, was conducted by a council of state, from which Maximilian was wholly excluded. The princes of the empire, instead of contributing to his aggrandizement, viewed his efforts with indifference, or watched them with jealous apprehension; and his own dominions were unequal to supporting foreign wars, or facilitating his views of ambition.

CHAP.  
XIII.

1493—1519.  
His character.

Jealousy of  
the German  
princes.

To this irremediable deficiency, may be traced, and justly attributed, all the failures and disappointments of his reign. Repulsed by the Venetians in his attempt to force a passage through their territories, on his way to receive the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, he saw his person and dignity alike exposed to contempt. He had been equally unfortunate, at an earlier period of his reign, in the wars which he successively undertook against France and Switzerland. The league of Cambray, when the most powerful sovereigns of Europe, formed a combination to humble the Republic of Venice, and in which the emperor occupied a distinguished place; appeared to offer him a favourable occasion for recovering his ho-

League of  
Cambray.

<sup>1</sup> Schmidt. vol. v. p. 363—365, and p. 389. Pfeffel. Abregé Chronol. d'Allemagne, vol. ii. p. 60.

nour,



C H A P.  
XIII.

1493—1519.

Rapid pro-  
gression of  
the house of  
Austria.1519—1530.  
Reign of  
Charles the  
Fifth.

nour, while he augmented his possessions, at the expence of that Commonwealth. Maximilian over-ran, without resistance, the unprotected provinces of Venice; captured Verona, Vicenza, and Padua; and already flattered himself with reviving the Imperial name and functions, which had been so long forgotten in Italy. But, the gradual dereliction of his allies, his own want of pecuniary resources, and the desperate efforts of the Venetians, soon undeceived him; and ultimately compelled him to accept an equivalent in money for Verona, the only conquest that he had retained. These repeated mortifications and disgraces, which accompanied him to the termination of his life, were, however, amply compensated by the rising greatness of his house. The arch-duke Philip, his son, had, in right of his marriage with Joanna, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, prepared for Charles, his heir, the succession to Spain, Naples, the Netherlands, and the new world beyond the Atlantic, recently discovered by Columbus. If, to so many kingdoms and provinces of Europe and America, could be joined the Imperial crown, a more powerful monarch must arise, than had been seen since Charlemagne. The last years of Maximilian were gratified by this exhilarating prospect, though its entire accomplishment did not take place till after his decease; but, his negotiations in the Electoral College greatly facilitated the elevation of his grandson, Charles, to the dignity of chief of the empire. That event forms an important æra in the history of modern Europe<sup>6</sup>.

Charles the Fifth had scarcely attained his twentieth year, when he was called to the Imperial throne; and the choice of a prince, already master of such extensive dominions, appeared, on a first view, to menace the extinction of the Germanic system and liberties, in case the new sovereign should be possessed of ability, and not deficient in ambition. The princes, and cities of the empire, who had success-

<sup>6</sup> Pfeffel. *Abregé Chronol. d'Allemagne*, vol. ii. p. 75—111 *passim*. *Annales de l'Empire*. p. 369—393. *L'Art de Verif.* vol. ii. p. 39, 40. Schmidt. vol. v. p. 390—482 *passim*.

fully

fully resisted every effort of Frederic and Maximilian, whose scanty resources incapacitated them to undertake any enterprize of duration or magnitude; might find their united strength unequal to contending with an emperor, sustained by the troops of Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries, in addition to those, furnished by the patrimony of his Austrian dominions. But, on a closer examination, the circumstances which had seemed to facilitate, did, in fact, augment the difficulty of the attempt. Possessions so vast, and so disjointed, were not only subject to invasion; but, could scarcely be united in any great operation of offensive war; and it was natural to conclude, that, whatever anxiety the king of Spain had evinced to attain to the first dignity of the christian world, he could not dedicate a large portion of his time or attention to the affairs of the empire.

C H A P.  
XIII.

1519—1530.

Obstacles to  
his attain-  
ment of ar-  
bitrary power  
in Germany.

The whole reign of Charles affords proofs of the justice and solidity of this reasoning. During the course of more than twenty years, from his election to the year 1540, he only made three short visits to Germany; and was continually occupied in the other kingdoms subject to his government, or in the expeditions which he undertook against Francis the First, Solyman the Second, and Barbarossa. His impatience to take possession of the Imperial crown, after his election, had, it is true, induced him, at a moment when Spain was menaced with a dangerous rebellion, to embark from that country, for Flanders. At the risk of losing his hereditary dominions, he proceeded to Aix la Chapelle; from whence he continued his progress to Worms, and entered on the functions of his office in the Diet, convoked for the purpose of extinguishing the troubles, excited by the Reformation. But, Charles gave an incontestible proof, that ambition was not so predominant a feature of his character, as to exclude the emotions of affection, and the dictates of generosity; by ceding, at this early period of his life, to his brother, Ferdinand, all the inheritance, devolved to him from Maximilian, their grandfather. The donation included the arch-  
duchy

Donation of  
Austria to  
the arch-duke  
Ferdinand.



C H A P.  
XIII.

1519—1530.

duchy of Austria, with the dependant provinces of Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. History presents few examples of similar liberality; and the emperor, by thus dividing the possessions of his house, diminished his own power, and that of his immediate posterity<sup>7</sup>.

Return of  
Charles into  
Germany.

In the interval, which elapsed between the first and second visit of Charles the Fifth to the empire, the most brilliant successes had attended his arms. Francis the First had become his prisoner, at Pavia; and at the termination of the war, he had dictated the terms of pacification. His character, which had not unfolded itself in 1521, when he quitted Germany, was fully known; and the assemblage of great qualities which he possessed, was universally admitted. When, in 1530, after an absence of nine years, he re-appeared at Augsbourg, his deportment and conduct excited general respect, and conciliated the affections of every order of men. But, the religious dissensions between the princes of the catholic and Lutheran faith, exceeded his ability to moderate, or extinguish; and after fruitless exertions to reconcile them, he was compelled to adopt measures of delay, which only tended to produce greater eventual calamities. The celebrated league of Smalcald, into which the protestant chiefs entered, for their mutual protection, laid the foundation of those wars by which the empire was convulsed; and compelled the adherents of the antient religion, some years afterwards, to form a similar alliance, at Nuremberg, in Franconia<sup>8</sup>.

1531, 1532.  
Election of  
Ferdinand,  
to the dignity  
of king of the  
Romans.

These alarming indications of future misfortune did not prevent Charles from steadily pursuing his plan, for perpetuating the Imperial title in the house of Austria, by procuring the election of his brother Ferdinand to the dignity of king of the Romans. In thus preferring him to his son Philip, prince of Spain, the emperor evidently sacrificed the interests of his own lineal descendants, to that of his family; and imposed limits to the ambition of the Spanish branch

<sup>7</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 445, 446. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 116—147. *Annales de l'Empire*, p. 393—418. Heiss, *Hist. de l'Empire*, vol. i. p. 339—351.

<sup>8</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 447—459. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 147.

of Austria, which he afterwards vainly endeavoured to remove. The battle of Mohatz, gained by Solyman, the Turkish sultan, over Louis the Second, king of Hungary and Bohemia, had already raised Ferdinand to the throne of those kingdoms. Louis himself perished in the action, at twenty years of age; and leaving no issue, the archduke Ferdinand, by virtue of an antient compact between the two houses, and in right of Anne, his wife, sister to the young king, recently slain, laid claim to both the crowns. The Bohemians delegated to him the sovereignty, although they, at the same time, declared it elective, and not hereditary: but, in Hungary, a faction proclaimed John Zapoli, prince of Transylvania; who was, nevertheless, compelled soon afterwards, by the superior forces of his competitor, to fly into Poland. Having implored the assistance of Solyman, that powerful prince, at the head of a vast army, marched to his relief; and not content with subjecting all Hungary, he even pushed his conquests into the German empire, and laid siege to Vienna. Compelled by the generous defence which the garrison made, to abandon his attempt, he conferred on Zapoli, the Hungarian crown, at Buda; and retreated over the Danube, into his own dominions, loaded with spoil and captives. The terror of the Turkish arms, and the impatience of Charles to repel those formidable invaders with the united forces of the empire, induced him to favour the protestant princes; who obtained, in the diet at Nuremberg, that suspension of all judicial proceedings against them, known in history by the name of the "Peace of religion".

The vast projects of the emperor; his two expeditions against Tunis and Algiers, the former of which was distinguished by such brilliant success, and the latter by equal misfortunes; his perpetual avocations; and above all, the wars in which, with only short and precarious intervals, he was involved with Francis the First; these

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1531, 1532.  
Affairs of  
Hungary.

1532—1544.  
Measures of  
Charles the  
Fifth.

\* Sacy, *Histoire d'Hongrie*, vol. i. p. 255—257. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 148—150. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 459—491.



C H A P.  
XIII.

1532—1544.

Moderation  
towards the  
protestants.

united causes prevented him from giving any regular and systematical attention, during many years, to the political concerns of the empire. His measures were all calculated to procrastinate and temporize; notwithstanding the encroachments perpetually made by the princes of the reformed religion, which seemed to menace the Imperial power with extinction, and Germany with universal anarchy. Every concession which could, without totally subverting the catholic faith and establishments, conciliate that party, and even secure to them the undisturbed enjoyment of the ecclesiastical property on which they had seized, was made by Charles and Ferdinand, in the diets of 1541, and 1544, convened at Ratisbon, and at Spires. But, the effect of these yielding and moderate counsels was ineffectual towards producing any permanent union or reconciliation, between two parties, inflamed by theological animosity. After the peace of Crepy, when a cessation of hostilities took place with France, it was evident that, unless the emperor chose to submit to the destruction of his supremacy, and to the complete subversion of all the institutions of the Romish church in the empire, he must defend them by the sword<sup>a</sup>.

1544—1550.  
War with the  
Smalcaldic  
league.

It was not without the utmost reluctance, and after making every effort to retain the protestants in civil and religious obedience, that Charles had recourse to this expedient. His augmenting bodily infirmities; the exhausted state of his finances; his desire to revisit Spain; his apprehension of the concealed opposition of Francis the First; and his dread of the open hostilities of Solymán; all these combined reasons inclined him to peace. But, the contempt with which his entreaties and his commands were equally received, by John Frederic, elector of Saxony, and Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, surmounted his repugnance. The latter prince had peculiarly irritated and indisposed the emperor, by rejecting his personal solicitations to attend the diet, summoned to meet at Ratisbon; and from the

<sup>a</sup> Heiss, vol. i. p. 352—378. Annales de l'Empire, p. 419—439. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 491—533; and vol. vii. p. 1—170 passim. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150—165.

former,

former, who was conscientiously attached to the reformation, no condescension could be expected, nor any submission to articles of faith, imposed by violence. At no period of his reign, did Charles evince greater magnanimity, capacity, and resources, than during the war, carried on against the protestant league. Under numerous disadvantages, with inferior forces, and sustained by the Imperial name, rather than by any essential support from the German empire, he humbled and subdued his opponents. The battle of Muhlberg, in which he obtained a decisive victory, delivered up to him the elector of Saxony; and the Landgrave of Hesse, trusting to some vague and indefinite assurances of personal freedom, surrendered himself voluntarily, soon afterwards. With John Frederic, the emperor exercised extreme severity; sentenced him to lose his dominions; conferred the electoral dignity on Maurice of Saxony, his relation, who, though a protestant, had adhered to the Imperial cause; and finally retained him in captivity. The Landgrave, less rigorously punished in his public capacity, was equally deprived of his liberty. The inferior princes and cities, terrified at these examples, submitted; and expiated, by pecuniary fines or contributions, their late resistance.

Charles, victorious over the confederacy, opened with the utmost solemnity, the diet of Augsburg, and caused to be publicly adopted by the States, as a fundamental law, the famous declaration, known in history by the name of the "Interim;" which regulated the ecclesiastical discipline and ceremonies, in all their essential points, till the determination of a general council of the christian church. If the asperity and rancour of the religious parties in that age, could have allowed them to embrace healing and conciliatory measures; the expedient, proposed by the emperor, was calculated to restore concord. But, he soon experienced, that it is more easy to vanquish nations, than to controul the freedom of the human mind on subjects of faith; and notwithstanding the silence and submission, with which the "Interim" was received, it was either eluded, or indig-

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XIII.

1544—1550.

Battle of  
Muhlberg.Diet of  
Augsburg.



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1544-1550.

indignantly rejected, by catholics and protestants. Yet, Charles long adhered to this favourite object, and exhausted the remaining strength of his mind and body, in endeavouring to procure its reception throughout the empire. He was not less anxious to induce the members of the Germanic body to send delegates to the general council; which, after having been suspended under the pontificate of Paul the Third, had been convoked anew at Trent, by Julius, his successor<sup>11</sup>:

1551, 1552.  
Maurice,  
elector of  
Saxony, takes  
up arms  
against  
Charles.

All these projects were rendered abortive by unforeseen impediments. Maurice, on whom he had conferred the electorate of Saxony, and whom he had elevated, on the ruin of his relation, the unfortunate John Frederic, irritated at the emperor's detention of the Landgrave, and dissatisfied with the regulations promulgated relative to matters of religion, took up arms against his benefactor. Availing himself of Charles's security and defenceless condition, Maurice attacked the city of Inspruck, in which he had fixed his residence, and compelled him to fly with precipitation, over the Alps, into Carinthia. Terrified at the approach of so formidable an enemy, the prelates, assembled at Trent, instantly dispersed; after having dissolved the council, which had been the object of the emperor's anxious solicitude, and on whose deliberations he had reposed, for the restoration of religious tranquillity throughout the empire.

Conclusion of  
peace.

Yielding to the pressure of necessity, and convinced of the impracticability of his projects for establishing unity of faith, he renounced all further interference, or exertions for that purpose; while his brother, Ferdinand, king of the Romans, repairing to Passau, submitted to the conditions of peace, which were dictated by the elector of Saxony, as head of the protestant confederacy. The uncontrouled freedom of opinion on matters of conscience, and the maintenance of the Lutherans in all their immunities, civil and ecclesiastical, till

<sup>11</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 183—365 passim. Heiss, vol. i. p. 379—398. *Annales de l'Empire*, p. 439—449.

the future decision of a diet, formed the basis of the accommodation, to which Charles reluctantly acceded". C H A P.  
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From this memorable period, we may regard his reign, as chief of 1553, 1554- the empire, at an end, though he continued to retain the Imperial title, and to exercise its nominal functions, for more than three years. Disgusted with power, frustrated in his views, debilitated by diseases, and incapable of renewing the contest, Charles hastened to quit the scene of his late humiliation; after having invested Ferdinand with ample authority, to terminate definitively all disputes with the protestants. Anxious to repel the invasion, made by Henry the Second, king of France, and to recover the conquests which that prince had recently effected, he led his troops to the siege of Metz; and regardless of the advanced season of the year, he persisted in his endeavours for its reduction. But, fortune, which had so eminently favoured him in the early part of his life, abandoned him at the close; and the bravery of the garrison, commanded by the celebrated Francis, duke of Guise, compelled him to relinquish his enterprize, and to conduct his shattered army into Flanders". Siege of Metz.

The short remainder of his reign presents the most eloquent and affecting display of the vanity of human greatness, which is to be found in history. Charles appeared no more in person, either among his German, or Spanish subjects, so long as he continued to retain the administration of affairs. Immured at Brussels, he devolved on his ministers all public business, and began to divest himself of his power, by resigning to Philip, his son, the kingdom of Naples, and his possessions in Lombardy. This partial renunciation involved him in the necessity of abdicating all his other dominions, or of coming to a rupture with his successor; and he concluded his political career, by the resignation of Spain, and his acquisitions in the New World, at a

1555, 1556.  
Abdication of Charles.

<sup>12</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 174—178. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 373—404. Heiss, vol. i. p. 398—402.

<sup>13</sup> Annales de l'Empire, p. 453—457. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 178—179.



C H A P.  
XIII.

1555, 1556.

Final termination of the disputes of religion.

Ecclesiastical reservation.

1556.  
Character of Charles the Fifth.

time of life when the infirmities of age are usually unknown, and when the love of ambition is generally most predominant". Previous to so extraordinary an act, the king of the Romans, in virtue of the full powers delegated to him by his brother, convoked a diet at Augsberg; in which, after numerous and almost insurmountable difficulties, a final termination was put to the disputes between the two religions, which had so long desolated the empire. The Lutheran princes and states were confirmed in the possession of all the ecclesiastical lands or property, seized on since the introduction of the reformation; and every security for the enjoyment of their liberties, stipulated at the treaty of Passau, was strengthened and augmented. But, an insuperable limit was, at the same time, opposed to their further encroachments on the lands or possessions of the catholic church, by the famous clause, known under the name of the "Ecclesiastical Reservation." It enacted, that every person, of whatever quality, who might in future embrace the confession of Augsberg; if he had been previously possessed of any preferment in the Romish church, should forfeit it by that act. The protestants, repeatedly, but vainly, endeavoured, to remove a barrier, which precluded them from overturning the hierarchy, and from gradually alienating, or seizing on all the great establishments of the catholic faith and worship in the empire. Neither Ferdinand, nor any of his successors, however inclined to yield upon many other points, could ever be induced, or terrified into the slightest infraction of this fundamental declaration".

The reign, character, and abdication of Charles the Fifth, offer to the historian and the philosopher a crowd of reflexions, which the nature and limits of the present work do not permit us to pursue. No prince of his age attracted so much attention, from his endowments of mind, as well as from the extent of his dominions. Even Francis

<sup>14</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 477—483. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 184, 185.

<sup>15</sup> Heiss, vol. i. p. 404—407. Annales de l'Empire, p. 453—460. Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 437—477. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 185, 186.

the First, his rival, more amiable as a man, was far inferior in the virtues of a sovereign. During the greater portion of his life, he is to be regarded as king of Spain, rather than emperor of Germany; and in the former capacity, he appears more elevated than in the latter. Against France, with the exception of his attack upon Provence, in 1536, he was almost uniformly successful and victorious. In the empire, he was over-reached by Maurice; driven from Inspruck with circumstances of personal humiliation; and obliged to renounce his projects of every kind, which he had pursued with such unwearied pertinacity. Even in the plenitude of his power, after the victory of Muhlberg, he vainly attempted to procure the substitution of his son Philip, in the place of his brother, Ferdinand, as king of the Romans; or to associate him to that dignity. Before his abdication, his Imperial authority had already expired: Ferdinand occupied his place in the memorable diet of Augsburg in 1555, and was virtually regarded as head of the empire<sup>16</sup>.

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1556.

His situation differed, notwithstanding, in many important particulars, from that of Charles the Fifth. Destitute of the vast resources, possessed by so powerful a monarch; unsupported by the forces and treasures of Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands; pressed on the eastern frontier by the Ottoman forces: Ferdinand scarcely occupied a higher place in the political scale of Germany, than his ancestors, Frederic the Third, and Maximilian the First, had done; while the difficulties with which he had to struggle, were far greater and more numerous. It was, indeed, true, that, to the patrimonial inheritance of Austria, and the duchies dependant on it, he added the crowns of Hungary and Bohemia, united in his own person. But, these dignities imposed severe obligations, and produced a very inadequate compensation. Bohemia was agitated and disturbed by the followers of the celebrated John Hufs, and Jerome of Prague; who, above a century before the appearance of Lu-

Situation of  
Ferdinand  
the First, at  
his accession.State of Bo-  
hemia.

<sup>16</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 365—373, and p. 483—491. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 187. Heiss, vol. i. p. 408—409.



C H A P.  
XIII.

1556.

ther, had promulgated doctrines, deemed so heretical by the council of Constance, as only to be expiated by committing their authors to the flames. The people universally regarded the crown as elective, though Ferdinand had compelled them to declare it hereditary; and their allegiance was very problematical. During the war, carried on by Charles and Ferdinand, against the protestant league, the Bohemians had evinced the strongest attachment to the cause of the reformed princes, and were not retained in obedience without great exertions.

State of  
Hungary.Conduct of  
Solyman the  
Second.

Hungary was in a far more unfortunate condition; and instead of augmenting the power of its nominal sovereign, drained his exchequer in perpetual efforts to recover it from the Turkish yoke. After the memorable battle of Mohatz, in 1526, no European country, for above a hundred and fifty years, was so desolated, and abandoned to every calamity. Solyman, the scourge of the house of Austria, under pretence of maintaining the son of John Zapoli, on the Hungarian throne, appeared again in person, at the head of a formidable army. The Austrian general was repulsed, with loss and dishonor, from before Buda, the capital; and the Turkish emperor, no longer restrained by any regard to the laws of justice, or to the sanctity of the trust reposed in him by the deceased king, who, when dying, had placed under Solyman's protection his infant successor; took possession of the city, and banished the queen dowager, together with her son, into Transylvania. Treating with indignity the embassadors of Ferdinand, who demanded the investiture of Hungary, he proceeded to complete the reduction of the kingdom; and notwithstanding the united exertions of Charles the Fifth and his brother, the Ottoman troops continued to advance towards the frontiers of the German empire".

History of  
Martinuzzi.

The troubles and anarchy which ensued, were favorable to the bold and aspiring talents of Martinuzzi, bishop of Waradin; who go-

" Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 264—304. La Croiz, Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 378—380, and p. 386—392, and p. 394—396, and p. 414—416, and p. 424—426.

verned

verna the principality of Tranſylvania, under the minority of the young king, John Sigismund, and who had reduced the queen, his mother, to a ſtate of ſervitude. After having long ſuſtained himſelf by the authority of Solyman, Martinuzzi, diſgusted at the barbarities exerciſed by the Turks, or apprehenſive of the loſs of his own power, opened a negotiation with Ferdinand; and prevailed on the queen, in her ſon's name, formally to ſurrender the Hungarian crown, together with the inſignia of the royal dignity, and the province of Tranſylvania, to that prince. Two inconfiderable duchies in Sileſia, which formed a very inadequate compensation for ſuch a ceſſion, were given him in exchange. Grateful for ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſervice, Ferdinand ſtrove to repay it, by heaping honors, eccleſiaſtical and civil, on Martinuzzi; who was made a cardinal, and entrusted with the almoſt unlimited conduct of affairs, in the countries which he had thus ſubjected to the houſe of Auſtria. But, the temporary tranquillity, produced by this event, was followed by greater convulſions. Caſtaldo, who commanded the Spaniſh forces, ſent by Charles the Fifth to the aſſiſtance of the king of Hungary, accuſed the cardinal of a treaſonable correſpondence with the court of Conſtantinople; and received directions to anticipate its effect, by cauſing him to be aſſaſſinated. The order was executed, almoſt in the preſence of the Spaniſh commander, by five gentlemen, with circumſtances of the moſt revolting and perfidious barbarity. It is difficult to juſtify Ferdinand for ſuch an act, even if we admit, in its full eſt extent, the truth of the accuſation brought againſt Martinuzzi; and although we ſhould allow, that, under the circumſtances, it was dangerous or impracticable to bring ſo powerful and ambitious a ſubject, to a public trial. Solyman, irritated at the proceeding, and determined on revenge, aſſerted anew the cauſe of the young king, John Sigismund; who was recalled by the Tranſylvanians, and conducted by his mother, into that country, which became the theatre of hoſtilities. He maintained himſelf againſt the Auſtrian generals, ſup-

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1556.

His aſſaſſination.

Troubles of Hungary.



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1556.

1557—1563.  
Distrust of  
the German  
princes.

ported by the affection of the people; and the kingdom of Hungary was again desolated by the misfortunes incident to a war, in which the two parties equally trampled upon all the laws of humanity<sup>18</sup>.

Under these circumstances, Ferdinand succeeded to the Imperial throne. His situation demanded the utmost caution, and rendered it necessary to blend firmness, with yielding and conciliatory measures. The wars, produced by religion, had left a distrust the most fatal to general union, or harmony, among all the members of the Germanic system; and it was difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to contribute even to the expences, indispensable for their own preservation as a political body. Ferdinand vainly called their attention to the alarming state of Hungary, and the augmenting danger from the Turkish arms. Neither the catholic, nor protestant states would listen to his requisitions; and after fruitless attempts, in repeated diets, he was necessitated to defend his dominions, with the resources arising from his hereditary possessions<sup>19</sup>. All his efforts to effect a reunion of the two religions, by adopting those rules of faith and discipline, in which the followers of both were agreed, proved no less ineffectual. The princes, who had embraced the Creed, known by the name of "the Confession of Augsberg," refused either to attend, or to concur in the deliberations of the council of Trent, which, at the emperor's solicitation, Pius the Fourth had again convoked. The papal see was equally deaf to his demand, for permitting the Austrian clergy to marry; notwithstanding the cogent and unanswerable reasons, alleged by Ferdinand and his ministers, to justify the measure, on moral as well as political principles. It was not till after long negotiation, and many delays, that the court of Rome thought proper to relax on another article; that of allowing the laity to partake of the communion in both kinds: a concession, indispensable for retain-

Inflexibility  
of the papal  
see.

<sup>18</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 438—442, and p. 452—460. Sacy, vol. i. p. 304—342, and vol. ii. p. 1—23.

<sup>19</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 49—63. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 192—194.

ing

ing the subjects of Ferdinand in their subjection to the catholic church and worship<sup>20</sup>.

Notwithstanding these mortifying refusals, or disappointments, relative to measures esteemed by the emperor of the highest consequence to his own greatness, and the general happiness of the empire; his reign will ever be regarded as a period, marked by the most auspicious circumstances of tranquillity, and distinguished by its wisdom. The amiable character of Ferdinand, his moderation, his liberality of sentiment on matters of conscience, and his ardent, though useless zeal to extinguish religious animosity among the German princes and states: these virtues were universally felt and acknowledged. The momentary incursions and depredations of Grumbach, a private gentleman, who assassinated the bishop of Wurtzburg in Franconia, and committed various excesses in that city, were the only interruptions of the profound peace which prevailed throughout the circles of Germany. All the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria participated in this repose, with the exception of Hungary, which continued, during many years, a prey to the calamities, inseparable from a contested succession, aggravated by the Turkish ferocity. Towards the conclusion of his life, the emperor condescended to purchase of Solyman a truce for eight years, at the annual price of thirty thousand ducats; and John Sigismund, his competitor, was included in the treaty. The vast inequality of revenues and forces, between the Turkish, and the German emperors; the indifference expressed by the diets to the fate of Hungary; and the precarious, or inadequate contributions, granted to repel the Turks, who gained ground of the Imperial commanders: these circumstances form an eloquent justification of Ferdinand's conduct, in submitting to terms of so humiliating a nature<sup>21</sup>.

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1557—1563.  
Tranquillity  
of the Ger-  
man empire,  
under Ferdi-  
nand.

Truce pur-  
chased of So-  
lyman.

<sup>20</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 80—156. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 196—198. Annales de l'Empire, p. 462, 463. Heiss, vol. i. p. 411—413.

<sup>21</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 76—79, and p. 178, 179. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 28—34.



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1562, 1564.  
Maximilian,  
elected king  
of the Ro-  
mans.

Ineffectual  
endeavours of  
Ferdinand, to  
obtain a tole-  
ration for the  
protestants.

His death.

1564.  
Character.

The unanimity, with which the electors, of both religions, ecclesiastical and civil, concurred in electing his son, Maximilian, to the dignity of king of the Romans, was calculated to console the emperor for his involuntary concessions to the Porte. The ceremony of that prince's coronation was performed at Francfort, with the accustomed solemnities, and seemed to secure the Imperial title in the family of Austria. His success in so favourite a measure, induced Ferdinand to renew his exertions for restoring unanimity on religious subjects, throughout the empire; and he redoubled his efforts in the council of Trent, to procure a relaxation of the points, which had hitherto impeded this salutary object. In order, by his personal weight and exhortations, to facilitate its completion, he removed his residence to Inspruck; and, notwithstanding his bodily infirmities, could not, without extreme reluctance, be induced to relinquish his patriotic endeavours. Convinced at length, that the council, far from being animated with any desire of conciliating the protestants, or of producing a reform in the Romish church and court, was only an engine, directed by the legates, subservient to the papal intrigues or interests, and incapable of listening to any enlarged principles of comprehensive toleration, he desisted, and even consented to the dissolution of so useless an assembly. His concern at the event, is supposed to have hastened the attacks of the disease, which soon afterwards terminated his life, at sixty years of age<sup>22</sup>.

The lustre of his predecessor's reign, and the temporary grandeur of the Imperial dignity, while held by Charles the Fifth, have thrown the actions of Ferdinand into the shade, and obscured their intrinsic merit. His endowments of mind were less calculated to extend the limits of his dominions; but, were far more adapted to conduce to the felicity of his subjects. His judgment was sound, and influenced in all its operations by a heart, replete with humanity. Erasmus had sin-

<sup>22</sup> Heiss, vol. i. p. 413, 414. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 199, 200. Annales de l'Empire, p. 463, 465. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 157—267. passim.

perintended his education, and directed his studies: Cicero, with whose philosophical productions he was familiar, had enlarged his conceptions. Zealously attached to the catholic faith, he was neither persecuting, nor intolerant, in an age of religious violence and rancour. Firm, and capable of supporting his measures, he was yet free from the obstinate inflexibility of his brother. Irreproachable in the walks of private life, he was a model of conjugal fidelity, temperance, and every domestic duty. His application to public business never intermitted, and continued undiminished, even to the near approach of his dissolution. The great act, denominated "the Peace of Religion," which suspended the disputes between the catholic and protestant states of the empire, was due to his unwearied exertions, and was maintained by his vigor, in defiance of every attack. His love of justice and of peace, his tenacious adherence to his promises, and the gentleness of his manners, conspired to render him one of the most excellent princes who has held the Imperial sceptre, and to endear his memory to the Germans. He may be regarded as the founder of the greatness of the younger branch of the house of Austria, by the acquisition of Hungary and Bohemia; though the former of those kingdoms was not effectually reduced to the obedience of his descendants, by the expulsion of the Turks, till towards the termination of the seventeenth century. In no circumstance of his life, was he more fortunate, than in his son, Maximilian; who, in succeeding to his crowns, inherited his talents and virtues<sup>23</sup>.

If Europe has ever seen the throne occupied by a sage and a philosopher, it was in the person of Maximilian the Second. In benevolence and humanity, his contemporaries compared him with Titus; and in the simplicity of his manners, renunciation of pleasure, and severe discharge of every moral obligation, we are reminded of Marcus Antoninus. Formed for peace, he endeavoured to dispense that in-

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XIII.  
1564.

Accession,  
and character  
of Maximilian the Second.

<sup>23</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 267.—272. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 200, 201. Heiss, vol. i. p. 414.



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valuable possession to all his subjects ; and to allay, by his interposition, or authority, the animosities, produced by difference of religious belief. Suspected of leaning towards the new opinions, he yet steadily maintained, in his hereditary dominions, and in the empire, the purity of the catholic faith ; nor ever permitted the protestants to break down the barriers, opposed to their further progress, by his predecessors. His mild and beneficent temper, illuminated by reflexion, induced him to regard all violence, in matters of conscience, as equally unjust and impolitic. He stands, in this particular, strikingly opposed to his cousin, Philip the Second, king of Spain ; whose bigotry and intolerance produced the revolt of the Netherlands, and pursued heresy throughout Europe, with fire and sword. To render Maximilian one of the most illustrious, as he indisputably was one of the most amiable princes, whom Providence has raised up for the felicity of mankind, a more martial and enterprising disposition was alone wanting. His exposed situation on the Hungarian frontiers, and the perpetual inroads of the Turkish sultans during the sixteenth century, demanded a sovereign, possessed of military talents, and personal activity in war. The operation of this defect in his character, was, however, confined to Hungary ; while his virtues dispensed happiness and tranquillity over all the other people, subjected to his government. He was beloved by the Austrians, idolized by the Bohemians, and regarded throughout Germany, by the catholics and protestants, as the common parent and protector of his subjects, of every denomination<sup>24</sup>.

1564—1567.  
War with  
Solyman.

The restless ambition and pretensions of John Sigismund, prince of Transylvania, who had broken the truce, and invaded Upper Hungary, necessitated the emperor, at an early period of his reign, to convoke a diet, and to demand supplies of men and money. They were granted with an alacrity and celerity, little customary in those assemblies ; and which was not more the result of the apprehensions,

<sup>24</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 215, 216. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 386—390.

excited

excited by the impending war, than due to the general respect and affection borne to Maximilian. Solyman, notwithstanding his age and infirmities, appeared again in the field, as the ally of his Transylvanian vassal; and, at the head of a vast army, laid siege to Sigeth. He expired, in the camp, before the capture of that city was effected; and the count de Serini, to whom its defence had been entrusted, obtained an immortal reputation, by the desperate valour, with which he long repulsed the assailants. Reduced at length, to the necessity of dying, or of capitulating with an enemy who violated all compacts, he generously preferred the former alternative; and rushing on the Turks, with the small remains of his garrison, perished by the scimitars of the Janizaries. The vizier sent his head to Maximilian, with a contemptuous and insulting message, reproaching him for pusillanimity, or inactivity, in not advancing to the relief of Serini<sup>23</sup>. Since the memorable campaign of 1532, when Charles the Fifth had, in person, opposed Solyman, Germany had not sent so numerous a body of forces to combat the Turks, as that, which Maximilian commanded. But, the timidity, or prudence of his generals, who were still greatly inferior to the Ottoman army; and the recollection of the many unfortunate battles, which the Hungarian princes had fought against those invaders, induced the emperor to remain upon the defensive. Selim the Second, the son and successor of Solyman, whose views of conquest were directed against the Venetians, consented, soon after his accession, to renew the truce between the two empires, upon terms favourable to the house of Austria. The Transylvanian prince was not included in the treaty, and continued his hostilities, or depredations, for several years: but, they were at length terminated by his renunciation of the title of King of Hungary; which article formed

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1564—1567.

Capture of  
Sigeth by the  
Turks.

Renewal of  
the truce with  
Selim the  
Second.

<sup>23</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 534—537. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 202—204. Annales de l'Empire, p. 465—468. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 306—315. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 38—51.



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the basis of an amicable agreement, and restored tranquillity to those desolated provinces<sup>26</sup>.

1564—1567.

Affairs of  
Saxe Gotha.

The benign influence of the qualities and virtues, by which Maximilian was peculiarly distinguished, was more sensibly felt in the empire, and in his hereditary German provinces, where he appeared in his proper and natural character, as the father and legislator of his people. The internal repose of Germany suffered a temporary interruption, from the inflexibility and misguided adherence of John Frederic the Second, duke of Saxe Gotha, to Grumbach, whose acts of violence had already excited universal indignation, under the reign of Ferdinand. The duke, son to the magnanimous and unfortunate elector of Saxony, deposed by Charles the Fifth after the battle of Muhlberg, persisted, in defiance of the Imperial mandate, to afford a retreat and protection to this invader of the public peace. Moved by considerations of compassion and friendship, the emperor warned him of his error, pointed out to him its consequences, and exhorted him to avert the inevitable punishment, by delivering up Grumbach. But, John Frederic, who, to a contracted understanding, joined the wildest fanaticism, and the most unlimited credulity, persisted to grant him an asylum in his palace and capital. Maximilian was, therefore, reluctantly necessitated to lay him under the ban of the empire; and Augustus, the reigning elector of Saxony, principally charged with its execution, besieged him in the city of Gotha. He was reduced to surrender; carried prisoner to Vienna; and after being exposed to the view of the populace, in a state of ignominy and degradation, he was finally detained in captivity, till his death. Grumbach suffered by the hand of the executioner, together with several of his adherents, or accomplices. Some slight disturbances in the electorate of Treves, and in the duchy of Mecklenburg, were the only circumstances, be-

Repose of  
Germany.

<sup>26</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 315—318. La Croix, vol. i. p. 543—544. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 51—57. Heiss, vol. i. 418, 419.

fides,

fides, which invaded the profound quiet, enjoyed by Germany, under Maximilian <sup>27</sup>. C H A P.  
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Encouraged by so favourable an aspect of public affairs, and yielding to the benignity of his disposition, he ventured on a step, which places the superiority and expansion of his mind, in the most conspicuous point of view. The stipulations, contained in his coronation oath, when elected emperor, as well as the articles constituting "the Peace of Religion," on which alone, the stability and maintenance of the catholic faith depended, fettered him in his Imperial capacity, and permitted him to make no infringement whatever on those points. But, as arch-duke of Austria, he possessed a power of relaxing the severity of the laws, which denied liberty of conscience to his protestant subjects. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, Philip the Second; and in defiance of the menaces of Pius the Fifth, who filled the papal chair; Maximilian gave the first voluntary example of religious toleration to Europe, by permitting the nobility, and equestrian order in Austria, to celebrate publicly the ceremonies of their worship, in their castles and houses, as well as on their estates. This indulgence was, however, strictly limited to the two classes, above mentioned; and neither extended to the people at large, nor even to the inhabitants of cities; who vainly endeavoured to shake the emperor's determination on the subject, or to elude his vigilance <sup>28</sup>. 1568—1574  
Toleration  
granted by  
Maximilian.  
  
Nature and  
limits of it.

In the present century, when the minds of men, enlarged and humanized by philosophy, are become familiar with toleration; and when the most bigotted European nations admit some species of religious freedom; a permission so circumscribed in its operation, as that granted by Maximilian, may not appear to merit any extravagant Reflexions on  
the emperor's  
conduct.

<sup>27</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 319—328. Heiss, vol. i. p. 417, 418. Annales de l'Empire, p. 468, 469. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 208, 209.

<sup>28</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 329—341. Annales de l'Empire, p. 470. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 210. Heiss, vol. i. p. 421.



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1568—1574.

eulogiums. But, the actions of men are not only to be appreciated by the eternal laws of rectitude and justice: they must be, in some measure, likewise, referable to the modes of thinking, received by their contemporaries, and generally adopted. On every side, Maximilian saw only the most intolerant bigotry. The Netherlands, and France, were desolated by their respective sovereigns, in order to extinguish heresy, and to spread the unity of the catholic faith. Even, among the protestants themselves, the most rancorous and sanguinary animosities prevailed, to the subversion of all mutual good offices. Servetus was committed to the flames at Geneva, by Calvin, for some speculative difference of opinion on abstruse points of theology; and the Lutherans regarded with horror the doctrines, inculcated by that reformer, and Zuinglius. Maximilian, in an age of persecution, declared publicly his repugnance to all religious violence, and his unalterable opinion, that “to the Supreme Being alone, it belonged, to “judge the conscience.” Nor did he content himself with only asserting this principle: his active benevolence impelled him to make every exertion, to stop the destructive influence of bigotry, in other countries. Touched with the cries and complaints of the Flemings, he dispatched his brother, the arch-duke, Charles, to Philip the Second, with directions to remonstrate with him on his violation of their privileges, civil, and religious; though this humane interposition was ineffectual. He did not conceal his detestation of the massacre of St. Bartholemew, for which Rome and Madrid made public demonstrations of joy; and when Henry the Third, king of France, passed through Vienna, in his flight from Poland to his own country, the emperor strongly exhorted him to commence his reign, by maxims and principles of toleration. It would have been happy for Henry, and his people, if he had been capable of profiting by the advice<sup>29</sup>.

Enlargement  
and benefi-  
cence of his  
character.

1574.  
State and  
situation of

In order to form a just estimate of the political power, situation, and resources of the house of Austria, at this period, we must separate

<sup>29</sup> Heiss, vol. i. p. 421. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 142.

the

the Imperial dignity, from the hereditary dominions of Maximilian. C H A P. XIII. Notwithstanding some acts of authority, approaching to absolute, which Charles the Fifth ventured to exercise, after the defeat and dispersion of the protestant states, in 1546; it is incontestible, that the real weight and consequence of the emperors were reduced, under Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, to a very low condition. Scarcely any revenues or appropriate domains whatsoever were annexed to the office; and whenever contributions were to be levied from the Germanic body, for supporting its prerogatives, or enforcing its claims, the greatest impediments were to be previously surmounted, of every kind<sup>30</sup>. Numberless examples and proofs might be adduced, from a review of the two last reigns. It was not without reiterated solicitations, that Ferdinand the First obtained supplies of men and money, to enable him to defend Hungary when attacked by the Turks; though the empire was, obviously, interested in the preservation of a kingdom, which formed a barrier against the Ottoman conquests, and a bulwark to Germany. Ferdinand complained to the members of the diet assembled at Augsburg, in 1559, that the pecuniary supplies, voted him three years preceding, were not then fully paid; and that he had been reduced to the necessity of disbanding his troops, without discharging their arrears, from the deficiency in making good the money granted him by the empire<sup>31</sup>.

1574.  
the house of  
Austria, at  
this period.

Prerogatives  
annexed to  
the Imperial  
dignity.

Poverty of  
the emperors.

This evil resulted principally, from the want of a fixed and regular assessment. Not only the money was levied with notorious partiality and inequality; the free cities contributing in a much larger proportion, than the powerful princes: but, these latter exacted taxes from their subjects, to more than double the amount of their respective quotas, and afterwards paid into the Imperial treasury whatever part of the sum they thought proper<sup>32</sup>. Such glaring injustice was practised, that in the distribution of the taxes, imposed in 1559,

Causes of it.

Unequal and  
partial levies  
of money.

<sup>30</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 545-549.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. vol. viii. p. 60-62.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid. p. 62.



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in order to raise the amount of five hundred thousand florins of gold, granted by the diet to Ferdinand the First; the city of Nordlingen, in Suabia, was compelled to pay as large a proportion, as the whole palatinate and the duchy of Neubourg. In like manner, the single abbey of Elchingen was rated higher than the extensive duchy of Brunswic Wolfenbuttle<sup>33</sup>. The emperors did not venture to attempt a reform of the grievance, which would have been too dangerous an experiment. Maximilian the Second, who, from his popularity, and from the universal affection borne him by catholics and protestants, found more facility than his predecessor, in obtaining supplies from the empire; yet, complained of the inadequacy of the sums, accorded him for protecting Austria and Styria against the Turks<sup>34</sup>.

Sluggishness  
of the Ger-  
manic body.

To augment the misfortune, they were only given for a limited, and usually, for a short period; nor was it ever possible to induce the diets to render the contribution permanent and perpetual. The encrease of the Imperial authority was too much an object of apprehension<sup>35</sup>. Even in matters which seemed to respect the Germanic body more than the head, it was difficult to rouse that unwieldy confederacy, or to induce them to make any pecuniary exertions. When it was determined to send an embassy to the king of France, in 1559, to demand restitution of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, as dependencies of the empire; the necessary expence, though not estimated at more than fifty thousand florins, long delayed the departure of the embassadors<sup>36</sup>. Livonia, till after the middle of the sixteenth century, was considered as part of the German empire; but, from the want of timely support or assistance, that important and fertile province, ravaged by Ivan Basilowitz the Second, Czar of Muscovy, and abandoned by its natural protectors, submitted to Poland. The emperor, Ferdinand, made repeated application to the diets, in favour of the Li-

<sup>33</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 62.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. p. 306, 307.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 549.

<sup>36</sup> Scarcely five thousand pounds sterling.

Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 66—69. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 194.

vonians;

vonians; and he obtained, in 1561, a supply of two hundred thousand florins, which was transmitted to Riga; but, so small and ineffectual an aid produced no beneficial effect. Livonia was irrecoverably lost <sup>37</sup>.

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1574.

Notwithstanding the diminished state of the Imperial power, and the total want of revenue under which it laboured, many valuable prerogatives and claims still remained to its possessor. His supremacy, sovereignty, and jurisdiction over all the members of the empire, were unquestioned; though the exercise was accompanied with restrictions, and could only be put in force against any one prince, with the consent and participation of the others. Among the most important rights of the emperors, was the faculty of granting investitures, and the disposal of vacant fiefs. The house of Austria owed its original greatness to this very privilege; the emperor Rodolph the First, having, in virtue of his office, invested his own son, Albert, with the vacant duchies of Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola <sup>38</sup>. Reversions of fiefs, not yet open, were even conferred by Frederic the Third, and Maximilian the First, from the plenitude of their Imperial authority, without the consent of the states of those countries; and the validity of such donations was not called in question <sup>39</sup>.

Power and  
prerogatives  
of the emperors.

Investitures.

The emperor was regarded as the legitimate source of all nobility; and his right to confer every title, without exception, admitted of no dispute: the papal see, which contested so many of the Imperial pretensions, acquiesced in this claim <sup>40</sup>. Frederic the Third, had entered into a negotiation with Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy, in 1473, the object of which, on the part of the latter prince, was to obtain his elevation to the rank and title of king; but, a dispute which arose between them, prevented its accomplishment <sup>41</sup>. Almost all the dukedoms in the German empire, as well as those of

Honors and  
dignities.

<sup>37</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 73—76. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 194, and p. 197, 198.

<sup>38</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 529—531.

<sup>39</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 531, 532.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 539.

<sup>41</sup> Heiss, vol. i. p. 321.

Savoy,



C H A P. XIII. Savoy, Luxemburg, and many others, were created by the emperors, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries<sup>42</sup>. Numberless inferior prerogatives appertained to, and were exerted by them. The right of imposing duties or tolls, of coining money, of holding markets, exercising justice, and exemption from foreign courts of judicature; these, and many more vested in the chief of the empire<sup>43</sup>. He possessed, likewise, in his quality of "defender and protector of the christian church," an undefined and extensive supremacy over all ecclesiastical property, and over the ecclesiastics themselves<sup>44</sup>.

1574- Inferior privileges.  
Ceremonial. But, it was in the ceremonial accompanying public acts of state, that the Imperial office and dignity appeared to be peculiarly pre-eminent, and to eclipse all other royalty. In 1562, at the election of Maximilian to the title of King of the Romans, the elector of Brandenburg, as great chamberlain, presented him the golden bason, and napkin: the elector of Saxony, as master of the horse, brought in a silver bushel, filled with oats; and the elector palatine, in virtue of his office, as lord steward, went to the kitchen, took thence two silver dishes, and served them at the Imperial table. An opinion, that the emperor was superior to all other monarchs, and that he represented the Roman Cæsars, prevailed throughout Europe: the idea was nourished by the vanity of the German nation, and gave rise to the most unlimited pretensions, on various occasions<sup>45</sup>.

Powers of the Hungarian kings.

If the real and solid advantages of this high office were so small, those, which Maximilian derived from his Hungarian title and dominions, were scarcely more valuable. He possessed, in fact, only a very limited portion of the kingdom, comprising the northern provinces, bounded towards Transylvania, by the river Teisse; the Tibiscus of the Romans<sup>46</sup>. Buda, the capital, together with the southern part of Hungary, and all Slavonia, belonged to the Turks. Sigeth and Giula, two cities, had recently fallen into the hands of

<sup>42</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 539.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. p. 540, 541.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. vol. vi. chap. xlv.

<sup>45</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 542.

<sup>46</sup> Busbequius. Leg. Turc. Epistolæ. Lug. Batavor. 1633. p. 17 and 19.

Selim

Selim the Second, and were retained by him at the truce of CHAP.  
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1566.

John Sigismund Zapoli, prince of Transylvania, was dead in 1571; but the inhabitants of the province had elected in his place, a nobleman of valor, activity, and capacity, Stephen Bathori, who was equally dependant on the German and Turkish emperors. Even the part of Hungary, which Maximilian retained, was desolated by the Ottoman incursions, depopulated, and held by a precarious tenure<sup>46</sup>. It appears, by the account which he presented to the diet at Ratibon, a short time before his death, that the annual expence, incurred by the garrisons on the Ottoman frontier, amounted to near a million, seven hundred thousand florins<sup>47</sup>. His power, likewise, was extremely curtailed: the Hungarian Magnates, or grantees, possessed an absolute and almost unlimited authority, which it was dangerous to attack; while, on the other hand, the people were in a state of abject vassalage, superstition, and ignorance. The vast armies, raised by the joint contributions of the emperor and empire, notwithstanding their apparent strength, manifested every symptom of weakness; and the officers were perpetually employed in preventing, or extinguishing the dissensions, inevitable among soldiers of different manners and nations. The Bohemians and Hungarians treated the Germans with contempt, as deficient in bravery; while the quiet and passive valor of the latter, disdained the impetuous fury, by which their comrades were distinguished, as only proper for incursions and skirmishes. This want of harmony in the Imperial camps, formed an insurmountable impediment to the operations of war, and gave a great advantage to the enemy<sup>48</sup>.

Vast expences  
of maintain-  
ing garrisons.

Nature of the  
armies.

It was from his Bohemian and Austrian dominions, that Maximilian derived his principal consideration, strength, and resources. Even of these, the bequest of Ferdinand the First, his father, diminished a

Hereditary  
dominions of  
Maximilian.

<sup>46</sup> Sacy, vol. ii. p. 51—55.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. p. 57—60. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 318. Busbeq. Epistolæ, Legat. Turc. p. 19—21.

<sup>48</sup> About one hundred and sixty thousand pounds sterling. Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 370, 371, and p. 380, 381.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. vol. vii. p. 541—543.



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Limited  
power of the  
sovereign.

Revenues.

considerable portion. By his last will, he left to his second son, Ferdinand, Tyrol, Alsace, the Brisgaw, and his possessions in Swabia; to the third, Charles, the duchies of Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola<sup>30</sup>. The collateral branches were not totally reunited under one head, till the reign of the emperor Leopold, in 1665. After the termination of the sixteenth century, we find scarcely any instance among the Germans, in which independant fiefs, or territories, were granted to younger children. The right of primogeniture, and the obvious advantages of keeping the succession undivided, prevented these pernicious proofs of paternal affection, and reduced the younger sons to a strict dependance on the chief of the family. The kingdom of Bohemia, at the period under our review, comprised the provinces of Silesia, Moravia, and Lusatia, which, united to Upper and Lower Austria, formed a compact and powerful state, subject to Maximilian. His authority was not, however, by any means, arbitrary. The States of all the provinces were convoked; whenever supplies were wanted; and their consent to every imposition was requisite, before taxes could be levied on the people. Even, in 1566, when on the arrival of Selim the Second, in the camp before Sigeth, a vigorous and active campaign was expected; which demanded instant preparations; the emperor could not impose the slightest contribution, till he had assembled the States, and obtained their approbation<sup>31</sup>.

In the list of European powers, Maximilian the Second, if divested of the consideration annexed to the Imperial title and prerogatives, could scarcely be regarded as occupying the third rank. Spain and France were far superior. Even England, and Portugal, in 1574, enjoyed, on many occasions, a greater national consequence, and possessed a much more extended commerce. The revenues of Bohemia and Austria were, by no means, ample; and those countries were destitute of a single maritime port. Trieste and Fiume, upon the Adriatic, were included in the dominions of Charles, duke of Styria. The mines of Schwatz, in the county of Tyrol, produced

<sup>30</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 271. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 232—234.<sup>31</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 314.

annually,

annually, on an average, silver, to the amount of near two millions of florins; but, the expences of working them, were considerable; and they belonged to Ferdinand, the brother of Maximilian<sup>32</sup>.

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The firm adherence of the Austrian princes to the catholic religion and the Romish see, prevented the doctrines and followers of Luther from ever attaining beyond a very limited point of power; but, the united authority, Imperial and Papal, could not contain the clergy within the bounds of celibacy. All the letters of Ferdinand the First, to Pius the Fourth, attest in the strongest terms, the impracticability of restraining priests, and even monks, from marrying, or living in an avowed commerce with concubines. Hence arose the pressing, though ineffectual entreaties of that prince, to the pope, to permit the clergy to contract marriages. Though the pontiffs would never relax on this point, it was, nevertheless, indispensable to connive at the unions, and to allow them to be considered as legitimate; otherwise the people, in many districts, must have been totally deprived of ecclesiastics, to officiate in the catholic churches<sup>33</sup>. By an inquest taken of the convents in Austria, Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola, in 1563, it appeared that in one hundred and twenty-two monasteries, containing four hundred and thirty-six monks, and one hundred and sixty-eight nuns; there was no less a proportion than one hundred and ninety-nine concubines, fifty-five married women, and four hundred and forty-three children<sup>34</sup>.

State of religion, and of the ecclesiastics.

This evil, resulting from the genius and prohibitions of the catholic religion, was in some measure, connected with another, by which Austria and Bohemia were characterised; the want of proper seminaries of education for youth. There were, it is true, universities established at Prague, and at Vienna; but, so deficient were they in professors of learning, or merit, that the nobility were reduced to the necessity of sending their children to other places of instruction. The university of Wittemberg, in Saxony, under the auspices

State of letters,

Seminaries of learning.

<sup>32</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 545, 546.

<sup>34</sup> Ibid. vol. viii. p. 182. Note.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. vol. viii. chap. xvii. and p. 256—262.



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of Luther and his followers, had risen to a high degree of celebrity; and notwithstanding every injunction to the contrary, that city was generally preferred to every other in Germany. Neither the fine arts, nor sciences, had made any great progress in the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, at this period. Even the German language was rude, unharmonious, and little cultivated by men of letters. The elegant epistles of Busbequius, which contain so much information on the Turkish court, capital, and manners, were written in Latin.

Vienna began to be considered under Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, as the ordinary residence of the German emperors; though they frequently transferred their court to Prague, in order to conciliate the affections of their Bohemian subjects, or to inspect personally the condition of that kingdom. Ferdinand procured from the States, convoked in 1547, a declaration, that the crown was hereditary, and not elective. Perhaps, the most glorious testimony to the virtues of a sovereign, and to the felicity of a people under a wise and vigilant administration, which is contained in history, is the one given by the ambassadors of Bohemia, to the Polish nation, in favour of Maximilian the Second, when he was a candidate for the crown of Poland, after the flight of Henry of Valois from Cracow. It ought to be engraven over the thrones of princes, as the highest incitement to similar exertions of beneficence, and as the greatest recompence in the power of man to bestow. In perusing the expressions of the affection and gratitude of the Bohemians, we are penetrated with respect and pleasure; while we seem to behold a legislator, such as Pythagoras, or Solon, are depicted by antiquity, occupied only in dispensing happiness, extinguishing discord, and reviving the primitive simplicity of the early ages of the world<sup>35</sup>. It excites a melancholy regret, to reflect that the reign of so excellent a sovereign as Maximilian, was limited to the transitory period of twelve years.

Testimony of  
the Bohemian  
ambassadors,  
to Maximilian's  
wisdom  
and beneficence.

<sup>35</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 388, 389.

## C H A P. XIV.

## THE GERMAN EMPIRE.

*View of the German empire.—History of Saxony, from the commencement of the sixteenth century to the year 1574.—Dominions, revenues, and forces of the electors, at that period.—Progress of Letters.—State of the electorate of Brandenburg.—Gradual and progressive elevation of the Prussian monarchy, to the present time.—History of the Palatinate.—Cultivation of Letters by the Electors Palatine.—Survey of the German empire in the sixteenth century.—Bavaria.—Cleves.—Brunswic.—Mecklenburg.—Hesse.—Wirtemberg.—Number, and state of the free, Imperial cities.—General review of Germany, in 1574.—Introduction of knowledge.—Characteristic virtues and vices of the Germans.—Troops.—Landsquensets.—Arms.—Taxes.—Manners.—Commerce.—State of the Hanseatic league.—Effects of the religious effervescence, caused by the reformation of Luther.—Letters.—Arts.—Manufactures.—Jurisprudence.*

THE Germanic body, at the period of which we are treating, had, already, in a great measure, assumed the political form, which it still continues to retain. During more than four centuries, the electors, seven in number, had arrogated, and exercised the undisputed right of choosing the emperors; and this exclusive pretension had been sanctioned by the famous constitution of Charles the Fourth, published in 1356, and known by the name of "the Golden Bull." Every prerogative of royalty was annexed to the electoral dignity; and they preceded, if not in power and extent of dominion, in rank and eminence, all the other princes of the empire'. Three were ec-

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XIV.General form  
of the Ger-  
manic body,  
in the six-  
teenth cen-  
tury.

' Heiss, vol. ii. p. 50, 51.

clesiasti-



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clesiastical and elective; the archbishops of Mentz, Cologne, and Treves. The vote of the king of Bohemia in the electoral college, was exercised by the family of Austria; and the remaining electors were those of Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatine.

1500—1548.  
Saxony.

Frederic the  
Wife.

The history of Saxony, during the greater part of the sixteenth century, is so much blended with that of Charles the Fifth, and his two successors, Ferdinand, and Maximilian, as to be inseparable in all its great features. Frederic, surnamed the Wise, reigned over Saxony, in the year 1500, and, as historians assert, declined the acceptance of the Imperial crown, offered him by his colleagues, after the death of Maximilian the First. He had seen, during the reigns of the two preceding emperors, how little consequence or power that eminent dignity conferred, unless supported by ample patrimonial revenues; and how many expensive, or painful duties it imposed. His own territories were unequal to the pressure of so vast a weight, and he therefore exhorted the other electors to make choice of the king of Spain; who, from his possessions in Germany, the Low Countries, and Italy, could becomingly sustain the majesty of the first office in the christian world\*. The memorable example of Charles the Seventh in the present century, who was raised by the intrigues of the French cabinet, to the same eminence, and who became the victim of his own ambition, may enable us fully to appreciate and to admire the wisdom of Frederic, in disdaining and rejecting the Imperial sceptre. Under his protection, and towards the termination of his life, Luther first ventured to promulgate his doctrines, which produced so rapid and surprizing a revolution. This protection appears, nevertheless, to have originated more in the elector's opinion of Luther's capacity and utility, as a theological professor in the university of Wittemberg, which he had recently founded; than from any conviction, or zealous adherence to the tenets of the reformation†. Frederic

\* Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 118. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 190—192. Heiss, vol. i. p. 349.

† Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 232—234.

died

died in 1525; and his brother, John, who succeeded him, embraced openly the protestant faith, which he evinced by presenting, in his own name, and that of many other German princes, the celebrated exposition, distinguished by the title of "the Confession of Augsburg." It was received by Charles the Fifth, in the Diet, convoked in 1530, at that city.

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1500—1548.

The unfortunate John Frederic, who, by his father's decease, became soon afterwards elector, was, from his accession, regarded as the head of the protestant interest in the empire. His religious zeal induced him to join the "League of Smalcald," to which he fell a victim. Abandoned by his associates, betrayed by his ministers, attacked by his own relations, and selected for an exemplary chastisement by Charles the Fifth, whom he had personally irritated and offended; he was finally vanquished at the battle of Muhlberg, on the banks of the Elbe. The emperor, abusing the rights of war, in the person of John Frederic, as he had done at an earlier period of his life, by Francis the First, at Madrid; and exercising the Imperial prerogative, in violation of his oath, to the purposes of oppression; degraded the captive prince, despoiled him of his electoral voice and dignity, and deprived him of almost all his hereditary dominions. These he conferred on Maurice of Saxony, head of a younger branch of the electoral family; and who, though a protestant, had attached himself to Charles, and carried arms against the chief of his house. The city of Gotha, with a part of Thuringia, were alone reserved for the unhappy John Frederic, who was likewise detained a prisoner. In so humiliating a situation, he betrayed the most unshaken magnanimity, and the most zealous adherence to the protestant religion, for the defence of which he had sacrificed every inferior consideration. His descendants still retain, after more than two centuries, the diminished possessions, allotted them by the rigor of Charles the Fifth.

John Frederic.

Transfer of  
the electoral  
dignity to  
Maurice.

Acting by virtue of the plenitude of his authority, in the Diet, assembled at Augsburg, in the following year; the emperor pro-

1548—1553.  
Investiture  
of Maurice.

\* L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 415.

\* Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 167—172. Heiss, vol. i. p. 385—388.

ceeded



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1548—1553.

ceeded publickly to the investiture of Maurice, who took possession of the dominions and electoral title of his relation. Charles did not, however, experience from him either the gratitude or submission, to which he seemed to have acquired a right, by so many benefits. Maurice, incensed at the detention of his father-in-law, Philip, Landgrave of Hesse; and stung by the reproaches of his countrymen, who accused him of having sacrificed his honor, and religion, to the gratification of his ambition; determined to redeem his character. After having nearly captured the emperor himself at Innspruck, and reduced him to fly with precipitation, the elector concluded, at Passau, an accommodation with Ferdinand, king of the Romans; by the articles of which, the late regulations, civil and ecclesiastical, solemnly published by Charles the Fifth, were rescinded and annulled. Liberty of conscience, in the most extended degree, was granted to the protestants, and the Landgrave was restored to his freedom.

Death of  
Maurice.1553—1574.  
Accession of  
Augustus.

Maurice did not long survive a transaction, which covered him with personal glory, and which had rendered him the defender of the Germanic rights, nearly extinguished under the despotism of the Imperial power. He perished, at the age of thirty-two, in the battle of Sieverhausen, gained over Albert, margrave of Brandenburg, who had desolated Germany by his ravages and depredations\*. His premature death, in the moment of victory, and in the act of expelling the enemy and invader of the repose of his country; when added to his talents, valour, and successful attainment of the objects of his ambition: this combination of qualities and circumstances, have rendered him peculiarly illustrious in the annals of the sixteenth century. As he left no male issue, his brother, Augustus, succeeded to the electoral title and dominions, notwithstanding the fruitless reclamations of the deposed John Frederic, who vainly attempted to recover his patrimony. Augustus, supported by the friendship of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, maintained himself in his new possession; received the in-

\* Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 174—179. Heiss, vol. i. p. 399—404. Annales de l'Empire, p. 441—456.

vestiture

vestiture from Maximilian the Second; and transmitted those acquisitions to his posterity, by whom, notwithstanding the convulsions which have agitated Germany, they are still enjoyed<sup>7</sup>. Destitute of the shining and active qualifications of his predecessor, Augustus was nevertheless highly estimable as a sovereign. Warmly attached to the purity of the Lutheran doctrines, he ardently exerted himself to prevent, or to suppress the differences of religious opinion among the protestants, which began to manifest themselves, and to divide the party. Magnificent in his court, but, economical in his distribution of the public treasure, he was equally beloved and respected throughout the empire. He continued to reign in 1574<sup>8</sup>.

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XIV.

1553-1574.

The dominions, subject to the electors of Saxony, at this period, were not so extensive as at present; the marquissate of Lusatia, a fief of the crown of Bohemia, having been ceded by the emperor, Ferdinand the Second, in 1635, to John George the First, at the treaty of Prague<sup>9</sup>. The territories, possessed by Frederic the Wise, and the antient electoral house, only comprehended the part of Saxony, denominated "the Electoral Circle," together with a portion of Thuringia, of which Wittemberg was the capital, and ducal residence. The margraviate of Misnia was re-united to it, by the elevation of Maurice, to whom the province antecedently belonged. Dresden, situate in this division of Saxony, began to be regarded as the metropolis of the electorate, under Augustus, towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century; and its happy position on the Elbe, in a fertile country, soon contributed to its augmentation and embellishment<sup>10</sup>. The electorate of Saxony was the most favoured part of the German empire, in soil, productions, and population; watered throughout

1574.  
Dominions of  
the electors  
of Saxony.

<sup>7</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 417. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 417. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 208.

<sup>9</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 330.

<sup>10</sup> Heiss, vol. ii. p. 254. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 191, and p. 314; and vol. vii. p. 239, 240. and p. 266, 267, and p. 274, 275.



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XIV.1574.  
Military  
forces.

Revenues.

its whole extent, by the Elbe, and abounding in natural advantages. John Frederic, during the progress of the war, which terminated so fatally for his family, evinced the resources of which he was possessed: his troops did not fall short of twenty-six thousand; and when defeated at Muhlberg, he had fifteen thousand Saxons under his immediate command". His revenues were very ample, and they were further augmented under Maurice and Augustus. The silver mines of Schneeberg in Misnia, were the most profitable of any in Germany. As early as the year 1477, Albert, duke of Saxony, was publicly served at dinner, on a block of silver, at Schneeberg, of so prodigious a size, that from it were extracted four hundred quintals of that metal". The produce of the mines, in the sixteenth century, was still very large, and formed a considerable article of the public revenue.

Universities.

Letters.

Luther.

No university in the empire enjoyed so high a reputation, or attracted so great a number of students, as Wittemberg. The celebrity of Luther, and the emancipation which he had introduced in many branches of letters, as well as religion, conduced to give it an advantage over the catholic seminaries of education. Luther himself, after having acted so distinguished a part on the theatre of the world, and diminished the papal influence throughout a vast part of Europe, was fortunately removed by death from being a witness to the subversion of the family, under whom he had propagated his doctrines, and from whom he had always derived security and protection. He expired at Isleben, in the county of Mansfeldt, the place of his nativity; and his body was interred at Wittemberg, with extraordinary solemnity. Charles the Fifth, after his victory at Muhlberg, having visited the church, in which were deposited his ashes, was exhorted by some of his attendants, to order the tomb to be broken open. But, success had not corrupted his natural character and dis-

" Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 169.

" Schmidt, vol. v. p. 515.

position sufficiently, to render him capable of listening to the advice. C H A P. XIV. 1574.  
 "It is with the living; and not with the dead, said he, that I wage  
 "war: let him repose in peace; he has already met his judge".

The magnanimity and moderation of this conduct, in an age when the sanctity of the Sepulchre afforded no asylum from bigotry and animosity, excite surprize; and may justify the opinion, that Charles, however necessitated from his situation to oppose the progress of Lutheranism, did not altogether condemn the principles of the reformer himself.

THE Prussian monarchy, so respectable among the great powers of Europe in the present age, was only in its infancy, during the sixteenth century; and in the contracted territories of the margraves of Brandenburg, it was not easy to foresee the future elevation of that family. Frederic of Hohenzollern, Burgrave, or governor of Nuremberg in Franconia, purchased the marquisate, of the emperor Sigismund, for the sum of four hundred thousand ducats, about the year 1415<sup>13</sup>; and he transmitted it, together with the electoral dignity, to his descendants. Joachim the First, who died in 1535, was a prince of activity and merit; zealously attached to the catholic faith, and anxious for its maintenance in his dominions. But, under his son and successor, Joachim the Second, the Lutheran religion was adopted throughout the electorate. This change in his faith, had not, however, influence on his political conduct: he remained unshaken in his adherence to the emperor, during the troubles, occasioned by the "League of Smalcald," and refused to enter into the confederacy of protestant princes; though, after the conclusion of the war, he exerted every effort, in conjunction with Maurice, the new elector of Saxony, to procure the enlargement of the landgrave

State of Brandenburg, in the sixteenth century.

1415—1571.

Electors.

<sup>13</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 276.

<sup>14</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 525.



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1415—1571.

1574.  
Territories.

Letters.

Gradual  
formation,  
and augmen-  
tation of the  
Prussian  
monarchy.

of Hesse. Previous to his decease, he obtained, in 1569, from Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, the right of succession to the dominions of Albert Frederic of Brandenburg, duke of Prussia, on the event of that prince's death without issue<sup>15</sup>. Joachim the Second was a lover of the arts; pacific, moderate, and an enemy to persecution. He was succeeded in 1571, by John George his son.

The part of Germany, subject to the electors of Brandenburg, at this period, was neither extensive, fertile, nor commercial. It was limited to the tract of country, denominated the old, middle, and new march: even the latter of these had been dismembered from the others, and was only re-united by John George, soon after his accession, at the death of his uncle, without male issue<sup>16</sup>. The soil was, in general, barren; the population, thin; and the state of industry, languid. Stettin, and the mouths of the Oder, belonged to the dukes of Pomerania; nor had the margraves of Brandenburg any territories which confined on the Baltic. Their possessions were among the least favoured by nature, of any in the empire; and Berlin, which was already become the capital, contained no object of curiosity, or of magnificence. The sciences penetrated slowly, and were little cultivated, notwithstanding the foundation of a university at Francfort on the Oder, by Joachim the First, as early as 1506<sup>17</sup>. His son obtained some augmentation of power and territory, by the seizure and secularization of all the bishopricks; among which, those of Brandenburg, Havelburg, and Lebus, were the chief<sup>18</sup>: but, it was not till the seventeenth century, that the grandeur of his descendants began to manifest itself. Their progress has been one of the most rapid and extraordinary, recorded in modern history, and may, perhaps, not yet have attained its summit. John Sigismund, after the extinction of the dukes of Cleves, in 1609, seized on a portion of their ample inheritance, comprehending the duchy of Cleves, and the counties of La

<sup>15</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 321 and 332. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 529.

<sup>16</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 530.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid. p. 529.

<sup>18</sup> Idem, ibid.

Mark

Mark and Ravensperg, which have ultimately been adjudged to, and retained by his family<sup>19</sup>. In 1618, he succeeded to the duchy of Prussia, vacant by the demise of Albert Frederic, his father-in-law<sup>20</sup>. The treaty of Westphalia conferred on Frederic William, the great elector, the eventual succession to the archbishoprick of Magdeburg; and the actual possession of the bishopricks of Halberstadt, Minden, and Camin; together with the eastern Pomerania<sup>21</sup>. In 1657, he liberated his duchy of Prussia from its feudal vassalage to the Republic of Poland; and before his death, he obtained from the emperor Leopold, the circle of Schwibus<sup>22</sup>.

Frederic the First, his successor, procured from the Imperial court, and successively, from all the others in Europe, a recognition of his title of King of Prussia; an act, which though it probably originated as much from personal vanity, as from ambition, yet, has aided in no small degree, by its consequences, the other causes of the greatness of the family of Brandenburg<sup>23</sup>. The county of Tecklenburg, and afterwards, the principality of Neuchatel in Switzerland, devolved to the new monarch, in 1707, as part of the patrimony of William the Third, king of England, and prince of Orange<sup>24</sup>. His son, Frederic William the Second, added Upper Guelderland to his dominions, at the peace of Utrecht, in 1714; and at the treaty of Stockholm, concluded in 1720, he retained Stettin, and the division of Swedish Pomerania, comprised between the rivers Oder and Peene, which he had previously conquered from Charles the Twelfth<sup>25</sup>. In 1731, the principality of Mœurs, the county of Lingen, and several other lordships in the Austrian Brabant, were adjudged to him, in right of his descent from the daughter of Frederic Henry, prince of Orange<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>19</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 249. L'Art de Verif. p. 530. Heifs, vol. ii. p. 266, 267.

<sup>20</sup> Heifs, vol. ii. p. 268, 269. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 530, 531.

<sup>21</sup> Annales de l'Empire, p. 542. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 357.

<sup>22</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 531, 532.

<sup>23</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 465, 466.

<sup>24</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 533.

<sup>25</sup> Idem, ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 534.

But,



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1574.

Reflexions on  
so extraordi-  
nary an event.

But, all preceding acquisitions were obscured and swallowed up in the magnitude of those, made by Frederic the Second. The extensive and fertile province of Silesia, together with the county of Glatz, a part of the kingdom of Bohemia, were reduced to his obedience in 1741, and secured by a peace with Austria, in the following year<sup>27</sup>. In 1744, on the decease of Charles, last prince of East Friesland, his troops took possession of that country, without molestation, by virtue of a donation made to his family, in 1694, from the emperor Leopold<sup>28</sup>. The partition of Poland, in 1772, by rendering him master of the rich and extensive tract of country on both sides of the Vistula, from the gates of Dantzic to the walls of Thorn, together with the bishoprick of Ermeland, has enabled him to join his electoral dominions to the duchy of Prussia, and to form an uninterrupted line along the southern shore of the Baltic, from the frontiers of Courland and Samogitia, to those of Mecklenburg and Swedish Pomerania. Under the present reign, the two Franconian margraviates of Bareith and Anspach, separated from the marquisate of Brandenburg for near two centuries, have been again united to it, by the voluntary cession of the reigning prince. A second partition of the unfortunate Republic of Poland, has augmented the Prussian monarchy by the addition of Dantzic, Thorn, and the rich provinces of Posenia and Cujavia. So uninterrupted a series of territorial acquisitions, during a period when the powers of Europe have been constantly occupied in endeavours to prevent any state from acquiring a political preponderance, or greatly enlarging its possessions at the expence of its neighbours; is not one of the least singular events by which our own times are distinguished. Whether wisdom, or fortune, have conducted principally to produce it, is a question foreign to the present work, and which would lead to a great variety of reflexions.

<sup>27</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 535.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 535.

THE electors Palatine might be justly regarded, during the sixteenth century, as more powerful princes, than those of Brandenburg. The lower Palatinate formed a considerable tract of country, on the Rhine and the Neckar, in a fertile and commercial part of Germany. Its vicinity to the frontiers of France and Flanders, enabled, or compelled the electors to take an interest, and frequently a share, in the disturbances of those states. The upper Palatinate, a detached and distant province, situated between Bohemia, Franconia, and Bavaria, which was a part of the electoral dominions, added to their political weight, as members of the Germanic body. Frederic the First, elector Palatine, who died in 1476, was a martial and enterprising prince, under whom the institution of disciplined troops, regularly trained to war, and retained after its conclusion, was introduced into the empire. Previous to his reign, armies were only composed of vassals or peasants, assembled on an emergency, and disbanded immediately afterwards. The emperor Maximilian the First imitated the example set by Frederic, in this particular<sup>29</sup>. Two princes of the Palatine family, both of whose names were Frederic, distinguished themselves gloriously in the succeeding century, at the memorable siege of Vienna, by Soliman the Second. While one attacked the Turkish army, encamped before the walls of the city, the other gallantly and successfully defended the place<sup>30</sup>.

Under Louis the Fifth, Luther began to disseminate his doctrines at Heidelberg, which were eagerly and generally imbibed; the moderate character of the elector permitting the utmost freedom of religious opinion, though he continued himself to profess the catholic faith. His successors withdrew from the Romish see, and openly declared their adherence to Lutheranism; but, on the accession of Frederic the Third, a new revolution took place. He was the first, among the protestants, who introduced and professed

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1450-1517.  
State of the  
Palatinate in  
the sixteenth  
century.

Electors.

Introduction  
of the re-  
formation.  
1518.

1530-1559

<sup>29</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 325. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 57.

<sup>30</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 145. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 325.

the



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the reformed religion, denominated Calvinism. As the toleration, accorded by the "Peace of religion," to those who embraced the "Confession of Augsberg," did not, in a strict and legal sense, extend to, or include the followers of Calvin, Frederic might have been proscribed, and put to the ban of the empire; nor did he owe his escape so much to the lenity or friendship of the Lutherans, as to the generosity of Maximilian the Second, who then filled the Imperial throne, and who was an enemy to every species of persecution<sup>31</sup>.

1559—1572.  
Frederic the  
Third.

Frederic the Third, animated with zeal for the support of the Protestant cause, took an active part in the wars which desolated the kingdom of France under Charles the Ninth; protected all the French exiles who fled to his court, or dominions; and twice sent succours, under the command of his son, John Casimir, to Louis, prince of Condé. Not content with these unequivocal proofs of his disposition, he reserved the most severe and mortifying treatment for the arrival of Henry, duke of Anjou. That young prince, newly elected to the crown of Poland, having accepted the elector's invitation to pass through Heidelberg, in his way from Paris to Cracow, was received by him with every mark of indignant resentment; entertained in a hall, on the walls of which was depicted the massacre of St. Bartholemew; and served by French refugees during the repast. Frederic even carried his vengeance so far, as to declaim with animation against the authors of that atrocious act, and to lament the fate of Coligni. We scarcely know how to condemn a conduct, which although it might be regarded as a violation of the laws of hospitality, yet expressed the generous abhorrence, excited by the recent recollection of a massacre, unexampled in the history of mankind, and in which Henry bore a distinguished share<sup>32</sup>.

Reception of  
the king of  
Poland.  
1573.

1574.  
University of  
Heidelberg.

The Palatinate was not only one of the richest, but, one of the most improved and polished parts of the empire: the university of Heidelberg,

<sup>31</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 294—300.

<sup>32</sup> Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 112. De Thou, vol. vii. p. 28.

berg, founded towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century, was the first institution of that kind, known in Germany, and produced many illustrious persons<sup>33</sup>. The electors Palatine were peculiarly distinguished as the protectors of letters; and so early as the year 1421, Louis the Third bequeathed to the university his library. An enumeration of the literary works which it contained, may serve to convey no inaccurate idea of the state of knowledge, and of the progress of the human mind, before the discovery of printing had more widely diffused information. The volumes, in number one hundred and fifty-two, consisted entirely of manuscripts; and many of them were already written upon paper, which article was procured from Venice. Of these productions, eighty-nine were theological treatises; forty-five, were upon medicine; seven, on the canon law; five, on the civil law; and six, upon astronomy and philosophy: not one, upon history. Such was the nature and genius of the studies, then prosecuted and held in estimation among the Germans<sup>34</sup>.

Otho Henry, during his short reign of only three years, began the celebrated collection of books and manuscripts, known by the name of "the Palatine Library;" and which was greatly augmented by his successors. The most valuable part of it was sent by the duke of Bavaria, in 1621, as a present to Gregory, the Fifteenth, who then filled the papal chair, after the sack of Heidelberg, and the expulsion of the unfortunate elector, Frederic the Fifth, from his capital and dominions. Œcolampadius, Melancthon, Bucer, and many of the most eminent reformers, studied at the university of Heidelberg, which attained to a high reputation at the commencement of the sixteenth century<sup>35</sup>. The persecutions of Philip the Second in the Netherlands, were favourable to the population of the Palatinate; as those of Charles the Ninth in France had been, at nearly the same period. Frederic the Third received the expatriated protestants; and having dissolved the monastery of Frankendal, he founded there a city, which was imme-

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Palatine li-  
brary.

<sup>33</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 324.

<sup>35</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 326, 327.

<sup>34</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 520, 521.



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XIV.diately peopled with Flemings, and soon became one of the most considerable in his territories <sup>36</sup>.<sup>1574.</sup>  
Rude magni-  
ficence of the  
electors.

Heidelberg was the capital, and residence of the electors Palatine, in the sixteenth century, where they displayed a rude magnificence. Frederic the Third kept a tame lion in his palace, which mingled among the domestics, entered the chamber of the electress, and daily received his food at her feet. The motive for taming and retaining such an animal was not a little singular, and arose only from the elector having immemorially worn on his shield, the figure of a lion, as his armorial bearing. This prince continued to reign at the period of which we are treating <sup>37</sup>.

State of the  
human mind  
in Germany,  
at the time  
of Luther's  
appearance.

So disposed were the minds of men towards religious innovation, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and so weary was mankind become of the pecuniary exactions of the Romish church, that in less than fifty years after the appearance of Luther, the greater portion of Germany had withdrawn itself from its obedience to the holy see. The example, exhibited by the three secular electors, was followed by the inferior princes, nobility, and almost all the free, imperial cities. On the other hand, the bishops, and dignified ecclesiastics, in general, adhered to the antient faith, and formed a powerful phalanx, ranged under the papal banners. The famous clause, inserted by Ferdinand the First, into the constitutions of the diet of Augsbourg, in 1555, denominated "the Ecclesiastical Reservation," preserved the property of the catholic church from further dilapidation, and formed a bulwark impregnable by all the efforts of the protestants <sup>38</sup>. The bonds of religious union, which had been originally so strong between the members of that communion, were likewise exceedingly weakened by the introduction of the doctrines of Calvin, Zuinglius, and other reformers,

<sup>36</sup> Heiss, vol. ii. p. 282, 283.<sup>37</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 326.<sup>38</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 181, 182.

who

who either openly rejected the "Confession of Augsburg," or explained its expressions in a manner favourable to their own opinions. CHAP. XIV.

Notwithstanding these obstacles, or dissensions, the princes and states, who had embraced the reformation before the middle of the sixteenth century, far outweighed in political power, as well as exceeded in numbers, those who remained firm in their original persuasion. At the head of the Catholics, almost alone, if we except the Imperial family, were the dukes of Bavaria and Cleves. The protestants were masters of the remainder of the empire. The dukes of Brunswic, Mecklenburg, and Wirtemberg; the landgrave of Hesse, and a croud of petty princes had embraced the Lutheran, or Calvinist doctrines <sup>39</sup>.

The dukes of Bavaria, and the electors Palatine sprung from a common origin, about the middle of the thirteenth century. The former princes, at the period under our review, possessed a very considerable tract of country, extending from the southern bank of the Danube, to the Alps which divide Bavaria from the Tyrol; though they had not acquired either the electoral dignity, or the upper palatinate, to both of which they subsequently attained, under the emperor Ferdinand the Second, during the war of thirty years. Bavaria, whether from the vigilance of its sovereigns, or from the genius of the people, inclined to superstition, and averse to novelty; was the part of the empire, in which the Lutheran opinions had met with the least favourable reception. William the First zealously adhered to the antient religion, and entered into the "catholic league," at Nuremberg, in 1538. His son, Albert the Third, who acceded in 1550, was regarded as one of the firmest supports of the Romish faith and see. His connexion with the house of Austria, by his marriage with the arch-duchess Anne, daughter of Ferdinand the First, attached him by political ties to the Imperial family, and strengthened his other motives for opposing the progress of the Reformation <sup>40</sup>.

William, duke of Cleves and Juliers, makes a conspicuous figure, in the history of the empire, under the reign of Charles the Fifth. 1539-1574.  
Cleves.

<sup>39</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 2-4.

<sup>40</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 406. Schmidt, *ibid*.



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Incensed at the emperor's refusal to desist from his pretensions to the duchy of Guelderland, William entered into the closest bonds of friendship with Francis the First; and having joined his own forces to those of the French monarch, he attacked and routed the Imperial troops. But, his prosperity was of short duration. Compelled to demand forgiveness, at the feet of Charles, and to cede the province of Guelderland, which he had disputed; his pardon was finally sealed by the renunciation of Jane d'Albret, daughter of Henry, king of Navarre, to whom he had been betrothed, and by his marriage with Mary, daughter of Ferdinand, king of the Romans. The remainder of his reign was passed in cultivating the arts of peace; and his adherence to the catholic religion, untinged with zeal or bigotry, left a free entrance among his subjects, to the new opinions, which were favoured by the vicinity of Holland and the Palatinate<sup>41</sup>.

1514—1574.  
Brunswic.Reign of  
Henry.

The dominions of the family of Brunswic, had been divided early in the fifteenth century, and formed two independant states; of Wolfenbittel, and of Lunenburg. Ernest the First, head of the younger branch, imbibed the precepts of Luther at the university of Wittemberg, while prosecuting his studies; and was one of the most zealous profelytes of the new doctrines, which spread rapidly among his subjects. But, in the duchy of Brunswic Wolfenbittel, the catholic faith, supported by Henry, sovereign of the country, made a long and vigorous resistance. He was a turbulent and martial prince, equally an enemy to his own repose, and to the tranquillity of Germany. His attempts to reduce by force of arms, and to punish the cities of Brunswic, and Goslar, which enjoyed very extensive immunities, approaching to political independance, drew upon him the resentment of "the League of Smalcald." He was driven out of his dominions, by that powerful confederacy; and on his return with a body of French troops, he was routed, taken prisoner, and confined by the Landgrave of Hesse, in the fortress of Ziegenhain.

<sup>41</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 186, 187. Schmidt, ibid. p. 3.

After

After the victory of Muhlberg, and the humiliation of the protestant party, the duke was released, and reinstated by Charles the Fifth. At the memorable battle of Sievershausen, gained by Maurice, elector of Saxony, over Albert of Brandenburg, and in which Maurice perished; Henry was present, and lost his two eldest sons in the action. This was his last exertion of military prowess; and before his decease, he renounced the catholic religion, of which, during fifty years, he had been the ardent defender. His son, and successor, Julius, who had embraced Lutheranism before his father, confirmed its progress, and withdrew his people from any subjection to the church of Rome<sup>42</sup>.

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The extensive country of Mecklenburg, extending from the frontiers of Holstein, to the borders of Pomerania, along the southern shore of the Baltic, like Brunswic, was divided in the sixteenth century, between two princes of the same house, in nearly equal portions; denominated from their respective capitals, Schwerin, and Gustrów. Similar, too, in another point of view, the protestant doctrines, which were received and adopted by the duke of Schwerin, as early as 1530, did not become the predominant religion of Gustrów, till after the year 1547<sup>43</sup>.

Mecklenburg.

There is no character more distinguished, on the theatre of Germany, from the accession to the abdication of the emperor, Charles the Fifth, than that of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse. His history is necessarily interwoven with all the important transactions of the period; in the greater part of which he bore an eminent share. An early convert to Lutheranism, his arms and counsels were steadily employed in maintaining the faith which he had espoused: but, he found it impossible to reconcile Luther himself with Zuinglius, on the article of the Eucharist; and after three days, passed in fruitless conferences at Marburg, the two reformers separated, without coming to an agree-

1509-1574.  
Hesse.

Reign of  
Philip.

<sup>42</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 431, 432. Schmidt. vol. vii. p. 136-139, and 205-207. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 166.

<sup>43</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 491, 492.



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His detention  
by Charles  
the Fifth.

ment upon any point. Philip adhered invariably to the "Confession of Augsburg," and joined his forces to those of John Frederic, the unfortunate elector of Saxony, when they ventured to oppose the emperor, in 1546. Terrified with the fate of his associate and ally, he hastened to implore the pardon of his temerity; but, Charles, though he did not use equal rigour towards the Landgrave, detained him a prisoner. He was indebted for his freedom, to the successful and vigorous attack made by Maurice, the new elector of Saxony; and after five years of severe captivity, he revisited his dominions. We search in vain, during the remainder of his life, for the vigor and decision, which had characterised him previous to the war of Smalcald. Rendered cautious even to timidity, by his misfortunes, Philip renounced any active interference in the quarrels of religion, as far as they related to Germany; though he ventured to send assistance to the Hugonots, at the commencement of the civil wars in France. His son, William the Fourth, inherited the talents, as well as the adherence to Lutheranism, which distinguished Philip; and no part of the empire was more wisely governed, or enjoyed more profound tranquillity, than the landgraviate of Hesse, under his pacific administration."

498—1519.  
Wurtemberg.Reign of Ulric  
the Sixth.  
1520.

1534.

The dukes of Wurtemberg might be considered as the last of the great German princes, of the second order. Their territories, situated in the circle of Suabia, were not only extensive and populous; but inferior to none, in fertility, and variety of productions. Ulric the Sixth, after having been expelled from his dominions, for an infraction of the public peace of the empire, which he had imprudently and rashly committed, by attempting to avenge his private quarrels with an armed force; saw his duchy ravaged, and sold by the conquerors, to the emperor, Charles the Fifth. That monarch bestowed it on Ferdinand, his own brother; while Ulric, an exile and a fugitive, wandered for fourteen years, without asylum, or protection.

"Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 170, and p. 177. L'Art de Verif. vol. iii. p. 373—375. Heiss, vol. ii. p. 316.

The

The generous and active friendship of Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, aided by the pecuniary assistance of Francis the First, re-established him; and in the following year, he introduced the Reformation into Wirtemberg<sup>43</sup>.

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Involved in the calamities, under which the "League of Smalcald" was oppressed, he was reduced to submit to the conditions imposed by Charles; and his death, which took place soon afterwards, scarcely prevented the forfeiture of his duchy, reclaimed by Ferdinand, king of the Romans, as reverting to him by the crime of rebellion. It required the wisdom and moderation of his successor, Christopher, to obliterate the misfortunes which the imprudence of Ulric had produced. He was the parent and protector of his subjects; and his reign of eighteen years, formed an æra of repose and felicity, unknown in Wirtemberg. With the approbation of the States, the duke composed and published a code of laws, framed on a basis of equity; and calculated to extinguish the feuds arising necessarily from the barbarous and contradictory jurisprudence, previously in use. Every beneficial institution, for introducing police, regulating commercial transactions, and diffusing civilization, were adopted by Christopher. His adherence to Lutheranism was not embittered by the spirit of intolerance; and his active benevolence rendered him equally respected by the catholics, as by those of his own persuasion. Under his administration, the duchy, which had been ravaged and desolated, became the most opulent and prosperous part of Germany. He was succeeded by Louis the Third, his son<sup>44</sup>.

1550—1574.  
Christopher.

Felicity of his  
reign.

The free imperial cities formed a very important part of the Germanic empire and constitution. They appear to have been first admitted to the Diets, towards the conclusion of the thirteenth century<sup>45</sup>. Under Maximilian the Second, they exceeded seventy in number; most of which, with the single exception of Lubeck, were

1574.  
State, commerce, and  
wealth of the  
Imperial  
cities at this  
period.

<sup>43</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 122, and p. 152, 153. L'Art de Verifier, vol. iii. p. 390, 391. Heise, vol. ii. p. 332.

<sup>44</sup> L'Art de Verif. ibid. p. 391, 392.

<sup>45</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 31, 32.



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situated in the circle of Suabia, or on the Rhine<sup>48</sup>. In commerce and riches, they were superior to the cities, subject to the sovereigns by whom they were surrounded; and they exercised every act of independence and jurisdiction within themselves. In all the general contributions, enacted by the Diets, they were loaded with an unjust proportion; but the emperors, who derived from their assistance the greatest support, protected them against every attempt of the electors, or princes, to reduce them to subjection<sup>49</sup>. Among the great, Imperial cities of the first order, Cologne was the only one, in which the catholic religion maintained its antient ascendancy. Lubeck, which enjoyed a vast proportion of the Baltic trade, as well as Nuremberg, and Strasburg, were zealous Lutherans. The others, divided between the Romish and Protestant church, admitted the free exercise of both modes of worship, and composed the magistracy or municipal officers, indifferently from persons of the two opposite persuasions.

1574.  
Fermentation  
of the human  
mind in the  
sixteenth cen-  
tury.

It was not till towards the conclusion of the fifteenth, and commencement of the sixteenth century, that Germany began to emerge from its political obscurity, and to assume a share in the wars, negotiations, and concerns of Europe. Every thing, at that period, combined to awaken the human mind, to stimulate its exertions, and to inflame its ardor. The invention of the art of printing; the introduction of artillery, and gunpowder, into all military operations; the formation of standing armies; the innovations in religion; and the still more surprizing revolutions in commerce, in consequence of the discoveries of Columbus and Gama, which transferred the trade of the East, from Egypt and Italy, to Portugal: these causes, united, and acting with force upon a people, unacquainted, in a great degree, with the arts; produced a fermentation, of which, at this distance of time, we

<sup>48</sup> Heiss, vol. ii. p. 90, 91.<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 88, 89. Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 74-77.

can, with difficulty, form any adequate idea. Civil liberty, learning, polite letters, and all the refinements of polished society, began to be understood, and to be cultivated. The impediments, constructed by tyranny, or produced by anarchy, which had hitherto prevented the free intercourse of one nation with another, were gradually removed. The rude and martial exercises of chivalry, gave place to more gentle recreations. Lances, and coats of mail, became almost useless, after the practice of fire-arms was established; and the substitution of infantry, in the place of cavalry, deprived the nobles of one of their most distinguished advantages, when engaged in war<sup>50</sup>.

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The effect, produced by these changes, on the national manners and character, however great, was, notwithstanding, necessarily slow: it was continually retarded by prejudice, and impeded by long established habits, relinquished with difficulty. Even, after the middle of the sixteenth century, much of the rude originality of the German nation, and of their characteristic virtues and defects, survived, and strongly discriminated them from every other people. Their probity, frankness, and loyalty, were not more universally acknowledged, than were their general rusticity, credulity, and drunkenness; but the former seem to have been the indelible and genuine qualities of the people, while the latter resulted, in a great measure, from the state of society, and the want of cultivation. The beautiful reply of Stephen, duke of Bavaria, to Galeazzo Visconti, his brother-in-law, duke of Milan, strikingly depicts the fidelity and honesty, for which the Germans were renowned. The Italian prince having made an ostentatious display of his wealth and magnificence; Stephen observed, that "he could not boast of equal riches; but, that he had not a subject in his dominions, on whose breast he could not sleep in safety." Charles the Fifth, in his public manifestos, as well as in his private letters, did not hesitate to assign as an unanswerable reason

Slow progress  
of civilization  
in Germany.

Characteristic  
virtues and  
vices.

Probity of the  
Germans.

<sup>50</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 508, and p. 520.

<sup>51</sup> Ibid. p. 493—495.

<sup>52</sup> Idem, ibid.



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against the supposed machinations of Maurice, elector of Saxony, and the margrave of Brandenburg, in 1552; that "such was the unpable were they of insincerity or duplicity; that he could not believe "it possible for two princes of their origin and extraction, to engage "in a systematical plan of perfidy". Notwithstanding the almost unintermitted dissensions, wars, and private animosities, which desolated the empire, from the death of Frederic the Second, in 1250, to the abdication of Charles the Fifth, in 1556, we find, in the lapse of more than three centuries, no instance of a conspiracy among the Germans; and only one of an assassination; that, committed in the person of the emperor, Albert the First, by his nephew".

Drunkennes.

If these eminent virtues were universally confessed, the intoxication, to which every class of men, throughout the empire, were addicted, merited not less reprobation. Princes and nobles gratified so degrading a propensity, in an equal degree with the lowest of their subjects. Maximilian the First, who, from having lived among foreigners, during the life, as well as after the decease of Mary of Burgundy, his wife, had embraced their manners, was an exception to the national character; and he repeatedly attempted to reform his countrymen, not only by an example of sobriety, but, by positive laws and prohibitions. At the diet of Worms, in 1495, it was enjoined, that the electors and princes should severely repress and punish such irregularities". But, an evil, which held so forcibly to general manners, was not to be subdued by legal injunctions, nor penalties; and, in 1572, we find new edicts equally strong, and equally ineffectual, for the discouragement and suppression of this vice, issued by the diet of Cologne". In other European countries, the effects of drunkennes, rather than the practice itself, have been the object of penal severity.

Measures for  
its repression.

<sup>53</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 377, 378, and p. 381—383.

<sup>54</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 494.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid. p. 495.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid. p. 496—499.

The

The German soldiery in the sixteenth century began to be esteemed equal to any European troops, in bravery and steady courage. At the battle of Pavia, they acquired a high reputation, by engaging and breaking the flower of the French army. The characteristic virtues and vices of their country, were still to be traced in the camp. They were not sanguinary, nor cruel; they easily granted quarter, and rarely shed unnecessary blood: but, on the other hand, they were eager for plunder, severe in their exaction of contributions, and too prone to set fire to the towns or villages which they captured<sup>57</sup>. It is an indisputable fact, that during the famous sack of Rome, in 1527, the Germans evinced far more moderation towards the inhabitants of that unfortunate city, than the Spaniards, or even the Italians, their own countrymen. It ought, not, likewise, to be forgotten, that a great proportion of the Germans were imbued with the tenets of Luther, while the two other nations were composed entirely of zealous catholics. In the campaigns against the Turks, the Germans rarely appear to have acquired any renown; but, the causes of their ill success are obvious. The armies were composed of troops, drawn from all the different circles, animated by no common sentiment of patriotism, discordant in religion, and hardly united under their respective princes, or commanders. The Ottoman soldiery were enthusiastically attached to their faith, and to their sovereigns; who usually, 'till the death of Solyman, in 1566, conducted them in person, and shared their dangers. Circumstances so opposite, must, necessarily, have operated powerfully on the character of the two nations<sup>58</sup>.

After the accession of Maximilian the First, the troops, so celebrated in history under the name of "Landsqunets," began to be known in Europe. They were Germans, and soon rose to a high degree of military estimation. That emperor, who had studied the art of war,

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1574.  
German soldiery.

Characteristic qualities.

Institution of  
Landsqunets.

<sup>57</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 543.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid. p. 541—544.



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1574.

Celebrity of  
those troops.

Reiters.

Taxes.

and who conducted it on principles of Tactics, armed them with long lances; divided them into regiments, composed of ensigns and squads; compelled them to submit to a rigorous discipline; and retained them under their standards, after the conclusion of the wars in which he was engaged. They formed an excellent body of infantry, and did signal execution<sup>59</sup>. But, besides those in the employ of Maximilian, vast numbers entered into foreign service, particularly that of France. At the battle of Marignan, in 1515, they even encountered and repulsed the Switzers, who had been deemed invincible. On their return to their native country, they became intolerable, from their licentiousness and insolence. Accustomed to subsist by plunder, unused to labour, destitute of clothing, pay, or leaders; they committed every sort of outrage on the peasants, and were regarded as a scourge, by the Germans of that age<sup>60</sup>. Pikes were substituted in the place of their long lances, under Charles the Fifth; and the facility with which the Landsquenets performed their evolutions, gave rise to the formation of a body of cavalry, composed of the same soldiers, and denominated "Reiters." They soon attained to an equal celebrity with the infantry, and were generally found in the French armies, on both sides, during the civil wars. Mortars, culverines, and other engines of artillery were invented by Maximilian the First, and a new military system was introduced into the empire<sup>61</sup>.

The introduction of standing armies, necessarily produced the augmentation and multiplication of taxes throughout Germany. Before the beginning of the sixteenth century, there were scarcely any permanent impositions upon the subject; and princes subsisted, in a great degree, on their domain, or on contributions levied for particular purposes, and granted for a short time. Despotism was unknown. The states, composed of the nobility and great vassals,

<sup>59</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 112, 113.<sup>60</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 61—64.<sup>61</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 113.

were

were assembled, and their consent obtained, before any tax could be imposed. But, the power of sovereigns was gradually augmented, when supported by a body of disciplined troops, and it eventually extinguished the liberties of the people<sup>62</sup>. Chivalry may be said to have expired with the age of Charles the Fifth, though its genius and spirit are still frequently to be traced. It seems difficult to believe, that at the diet of Worms, in 1495, a French knight, named Claude Barre, challenged the whole German nation, at single combat; and it is still more extraordinary, that the emperor Maximilian himself should quit his Imperial functions, to engage a stranger, as the champion of his countrymen. He entered the lists on horseback, fought, and vanquished the Frenchman<sup>63</sup>. Maximilian the Second, in 1566, charmed with the exploits of Tury, a Hungarian, who had distinguished himself against the Turks, armed him a knight, with his own hands; and this is one of the last examples of that practice, which we find in modern history<sup>64</sup>.

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Decline of  
chivalry.

There was no appendage of state, at this period, in the palaces of kings, more general and indispensable, than buffoons; and they seem to have carried the practice in Germany, to a greater excess, than in any other European country. Perhaps, the national phlegm demanded the aid of this factitious mirth. The diet of Augsberg, in 1500, did not consider the subject as beneath their legislative attention and regulation<sup>65</sup>. Besides the buffoons, in regular pay and attendance upon all princes, there were numbers of honorary and titular ones, who drew a precarious subsistence from their extravagancies and importunity; nor were they limited to the male sex, as women equally practised the vocation. It was not till long after the period of which we are treating, that they fell into disuse, as refine-

Buffoons.

<sup>62</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 17, 18, and p. 66,

67.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 486, 487.

<sup>64</sup> Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. ii. p. 52.

<sup>65</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 528, 529.



C H A P.  
XIV.1574.  
Commerce.Opulence of  
the German  
cities.

ment insensibly substituted more rational sources of hilarity and gaiety<sup>66</sup>.

The commerce of Germany was at its highest elevation, during the whole of the fifteenth century; but it rapidly declined after the discovery of a passage to India, by the Portuguese. It was not possible to form the same connexions, or to draw the same advantages, from Lisbon, as from Venice. The letters of Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, who had passed a considerable time, as legate of the holy see, among the Germans, and who visited almost every part of the empire; leave no room to doubt of the trade, and opulence of many of the great cities. He positively asserts, that "the kings of Scotland would gladly be lodged, like the common citizens of Nuremberg in Franconia<sup>67</sup>." That industrious city divided with Augsbourg, the whole commerce of the southern provinces of Germany, as well as of Bohemia, Hungary, and many parts of Poland. The commodities of Italy and of the East were transmitted by them to the Hanse towns, who supplied with those articles all the countries surrounding the Baltic. The population of the free, imperial cities bore a proportion to their trade and wealth. Nuremberg, Aix la Chapelle, Strasburg, Lubeck, and many others, possessed prodigious power and resources<sup>68</sup>.

Hanseatic  
league.Its com-  
merce.

"The Hanseatic League," so renowned in history, was principally composed of cities situated in Germany; though it extended to Poland, France, the Netherlands, and almost all the southern kingdoms of Europe, at an early period of its existence. We cannot contemplate its progress, influence, and exertions, without admiration. Before the thirteenth century, these enterprising merchants had established warehouses at London, and at Bruges: in 1274, they fixed similar establishments at Novogrod in Muscovy; and four

<sup>66</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 528, 529.<sup>67</sup> Æneas Sylv. de Mor. German. cited by Schmidt, vol. v. p. 510.<sup>68</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 513.

years later, at Bergen, in Norway<sup>69</sup>. The kings of Denmark could not offend, nor insult them with impunity. Waldemar the Third was driven by their forces, from his capital, in 1368; and in 1428, their fleet, consisting of two hundred and fifty vessels, having on board twelve thousand soldiers, again attacked Copenhagen, and ultimately compelled Eric the Tenth to accept the terms of peace which they dictated. Lubeck was the metropolis or head of the confederacy, to which Cologne, Brunswic, and Dantzic were associated; each of those places having under them, a number of subordinate cities. They held triennial assemblies at Lubeck, in which they regulated not only their commercial concerns; but, concluded treaties with the greatest monarchs and states of Europe<sup>70</sup>. The transfer of trade to Portugal, early in the sixteenth century, gave the first shock to the Hanseatic league; and before the middle of that period, the English penetrated, not only into the Baltic, but round the North Cape, to Archangel. The Dutch succeeded them, and commerce found new channels. Yet, in 1574, the German cities of the Hanse, still continued to carry on a great, though a diminishing trade, and to enjoy high political consideration.

C H A P.  
XIV.1574  
Power.

Decline.

Germany, even before the discovery of printing, and the revival of letters, abounded in universities; but, learning was confined to monastic controversies, or to the philosophy of Aristotle<sup>71</sup>. In the sixteenth century, the Reformation produced a spirit of enquiry, favourable to the activity and exertions of the human mind: yet, it was long directed almost exclusively to polemical subjects, which powerfully affected and interested all classes of people. That the Reformation, introduced by Luther, was eventually beneficial to mankind, and productive of the happiest change, even among its enemies and opponents, it is impossible to deny. But, these effects.

Learning of  
the Germans.Effect of the  
Reformation.

<sup>69</sup> Heifs, vol. ii. p. 391—393. Schmidt, vol. v. p. 512, 513.

<sup>70</sup> Heifs, vol. ii. p. 394—397. Schmidt, *ibid.* p. 514.

<sup>71</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 322.

were



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were not immediate; and the bold innovations of Luther, who tore the veil from before the Romish sanctuary, encouraged others to trample on all ecclesiastical authority, or to substitute visionary forms of theocracy, in the place of subordination to their rulers. Though that celebrated reformer constantly exhorted to obedience and submission to civil magistrates, princes, and sovereigns; yet, Muncer, in 1525, and some years later, John of Leyden, at the head of the Anabaptists, exhibited the most awful scenes of savage fanaticism, which have been ever acted on the theatre of the world<sup>72</sup>.

Insurrections  
of the pea-  
sants.

The recital of the insurrection of the German peasants, under Muncer, and their other leaders, excites horror, when we reflect on the multitudes who perished, victims to their misguided enthusiasm. In many places, the soldiers refused to give quarter, even to those who laid down their arms; and all were put, indiscriminately, to the sword. The bishop of Wurtzburg, after resistance had totally ceased, rode through his territories, accompanied by executioners, and beheaded several hundred peasants. The archbishop of Treves killed many of them with his own hand, and encouraged his soldiers to do the same, though the insurgents implored mercy<sup>73</sup>. The emperor Ferdinand the First, in a paper, drawn up by himself, and annexed to his last will, on the 10th of August, 1555, expressly asserts, that “in the insurrection of Muncer, there perished one hundred and twelve thousand peasants, in the single province of the empire, where his troops were employed.” Even, from so high and incontestable an authority, we can scarcely credit the fact<sup>74</sup>. The atrocities, committed at Munster, in 1534, and 1535, by John of Leyden, and Knipperdolling, are well known. All these fanatics, while they decried Luther, yet availed themselves of his maxims; which they perverted, to justify their acts of violence against the catholic church,

Extermina-  
tion of them.

<sup>72</sup> Schmidt, vol. vii. p. 491—510, and p. 276—278. Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 133. *Annales de l'Empire*, p. 404, 405.

<sup>73</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 369, 370.

<sup>74</sup> Schmidt, vol. viii. p. 267, 268.

and its ministers<sup>75</sup>. In such a state of society and of the human mind, learning, the fine arts, and sound philosophy, could not be expected to strike deep root, or to extend widely their influence. Religious antipathy alienated men from each other, and long impeded the progress of true science, throughout the empire. The German language itself, harsh and uncultivated, was little favourable to productions of genius. Neither history nor poetry had advanced beyond mediocrity; but, Albert Durer, and Holbein, carried the art of painting to great perfection.

CHAP.  
XIV.

1574.  
Letters.

The invention of printing, which has so widely diffused knowledge, originated in Germany; but the taste and selection to guide its use, were long wanting. The first work, printed by the Germans, in 1457, was an edition of the Psalms; and for many years, subsequent to that period, no books, except bibles, and treatises on civil law, or theology, were published in the empire. The Italians acted in a different manner. That elegant people, charmed with the great models of antiquity, began instantly to print the classics; and Cicero's letters were the first work given to the world. Nothing can more forcibly characterize the genius of the two nations, than this difference of conduct<sup>76</sup>. Venice furnished all the northern kingdoms of Europe with paper, till towards the end of the fifteenth century. It was not till the year 1470, that two Spaniards, from the province of Galicia, first constructed paper mills, in Germany; but, they soon became more numerous<sup>77</sup>.

Art of printing.

The barbarous jurisprudence of the feudal times, the appeals to the interposition of Heaven, and judicial combats for the decision of causes; all these institutions had disappeared before the middle of the sixteenth century. The study of the civil and canon law, indispensable in a constitution so intricate and complicated as the Germanic body, began to conduct its followers to power, wealth, and

Jurisprudence.

Study of the law, becomes honorable.

<sup>75</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 151—153. *Annales de l'Empire*, p. 422.

<sup>76</sup> Schmidt, vol. v. p. 521.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.* p. 522.



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consideration. As early as 1450, we find the great lawyers aspiring to equality with the nobles, receiving knighthood, and possessing considerable landed property in the empire. Gaspard Schlick, son of a citizen of Egra in Bohemia, and chancellor to Frederic the Third, in 1440, was raised to eminent civil dignities, and is one of the first instances recorded of that nature<sup>78</sup>.

## Conclusion.

Such was the state and situation of Germany, about the year 1574; a country, which soon afterwards began to assume a principal rank in the great system of Europe; and which, early in the following century, was the theatre of the longest, most obstinate, and general war, that has taken place in modern times; that, commonly denominated the war of thirty years, terminated by the treaties of Westphalia, in 1648.

<sup>78</sup> Schmidt, vol. vi. p. 48—50.

## C H A P. XV.

## D E N M A R K.

*Review of the Danish history, from the reign of Margaret of Walde-  
mar, to the accession of Christian the Second.—State of the three  
northern kingdoms, at the beginning of the sixteenth century.—Limited  
authority of the sovereign.—Revenues.—Forces.—Character, and en-  
terprizes of Christian the Second.—Conquest of Sweden.—Massacre  
of Stockholm.—Revolt of Gustavus Vasa.—Deposition of Christian.—  
Reign of Frederic the First.—Invasion, and imprisonment of Christian  
the Second.—Interregnum.—Election of Christian the Third.—Esa-  
blishment of the reformed religion.—Reign of Christian the Third.—  
Accession of Frederic the Second.—War with Sweden.—State of Den-  
mark in 1574.—Territories.—Commerce of the Hanseatic league.—  
Reception of the reformed religion.—Colonization of Greenland.—  
Naval, and military forces.—Introduction, and progress of letters.—  
Tycho Brabé.*

**T**HE early ages of the Danish history are equally deficient in ma-  
terials, and destitute of information. The Runic and Scandinavian  
annals, whatever amusement their researches may afford the antiquary,  
contain little matter deserving the attention of the enlightened his-  
torian, or philosopher. During the middle ages, the three kingdoms of  
the North were governed by their separate and respective sovereigns;  
but, towards the end of the fourteenth century, the celebrated Mar-  
garet of Waldemar united in her own person the crowns of Denmark,  
Sweden, and Norway. By the famous act, denominated “the Union

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1397.

Margaret of  
Waldemar.  
Union of the  
crowns of the  
North.



C H A P. " of Calmar," she even succeeded in rendering them hereditary ; and  
 XV.  
 1397.  
 Eric the  
 Seventh.  
 after a reign, distinguished by vigour and success, she devolved her vast dominions on her nephew, Eric the Seventh. That able prince, whose masculine talents, and capacity for government, acquired her the title of " the Northern Semiramis," reigned over the Polar regions, from the lake Ladoga and the confines of Muscovy, to the Orkneys inclusively ; and from Greenland, then colonized by the Norwegians, to the frontiers of Germany '. It is even highly probable, that the union, which she effected and cemented by her policy, might have remained indissoluble, if the incapacity and violence of her immediate successor had not shaken its foundations. Eric, incapable of pursuing the track which had been pointed out to him, incurred the hatred and contempt of his subjects. Expelled from the throne, he retired to the Isle of Gothland in the Baltic, where he long exercised the profession of a pirate ; and when at length he was compelled to quit his retreat, he tamely withdrew to Rugenwalde in Pomerania, and terminated his life in obscurity and indigence '.

His expulsion.

1439—1448. Notwithstanding so rude a shock to the recent union between the northern kingdoms, Christopher of Bavaria, the successor of Eric, after some delays, was declared sovereign of the three countries ; but his reign was short, and leaving no issue, the Swedes proceeded to the election of a king. The national choice fell on Charles Canutson, a native, and already invested with the dignity of marshal of Sweden. The Danes, on the contrary, more attached to hereditary right, made a voluntary offer of their crown to Adolphus, duke of Sleswic and Holstein, who was sprung from the blood of their antient monarchs. By an instance of moderation, or of apathy, rare in the history of mankind, Adolphus declined so flattering a proposal ; but he recommended to the Danish Senate his nephew,

Elevation of the family of Oldenburg, to the throne of Denmark.

<sup>1</sup> Mallet, *Histoire de Dannemarc*, vol. iv. p. 291—318. *L'Art de Verif.* vol. ii. p. 93. Vertot, *Hist. des Revolutions de Suede*, p. 31—33.

<sup>2</sup> Mallet, vol. iv. p. 318—322, and p. 416—426.

Christian,

Christian, count of Oldenburg, as worthy of the sceptre which he himself had refused. That prince was, in consequence, adopted by the States of Denmark, and their example was speedily followed by those of Norway: but the Swedes, tenacious of their choice, and alienated by the violence or partiality of the two preceding kings, adhered to their determination; and refused any longer to submit to the regulations enacted at Calmar, which had solemnly declared the indissoluble union of the three crowns<sup>1</sup>.

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1439—1448.

It is at this period, with the accession of Christian, that we may date the final separation of Sweden from the two other kingdoms; every subsequent effort on the part of the latter, to reunite them, having been only attended with temporary and incomplete success. It is likewise memorable, as the æra, from which Denmark begins to assume a share in the wars, negotiations, and affairs of Europe\*. Christian the First was a virtuous and able prince, founder of the present reigning house of Oldenburg: he was succeeded by his son, John the Second; and their united reigns include a space of more than sixty years. But, the attention of posterity has been almost entirely occupied by that of Christian the Second, whose character, crimes, and misfortunes, have powerfully attracted consideration. Instead of recording the events, or commemorating the transactions of two sovereigns, whose political conduct, or military expeditions, can excite, at this distance of time, only a feeble interest; it may be more curious, as well as more informing, to endeavour to convey even an inadequate idea of the state of the northern kingdoms, previous to the accession of Christian the Second.

1448—1513.  
Christian the  
First.

State of the  
northern  
kingdoms, at  
this period.

The form of government, immemorially received and adopted by the Scandinavian nations, was monarchy; but, by this term, we must understand the constitution in its most contracted sense. Not only their kings were controuled by the Senate, or the States, in every

Limited  
monarchy.

<sup>1</sup> Puffendorf's Hist. of Sweden, p. 108—112. Vertot, p. 32—40.

\* Mallet, vol. v. p. 77—80.



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1448—1513.

Great power  
and privi-  
leges of the  
nobles.

act of power: they were likewise elective; though the choice was always confined to the reigning family, and followed the right of blood. Even the prerogatives, usually exercised by the most limited sovereigns, were denied to the Danish princes: far from having the right to impose a tax, however small, without the consent and approbation of the States; they could not declare war, form any important enterprize, or confer the government of a fortress, unless the national delegates had been previously consulted<sup>5</sup>. If the royal authority was thus rigorously fettered, the power of the nobility was proportionably relaxed and indefinite. They possessed privileges the most incompatible with order, general freedom, and a due submission to the laws; while the inferior classes of the people, destitute of protection, were exposed to every violence and outrage. In the capitulation, or grant of franchises, tendered to Christian the First, by the Danes, on his election, in 1448, every possible limit was imposed, which distrust, or jealousy, could dictate; and still severer restraints were affixed by the Norwegians, when they raised him to the throne, soon afterwards<sup>6</sup>. John the Second, in 1483, granted to the Swedish nobles the right of life and death over their vassals, and rendered them virtually sovereigns on their own estates<sup>7</sup>. The degree of anarchy, as well as oppression, which immunities so extensive and uncontrouled, must of necessity produce, may be easily imagined.

Revenues.

The revenues of the Danish crown were not less scanty, than its authority was limited. In 1453, Christian the First informed the Senate, that the royal domains had been almost entirely alienated by the profusion of his predecessors; and that the remaining receipts were inadequate to the necessary expences of government<sup>8</sup>. Towards the conclusion of the same century, John the Second, during the short period of time, in which he occupied the throne of Sweden, found the revenues so diminished by the rapacity of the nobles and

<sup>5</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 18—20.<sup>6</sup> Ibid. p. 21—31, and p. 95—103.<sup>7</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 196—201.<sup>8</sup> Ibid. p. 61, 62.

clergy, as to be unequal to the payments with which they were loaded. He attempted to remedy the evil, by resuming some of the grants previously made, or extorted; but, it may be naturally conceived, that such a measure must have been highly unpopular and dangerous. The event speedily manifested its tendency to be such; and it was the immediate cause of his expulsion from Sweden? CHAP.  
XV.  
1448-1513.

The scarcity of specie in all the northern countries, the inevitable result of the poverty of the people, tended to weaken the royal power, and to incapacitate the sovereign for exertions of magnitude. In order to obtain money, scarcely any expedients seem to have been regarded as too degrading, or as unbecoming the majesty of the throne. The crown lands; the dominions, provinces, and islands; the spiritual welfare of the people; all these were exposed to sale, or mortgaged, in order to obtain a precarious, and immediate pecuniary supply. When Fregeno, the papal legate, entered the territories of Denmark, in 1461, in order to tax the credulity and superstition of the inhabitants, by dispensing indulgences; Christian the First did not scruple to exact from him eight thousand marks, previous to the exercise of his functions; and to stipulate for a considerable portion of the plunder, to be collected from the people<sup>9</sup>. Gold and silver Scarcity of  
current  
specie. Trade. were so rare, that even in the greatest commercial transactions, they were little used, or known<sup>10</sup>. The Hanse towns, and particularly the city of Lubeck, engrossed the whole trade of the Baltic, Norway, and Iceland; to which countries they carried salt, wine, and cloth. In return, they received fish, furs, and timber; but money was almost excluded from this intercourse<sup>11</sup>.

The most curious and extraordinary proof of the poverty of the Danish kings, occurs under Christian the First. That prince having stipulated to pay the sum of sixty thousand florins<sup>12</sup> to James the Third, king of Poverty of  
the crown.

<sup>9</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 259, 260.

<sup>10</sup> Ibid. p. 108, 109.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 198.

<sup>12</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 186, 187, and p. 330.

<sup>13</sup> About five thousand pounds sterling.

Scotland,



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1448—1513.

Scotland, as a portion with his daughter, Margaret, in marriage; was necessitated to mortgage the Orkney islands to his son-in-law, as a security for the money, which was not to be found in the royal coffers. But, it having been likewise agreed, that ten thousand florins were to be deposited, previous to the departure of the new queen from Copenhagen, the Scottish commissioners insisted on the immediate execution of the article. It was discovered to be impossible to raise more than a fifth part of so inconsiderable a sum; and Christian was again reduced to the humiliating alternative of mortgaging the Shetland islands to James the Third, till he should discharge the remaining eight thousand florins. The transaction took place in 1468; and it is no less true than incredible, that neither the Orkneys nor Shetland, though frequently reclaimed, were ever redeemed. They have remained unalterably annexed to the Scottish crown<sup>23</sup>.

Military  
forces.

Navy:

With revenues and resources so inadequate, it may be naturally inferred, that the Danish kings were unable to maintain any considerable naval or military force. Yet, in this respect, they appear to have made greater exertions, than might have been expected. John the Second, when he marched into Sweden, in order to obtain the crown of that kingdom, in 1497, besides his native troops, had formed a body of six thousand German mercenaries, who were denominated "the Saxon Guard." They were commanded by a gentleman of Cologne; and their appointments amounted to no less a sum than fifteen thousand florins a month<sup>24</sup>. The same prince, towards the conclusion of his reign, in 1510, equipped a squadron of thirty vessels, with which he blocked up for some time, the entrance of the river of Lubeck<sup>25</sup>. But, it must be remembered, that these efforts were rare, short, and ruinous. The maintenance of a disciplined and regular army, however small, would soon have exhausted the royal revenue; and no such establishment was ever attempted.

<sup>23</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 133—138.

<sup>24</sup> About fourteen hundred pounds sterling. Mallet, vol. v. p. 240.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 331, 332.

Such were the limits imposed on the power of the crown, and such the forms of the constitution, at the accession of Christian the Second. C H A P.  
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 He had already nearly attained his thirty-third year, when the death 1513.  
Accession of  
Christian the  
Second. of his father, John the Second, gave a free scope to the exercise of his talents, and to the influence of his vices. In capacity and vigor His charac-  
ter. of mind, he was unquestionably not deficient; and the attention which he manifested towards augmenting the commerce of his people, however interested the motives from which it might arise, was highly laudable and beneficial. His jealousy of the vast immunities enjoyed by the nobility, and his determination to reduce them within more narrow bounds, cannot excite either wonder, or disapprobation. He had evinced his personal courage and ability in the field, before his father's decease; by whom, at an early period of his life, he had been successfully employed to quell an insurrection in Norway. But, these qualities and endowments, which, under the guidance of moderation and virtue, might have conduced to place him in the most elevated rank of Danish kings, were obscured by far greater defects. His despotic and tyrannical temper scorned Ferocity, and  
vices of  
Christian. the restraints of law, and impelled him continually to acts of ferocity, or cruelty. Perfidious, and destitute of regard to the most sacred engagements, he violated them without scruple, whenever his resentment, or his interests appeared to dictate such a conduct. Incapable of employing generous or gentle means to attain his ends, he substituted terror in their place; and his approach was always preceded by executioners and instruments of death. Debased in his pleasures, his society, and his gratifications, he chose the companions of his bed, and of his table, from the lowest ranks of life. Similar to Louis the Eleventh of France, in many of the leading features of his character, he seems to have been his inferior in capacity, dissimulation, and the arts of reigning<sup>16</sup>.

<sup>16</sup> Lagerbring. Hist. de Suede, p. 44, 45. Vertot, p. 53, 54. Mallet, vol. v. p. 354—359.



C H A P.  
XV.

1513—1517.  
Despotism,  
and cruelty of  
his admini-  
stration.

The commencement of his reign was marked by infractions of the constitution, of the most alarming nature. Not content with having obtained from the States, their consent to the imposition of a duty on all commodities imported into the kingdom, during two years; he speedily betrayed his resolution, at once to annihilate the privileges of the nobility, to despoil the church, and to trample on the laws. Arbitrary taxes were imposed by his sole mandate, in violation of his oath, and contrary to the usages immemorially observed in Denmark. Gibbets were erected in the principal towns, to exact submission and obedience. The ecclesiastical lands and establishments were confiscated, almost without a pretext; and a regular system was adopted for the humiliation of the Senate, and depression of the nobles, by their removal from all offices of trust, or dignity. Notwithstanding his marriage with Isabella of Austria, sister to the emperor, Charles the Fifth, a princess equally distinguished by her personal beauty, and intellectual merit, he abandoned himself to his passion for Dyveck, his mistress; who, as well as her mother, assisted at his councils, and enjoyed an unlimited influence. These acts of violence and indecorum, were followed by examples of severity and cruelty. Senators, gentlemen, and prelates, were imprisoned, and put to death, either without cause, or without trial; and the liberties of the Danish and Norwegian nobility, so highly respected under the preceding reigns, imposed no obstacle to the tyranny of Christian<sup>II</sup>.

1517, 1518.  
He invades  
Sweden.

Encouraged by the submission which he had hitherto found in Denmark, and animated with the same desire to accomplish the reduction of Sweden, which had impelled his two immediate predecessors, he prepared to assert his title to that kingdom by force of arms. Embarking on board a fleet of near one hundred and twenty sail, he appeared off Stockholm; but, his troops were repulsed under the walls of the capital, and he himself was obliged to retreat to his

<sup>II</sup> Puffendorf, p. 158—160. Mallet, vol. v. p. 365—372, and p. 377—384.

ships. In this situation, he demanded a conference with the Swedish commander, and even offered to repair in person to Stockholm for the purpose, if hostages were given for his safety. But, no sooner had he obtained fix of the principal nobility, than, forgetful of his honor and his recent engagements, he immediately set sail for Copenhagen, with the captives; who were distributed in various castles, and guarded with extreme precaution. Among the number, was the celebrated Gustavus Vasa, then in early youth, and destined to avenge his own wrongs, and the misfortunes of his country, at a future period. He was committed to the custody of Eric Banner, a Danish nobleman, who detained him in honorable confinement, at Calloe, in Jutland<sup>18</sup>.

C H A P.  
XV.  
1517, 1518.

Returns to  
Copenhagen.

Exasperated, rather than humbled, by the ill success of his first attempt, Christian made the greatest exertions to repair his misfortune. Having assembled an army and a fleet, he sent the former, to penetrate through the interior provinces, to Stockholm, while he waited the return of summer, to follow in person, with a naval force. On this occasion, Francis the First, in compliance with the treaty which bound him to the Danish king, detached to his assistance, a body of two thousand infantry; and the French, for the first time, appeared as auxiliaries in the quarrels of the north<sup>19</sup>. The arms of Christian were attended with complete success: the administrator of Sweden, mortally wounded, left the kingdom defenceless, while the enemy advanced rapidly to the capital; and though the valor of Christina, his widow, protracted the destiny of Stockholm, and long maintained it against the utmost disparity of numbers and strength, she was, at length, reluctantly compelled by the inhabitants to capitulate. Yet, in this extremity, they exacted from the Danish prince the solemn confirmation of all their privileges; and Christian, anxious, at any price, to achieve the object of his expedition, not only promised a complete amnesty and oblivion of every past offence; but, consented

1519, 1520.  
Second in-  
vasion of  
Sweden.

Surrender of  
Stockholm.

<sup>18</sup> Vertot, p. 76—80. Mallet, vol. v. p. 393—402. Puffendorf, p. 160—163.

<sup>19</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 405—410. Vertot, p. 98.



C H A P.  
XV.

1519, 1520.

1520.  
Violence of  
Christian's  
measures.

Massacre of  
Stockholm.

to receive the Swedish crown with the same severe limitations and restraints on the exercise of its functions, which had always been annexed to it, under his predecessors. On these conditions, he was admitted into the city, acknowledged as the legitimate sovereign, and received the submissions of his new subjects<sup>20</sup>.

But, the Swedes were not long in discovering, that no engagements, however sacred, can influence, or restrain, where virtue and humanity are extinct. Scarcely had Christian taken possession of the capital, than he violated his recent oaths; demanded the crown, not as conferred by the free election of the States, but as his hereditary and incontestible right; and adding insult to injury, he declared, at his coronation, that he owed to his own arms, and not to the choice or inclination of the people, the kingdom which he had acquired. Conscious, at the same time, of the difficulty of retaining in subjection a martial and high-spirited nobility; apprehensive that his departure from Stockholm would be the signal of a general revolt; and impelled by the ferocity of his disposition, which delighted in blood; he conceived the atrocious design of putting indiscriminately to death all such among the higher ranks, as either had opposed, or might in future impede his arbitrary measures. He was confirmed in this resolution, by the members of his council; men selected from the vilest classes of society; and Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, either gained by the king's promises, or terrified by his menaces, consented to act a distinguished part in the massacre of his own countrymen. Under pretences too absurd or senseless, to impose even on the credulity of the most ignorant and prejudiced, Christian, after having caused the gates of the city to be shut, seized, and immediately delivered to the executioners, the leading members of the Senate. Two bishops, the principal nobles, and the magistrates of Stockholm, habited in the robes of their office, were conducted, under a guard, from the citadel, and immediately beheaded. By a refinement in barbarity, suited to his savage temper, all spiritual

<sup>20</sup> Puffendorf, p. 162—166. Vertot, p. 89—106.

aid or consolation was denied them; and even some of the spectators, who had ventured to express their horror and indignation, were involved in the carnage. Ninety-four persons, of whom the far greater number were of the most elevated rank, fell victims to the inhuman orders of Christian; and Eric Vasa, father to Gustavus, who soon afterwards ascended the throne, was included in the list. Their bodies, denied even the rites of sepulture, were long exposed to the view of the inhabitants of Stockholm; but, the apprehension that such a spectacle, whatever terror or consternation it had at first impressed, might irritate the people, and produce some act of desperation, induced the king to order them to be reduced to ashes. The reigns of Nero, or Caracalla, may furnish instances of equal enormity; but, few similar scenes of deliberate cruelty have been exhibited in the modern history of Europe; and the abhorrence, excited in the present instance, is not diminished by any circumstance, which can palliate its atrocity. The guilt of rebellion could not be ascribed to the Swedes, who had voluntarily elevated Christian to the throne, and who had an equal claim to protection with his other subjects; and, steeled as that prince appears to have been, throughout his whole reign, to the emotions of penitence or remorse, he was so sensible of the flagitious nature of the massacre, that he endeavoured to throw the odium on his counsellors and advisers. Not satisfied with the blood which he had shed in the capital, his return to Denmark, through the provinces, was marked by new proofs of implacable cruelty; and above six hundred persons, of every rank and order, perished by his immediate command<sup>21</sup>.

Happily for mankind, crimes so vast and multiplied did not long remain unpunished. Previous to the reception of Christian into Stockholm, Gustavus Vasa had escaped from his confinement in Jutland; and having been admitted into Lubeck, the inhabitants of that city, irritated at the restraints which the king of Denmark had imposed on

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1520.

Circum-  
stances at-  
tending it.

Return of  
Christian to  
Denmark.

1521.

<sup>21</sup> Vertot, p. 124—133. Puffendorf, p. 166—170. Mallet, vol. v. p. 433—457. Lagerbring, p. 45—47. Champigny, Hist. Abregé de Suede, p. 1—4.

their



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XV.

1521.  
Appearance  
of Gustavus  
Vasa.

His revolt.

1522.  
Insurrection  
of the Danes.

their commerce, not only protected, but facilitated the return of Gustavus to his native country. Nature had endowed him with all the qualities, eminently calculated for struggling with adversity, and surmounting difficulties. Eloquent, affable, intrepid, liberal, he obtained an almost unbounded ascendant over his followers; and he employed it to emancipate them from despotism. Pursued by the hatred and vengeance of Christian, who dreaded his courage and ability, he was repeatedly on the point of being seized and put to death; nor did he elude the search made for him, except by retiring to the sequestered province of Dalecarlia, assuming the disguise of a peasant, and concealing himself in the mines. The oppression of his country, aggravated by the execution of his father, and the proscription of his family, stimulated him to resistance, while it animated his exertions. He succeeded in gaining adherents; and after vanquishing obstacles, insuperable to ordinary men, he ventured openly to raise the standard of revolt, and to attack the Danish governors. Repeatedly worsted, he rose superior to defeat, found resources in his own courage, and ultimately attained the highest object of human ambition; that of not only liberating Sweden from oppression, but, of receiving from the gratitude of his countrymen, the crown of which he had deprived a tyrant<sup>22</sup>.

While Gustavus was occupied in effecting so glorious and salutary a revolution, Christian completed the measure of his crimes and vices. Conducting himself by the same sanguinary maxims, with which he had commenced his reign, he proceeded to annihilate the functions of the Danish Senate, and to invade the most important privileges of the nobility. Destitute of attachment either to the catholic or protestant faith, his rapacity and continual necessities prompted him to seize on the revenues of the clergy, who might, otherwise, have sustained him against the other orders of the State. Selecting his ministers from the meanest ranks,

<sup>22</sup> Vertot, p. 106—114. Puffendorf, p. 170—173. Mallet, vol. v. p. 471—496.

and vesting them with unlimited power; he abandoned them, without scruple or regret, to the most ignominious punishments, whenever his policy, or his interests, demanded such a sacrifice. The first symptoms of rebellion and defection manifested themselves in Jutland; where the nobility and bishops having assembled, framed a manifesto, in which they declared Christian to have forfeited his right to their obedience, and explained their reasons for proceeding to his deposition. They, at the same time, offered the crown to his uncle, Frederic, duke of Holstein, and sent a deputation to acquaint him with their choice <sup>23</sup>.

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1522.  
Deposition of  
Christian.

Whatever detestation the conduct of Christian the Second justly excites, and however unpitied was his fate, the truth of history demands that he should not be calumniated, or oppressed by unmerited censure. It is not one of the least singular instances of the caprice, or fatality which frequently seems to regulate the destiny of men, that this prince, who with impunity had violated every principle of humanity in his treatment of the Swedes, was deprived of his crown in Denmark, for an act, which, however it might infringe on the rights of the nobility, was not only justifiable, but even highly meritorious. Throughout his whole reign, he had systematically endeavoured to emancipate the inferior classes of the people, and more especially the peasants, from the feudal tyranny of the lords; and he had even issued an edict, prohibiting the sale of vassals, as equally subversive of the principles of morality, justice, and religion <sup>24</sup>. Regulations, of such a nature, which struck at the root of the aristocratic influence and authority, were, in themselves, unpopular; but, the immediate cause of the revolt, which precipitated him from the throne, was a measure that, abstractedly considered, ought to have secured him universal esteem, and conciliated the suffrages of all mankind.

1523.  
Reflexions on  
that event.

Causes of it.

The peninsula of Jutland, the "Chersonesus Cimbrica" of antiquity, which forms a part of the Danish dominions, is situated

Feudal ty-  
ranny, and  
abuses of the  
age.

<sup>23</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 496—528. Vertot, tome ii. p. 16, 17.

<sup>24</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 514.

between



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1523.

The insur-  
gents invite  
Frederic,  
duke of Hol-  
stein.

between the Baltic, and the German Ocean, almost surrounded by those two seas. In consequence of a practice, sanctioned by prescription, and which, to the dishonor of human nature, has not been confined to any one European country; the bishops and nobility of Jutland, were accustomed to derive a considerable annual revenue from the shipwrecks, frequent on the coast. It can hardly be credited, that this barbarous usage was carried to such a pitch of indecency and inhumanity, that, bishops, unrestrained by the sanctity of their sacerdotal office, sent armed bodies of men, frequently to the number of three hundred, who plundered the vessels driven on shore; and deterred, by menaces or violence, the miserable survivors, from saving any part of their property<sup>25</sup>. Against so detestable a privilege, if such it could be justly termed, Christian published a severe prohibition; the tenor and nature of which might have done honor to the most humane and enlightened sovereign. But, the insurrection which neither his tyranny, nor cruelty, had excited, was instantly produced by his attempt to check a custom, from which a powerful and numerous class of his subjects derived advantage; and though he endeavoured to conciliate their affections, and promised every reparation for the injuries which they might have received, these concessions were made too late. The insurgents persisted in their resolution, and prepared to maintain it by arms. Frederic, duke of Holstein, whom they had invited to accept the crown of Denmark, did not hesitate to signify his gratitude, and his readiness to meet their wishes; while Christian, doubtful of the fidelity of those who were still apparently attached to him, retreated to Copenhagen. In that capital, he might still have made a long resistance. The fertile province of Scania was devoted to him; and Norway remained unshaken in its adherence. But, equally destitute of fortitude in adversity, as he had been devoid of moderation and justice in the career of his fortune; pursued by the consciousness of his past enormities, and distrustful of his own

<sup>25</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 518—523.

subjects;

subjects; he did not venture to abide the decision of war, or to risk his personal safety by a longer stay in Denmark. Having hastily equipped a squadron of ships, and embarked on board of them his family, the regalia of the crown, and his most precious effects, he set sail. Previous to his departure, he committed the city and citadel of Copenhagen to the care of two officers, in whose devotion he confided; and promised them to return in a short time, with ample succours of every kind. These assurances could not, however, prevent the universal defection which followed his flight; and he himself, assailed by storms, scarcely escaped shipwreck, on the coast of Norway. Landing, at length, in Holland, he hastened to Antwerp, there to implore the protection and assistance of his brother-in-law, Charles the Fifth: but, he found that prince slow in avenging his cause; and it was long before Christian could assemble a force equal to attempting the reduction of his dominions<sup>26</sup>.

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1523.  
Flight of  
Christian.

He was the last sovereign who united in his person the three kingdoms of the North. Gustavus Vasa, animated with new courage by the intelligence of his flight from Denmark, aided by the fleet of Lubbeck, and impelled by the prospect of a crown as the just reward of his services; succeeded in expelling the Danish garrisons. Calmar fell into his hands, and the surrender of Stockholm completed his reduction of Sweden. Not less vigilant in peace, than he had evinced himself intrepid in the field; his active and penetrating genius enabled him to foresee, and to provide against those internal machinations, or external attacks, to which every new establishment is peculiarly exposed. Conscious that Christian the Second, if he ever should re-ascend the throne of Denmark, would not limit his pretensions to the possession of that crown alone; Gustavus united himself with Frederic against their common enemy, and redoubled his precautions to im-

Final separation of the northern crowns.

Frederic the First.

<sup>26</sup> Vertot, tome ii. p. 17, 18. Mallet, vol. v. p. 523—551; L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 96, 97.



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XV.

1524—1530.  
Reign of that  
prince.

pede the entrance of the exiled king into any of the provinces, which had constituted his antient dominions<sup>27</sup>.

While Gustavus thus confirmed himself in Sweden, Frederic the First, not without difficulty, rendered himself master of Zealand. Copenhagen, the capital of that island, and of the kingdom, ventured even to sustain a siege; and did not capitulate, until all hopes of support or assistance from Christian, were extinct. The Norwegians, too feeble to assert their right of electing a sovereign independant of Denmark, and accustomed to receive implicitly the prince, whom their more wealthy, or more powerful neighbours raised to the throne, acquiesced in the choice of the duke of Holstein; and notwithstanding some efforts in favour of the deposed monarch, which took place in the province of Scania, universal tranquillity was speedily restored<sup>28</sup>. Frederic, insucceeding to the dignity and title of his predecessor, by no means enjoyed the same extensive authority. The clergy and nobility, by whom Christian the Second was expelled, conferred the sceptre on his successor, under very severe limitations; and previously exacted the entire restoration of all those dangerous privileges, which the vigor, or despotism of the late reign, had extinguished. A prince of more courage, would, perhaps, have resisted, or resumed a concession, equally injurious to the royal prerogatives, and to the freedom of the people: but Frederic, already declining in years, pacific in his temper, and satisfied with the possession of a crown, to which his birth had given him no pretension; yielded with facility to the demands of the Danish nobles<sup>29</sup>. Continually alarmed with the apprehension of an invasion on the part of his nephew, who ceased not to solicit the aid of the house of Austria, for his re-establishment; holding his Danish and Norwegian kingdoms by the right of election only; and unable to obtain from his new subjects, the acknowledgment of his eldest son as his successor; he scarcely seemed to regard himself as more

His pacific  
character,  
and govern-  
ment.

<sup>27</sup> Lagerbring, p. 48—50. Puffendorf, . 173—178. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 27—38.

<sup>28</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 14—21.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid. p. 8—14.

than

than a nominal sovereign, and usually held his court and residence in his patrimonial provinces of Holstein<sup>30</sup>.

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The storm, which he had so long dreaded, prepared, at length, to burst: Christian, after near nine years of exile and disgrace, having succeeded in raising a military force, embarked from the ports of Holland; favoured by Mary, queen of Hungary, his sister-in-law, governess of the Low Countries. His vessels were scattered by a tempest, before he entered the Baltic; but, having gained the coast of Norway, he landed at Opslo, and instantly summoned the clergy, as well as the nobility and principal magistrates, to return to their allegiance. That kingdom, which had rather followed, than participated in the revolt of Denmark, obeyed with alacrity; and the southern provinces were reduced to the obedience of their antient master, without an effort. If Christian had profited of his advantages, and availed himself of the advanced season of the year, which rendered it almost impracticable to send supplies of any kind by sea, from Copenhagen; he might have unquestionably maintained himself against all the forces of Frederic, and perhaps opened a way to his eventual restoration. But, an ill-timed and injudicious relaxation in his operations, proved destructive to his hopes of success. Over-reached and deceived by the governor of Aggerhus; surrounded by the combined forces of Gustavus Vasa, and of his rival; abandoned by the Norwegians; he had no other alternative remaining, than to surrender himself to the Danish commissioners, on the faith of an equivocal and doubtful treaty, disowned by Frederic. That prince did not even deign to admit the fallen monarch to his presence, or to listen to his remonstrances. Christian was conducted to the castle of Sonderburg, in the island of Alsén, on the coast of Sleswic; confined in a chamber, the door of which was closed up; and allowed no companion except a dwarf, to alleviate the horrors of solitude and captivity<sup>31</sup>. His reign and misfortunes offer an ample field for reflexion; nor can we help admiring

1531.  
Invasion of  
Norway, by  
Christian the  
Second.

Imprison-  
ment of  
Christian.

<sup>30</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 67—69, and p. 124.

<sup>31</sup> Puffendorf, p. 199, 200. Vertot, vol. ii. p. 111—120. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 78—122.



C H A P.  
XV.

1531.

1533, 1534.  
Death of  
Frederic the  
First.

Interregnum.

Civil war.

Election of  
Christian the  
Third.

the singularity of his destiny, while we behold him with impunity sacrificing the Swedish nobility to his revenge; and ejected shortly afterwards from his native dominions, for attempting a reform the most humane and meritorious.

Frederic did not long survive the defeat and imprisonment of his nephew. His death was the signal and commencement of a long period of anarchy, interregnum, and civil war. The catholic faction, supported by the bishops, availed themselves of the vacancy of the throne, to recover their influence; which, without being altogether extinguished, had been diminished during the late reign, from the rapid progress of the Lutheran doctrines. They were sufficiently powerful to impede the election of Christian, eldest son of Frederic; a prince who had already attained to manhood, and who gave the fairest promises of virtue and ability. His attachment to the reformed religion served as a pretext, for at least delaying the choice of a sovereign, till the Norwegian deputies should arrive. But, the numerous and augmenting calamities of the State did not permit measures of procrastination to be pursued, without risking the very existence of the State itself. The city of Lubeck, whose power and resources were, in that age, almost inexhaustible, undertook to restore the imprisoned king, Christian the Second; and their fleet, mistress of the Baltic, occupied the passage of the Sound, while a powerful army entered Copenhagen, the inhabitants of which city opened their gates to the invaders. The island of Zealand, as well as the province of Scania, were already lost; and the few remaining dependancies of the Danish monarchy must have been speedily reduced by the rebels. In this desperate situation, the principal nobility and prelates met at a town in Jutland; and notwithstanding the reluctance of the ecclesiastical order to elect a sovereign, whose religious tenets were known to be adverse to their own, the menaces of the people, who surrounded the assembly, and loudly demanded the nomination of Christian, son to their late king, overcame all further oppo-

opposition or delay. The young prince was chosen by general acclamation, and instantly proclaimed<sup>32</sup>.

C H A P.  
XV.

1534.

It was not possible to receive a crown, under more adverse circumstances, or which demanded more ability, valor, and fortune to secure. The insurgents already prepared to carry the war into the island of Funen, which, together with Jutland, had hitherto retained their allegiance; though they could not long resist so superior a force. But, Christian the Third was destined to restore the expiring monarchy, and he possessed the qualities necessary for so great and difficult an achievement. In the perusal of this period of the Danish annals, it is impossible not to be forcibly reminded of the history of France, at the accession of Henry the Fourth. Like him, Christian found the State in the last stage of political distress, overrun by foreign enemies, and on the verge of destruction: like the king of Navarre, he was reduced to besiege his capital, and to reconquer his dominions. Similar, likewise, in the prosperous termination of all his difficulties, Christian emulated the valor, clemency, and other virtues of Henry; restored tranquillity to his people; and evinced himself their parent and legislator. Copenhagen, during the continuance of the siege, endured extremities, not exceeded by those, which the metropolis of France sustained under the duke of Mayenne; and it was protracted to a still longer period than that of Paris. Its surrender was immediately followed by the submission of the whole kingdom; and Norway, after a short irresolution, proclaimed the new monarch<sup>33</sup>.

Similarity  
between him,  
and Henry  
the Fourth,  
of France.

1534—1536.  
Siege of Co-  
penhagen.

The complete abolition of the catholic faith and worship was the first measure, embraced and executed by Christian. It was conducted with equal secrecy, vigour, and success. The bishops were all arrested, and detained in confinement, till the States, convoked to determine on their fate, and on the choice of religion, should finally regulate so important a concern. In this assembly, one of the most

Christian in-  
troduces the  
Reformation  
into Den-  
mark.

<sup>32</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 147—216. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 98.

<sup>33</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 217—302. passim, and p. 324—333. Puffendorf, p. 202.



C H A P.  
XV.

1534—1536.

Political consequences of  
that change.1537—1559.  
Reign of  
Christian.His policy  
towards  
Sweden.

memorable in the annals of Denmark, the nobility, and the deputies of the third estate, unanimously decreed the confiscation of all the ecclesiastical property; and they appropriated it to the liquidation of the public debts, the endowment of seminaries for education, and other beneficial or national uses. The Reformation, as promulgated by Luther, was rendered the predominant religion; and so universally had those doctrines already obtained among all classes of men, that not even a struggle was made, or any opposition experienced, to the change of worship. A considerable augmentation of revenue accrued to the crown, in consequence of the suppression of the monastic orders; but, a still greater alteration, not foreseen even by its authors, was the increase of the aristocratic power and influence. That class of men, no longer counterbalanced by the clergy, swallowed up the others, and equally oppressed the royal prerogative, and the franchises of the people. It was not till the middle of the seventeenth century, that the Danish kings emancipated themselves from the fetters, in which they were retained by the nobility<sup>34</sup>.

The kingdom, which Christian had rescued from anarchy and rebellion, he long continued to govern with wisdom and moderation. Naturally disposed by his character to cultivate peace, he assiduously exerted himself to anticipate, and to remove, every occasion, which might involve his subjects in hostilities. Towards Sweden, as the quarter from whence he regarded that danger as most probable or imminent, he directed his vigilant and unremitted attention. Gustavus Vasa, whose military skill, and various talents, had raised him to the throne, was not destitute of ambition to extend the limits of his dominions; and the contiguity of the frontier provinces of the two monarchies afforded the utmost facility, as well as continual occasions of dispute. The king of Sweden had even indicated a disposition to renew the ancient quarrels, which time had rather suspended, than extinguished; but the candor and sincerity of Christian disarmed, or

<sup>34</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 305—323.

restrained him; and while he continued to reign, no rupture ever took place<sup>33</sup>. The accession of Frederic the Second, eldest son of Christian, to the throne of Denmark; and that of Eric the Fourteenth, who, nearly at the same period, succeeded to Gustavus, opened a new scene in the north of Europe. Hostilities, originating from causes the most frivolous, long involved the two countries in calamities, which were heightened by the antipathy of their respective kings. All the barbarous excesses, ever committed by Attila, or Genferic, were renewed in the frozen regions that surround the Pole; and the two nations seemed to vie in acts of cruelty and ferocity. The Baltic was covered with fleets, which alternately vanquished, and insulted each others coasts. Norway, and Scania, were ravaged by the Swedes; while the Danes repeatedly penetrated into the interior provinces of the enemy, approached within sixty miles of Stockholm, and more than once seemed to have nearly achieved the conquest of the kingdom itself. Even the deposition and imprisonment of Eric, whose frantic excesses had become insupportable to his own subjects, could not extinguish, though it suspended for a few months, the rage of hostilities. John the Third, his brother, was no sooner confirmed in his new dignity, than he instantly prepared to make fresh exertions, notwithstanding the exhausted state of his finances, and the depopulation of his dominions. But, the interposition of the emperor, Maximilian the Second, and of the court of France, at length compelled the two princes to desist; and tranquillity was restored by the peace of Stettin. After near eight years of a war, which had thinned the human species, and reduced many parts of Sweden and Norway to a desert, scarcely a castle or a village had been gained by either side; and even these were mutually restored. Frederic availed himself of the repose which succeeded, to obliterate the past misfortunes; and Denmark, during a considerable period, was

CHAP.  
XV.1559—1574.  
Reign of  
Frederic the  
Second.War with  
Sweden.Mutual ra-  
vages.Peace of  
Stettin.<sup>33</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 98, 99. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 410—415.



CHAP.  
XV.1574.  
State of Den-  
mark.

Territories.

undisturbed by any internal commotion, or external calamity. Such was its state, in 1574<sup>36</sup>.

In order to form an accurate or just idea of the political weight and importance of the Danish crown and nation, about the middle of the sixteenth century, it is indispensable to trace the limits of the monarchy, as it then existed. Frederic the Second reigned over several provinces, which are no longer enjoyed by his descendants in the present age, and occupied a much higher place in the system of the North; more especially, when we consider that the Muscovites had not yet penetrated to the shores of the Baltic, nor established themselves in Livonia, Ingria, and Finland. The three southern and most fertile provinces of Sweden; Scania, Halland, and Bleking, which nearly circumscribe the whole extent of coast between the cities of Gottemburg and Calmar, belonged to Denmark; and consequently rendered her completely mistress of the important passage of the Sound, through which the whole trade of the Polar countries must necessarily pass. To these possessions, was added the island of Gothland, valuable in itself; but, far more so, from its situation, near the eastern coast of Sweden, and in the direct track of navigation between Copenhagen and Stockholm. The superiority, which it conferred in time of war between the two nations, was even greater than during peace; as it enabled the Danes to impede, or to intercept the whole commerce of their enemy, while it afforded an asylum for their own fleets, in case of defeat.

Holstein and  
Sleswic.

The most fertile and productive part of Frederic's dominions, and which provinces peculiarly connected him with Germany and the southern kingdoms or states of Europe, were those of Sleswic and Holstein; the ancient patrimony of his house. They were not incorporated with the crown of Denmark, which latter might be still considered as elective; whereas the two duchies descended to him by hereditary right. But, on the other hand, as the laws of primogeniture

<sup>36</sup> Mallet, vol. vii. p. 1—129. *passim*. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 99.

were

were not then established, every head of the family was compelled to divide with the younger branches, the territories which they inherited in common. Christian the Third left two sons, besides his successor; and to them were allotted some of the richest districts of Holstein. The diminution of power and revenue were neither the only, nor the smallest evils resulting from these partitions. Disputes, jealousy, and even civil war, frequently ensued, and were almost unavoidably generated by the very nature and circumstances of the transaction itself".

C H A P.  
XV.1574.  
Partition of  
those duchies.

Denmark enjoyed only a small part of the vast commerce of the Baltic, at this period of its history. The Hanse towns, situate in Mecklenburg and Pomerania, at the head of which was Lubeck, engrossed it in all its branches, and exerted the most indefatigable vigilance in its preservation. They retained the kingdoms of the North in a degree of subjection, approaching to slavery; and resented the slightest effort on the part of the Danish monarchs, to effect their emancipation. Christian the Second, who, notwithstanding his crimes, was ever attentive to the interests of the crown and of the inferior classes of his subjects; attempted to infringe the privileges granted to Lubeck, by his predecessors, and to open channels of trade to his own people, at their expence. Soon after his accession, in 1515, he concluded a treaty with Ivan Basilowitz, Czar of Muscovy, by which it was stipulated, that a Danish company should be established at Novogrod, for the purposes of traffic; but, that powerful confederacy crushed the plans of Christian, and was highly instrumental in fomenting the revolt, which deprived him of the crown". His successors were either too weak, or too exhausted by their foreign quarrels, to break the fetters imposed on them. Towards the year 1540, the prodigious commerce of Lubeck, as well as that of Wismar, Rostock, and Stralsund, began sensibly to decline. Various

Commerce.

Power of the  
Hanseatic  
league.

Its decline.

<sup>37</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 397—402; vol. vii. p. 25, 26.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 369, 370, and p. 499—505.



CHAP.  
XV.

1574.

Articles of  
trade.

State of Ice-  
land.

Greenland.

causes contributed to produce this revolution ; and above all others, the augmenting industry, activity, and spirit of the Dutch and English, who navigated the Baltic, and no longer carried on their transactions through the medium of the Hanseatic league<sup>39</sup>. How lucrative the traffic of the northern kingdoms must have been, we may judge, by only observing, that they exclusively supplied all Europe with every production found in those climates or regions ; and that among the number, were masts, naval stores, hemp, pitch, copper, iron, wax, furs, tallow, and grain of every kind. To the list, may be added another very essential article ; the herring fishery, uncommonly abundant in the Baltic ; and the consumption of which exceeded calculation, in an age when all Europe was catholic. Under Frederic the Second, Denmark began slowly and gradually to participate in so extensive a trade, and to derive a part of the profits from which she had been previously excluded<sup>40</sup>.

In no part of Europe was the Reformation introduced, and the catholic religion suppressed, with more facility, than in the Danish dominions. Norway followed the example ; and in neither of those kingdoms was so great a change accompanied by any convulsion, or the effusion of blood<sup>41</sup>. But, the case was widely different in Iceland. That remote, and barbarous province combated for the ancient faith, with a violence and pertinacity, proportioned to its state of ignorance. During twelve years, from 1539, to 1551, the inhabitants were involved in civil war, and all its attendant evils. Christian the Third was compelled to send two ships, and five hundred soldiers, to re-establish tranquillity in the island<sup>42</sup>. Greenland was included in the dependancies of the Norwegian monarchy, and colonized from thence as early as the eleventh century<sup>43</sup>. The trade to those frozen and desolate regions, was even superintended with extraordinary

<sup>39</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 165—168.

<sup>40</sup> Ibid. p. 166.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. p. 305—323, and p. 324—333.

<sup>42</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 407—410.

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. vol. iv. p. 324.

anxiety,

anxiety, and interdicted to every European nation. Christianity was established within the Arctic circle, and an episcopal diocese existed among the snows in the vicinity of the Pole. In the year 1386, the bishop of Garde, capital of Greenland, who was a suffragan of the archiepiscopal see of Drontheim, assisted at an ecclesiastical assembly, held at Nyberg, in the isle of Funen<sup>44</sup>. Under the reign of Margaret of Waldemar, towards the close of the fourteenth century, the colony disappeared. Its destruction was attributed to the effects of the great plague which ravaged Europe about 1350, and to the consequent want of regular supplies of provisions from Norway<sup>45</sup>. Various, but ineffectual endeavours were exerted to discover the remains of this establishment, if any survived; and under the reign of Christian the Second, Valkendorf, archbishop of Drontheim, a prelate of literature and merit, sent repeated expeditions thither, for the same purpose; but without success. The settlers had all perished<sup>46</sup>. It is remarkable, that the same fate has hitherto attended the Spanish colonies near the southern pole; all the garrisons, or establishments, left in Terra del Fuogo, and on the coast of Patagonia, having been destroyed by the inclemency of those inhospitable latitudes. It would be an object of curious philosophical, and even political experiment, to ascertain how near to the poles man could exist in a state of society; and the advanced progress of navigation in the present age, could leave little apprehension of the ability to supply such a colony, with regular quantities of provisions and necessaries of every kind.

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XV.

1574.

Colonization  
of that coun-  
try.Destruction  
of the colony.

The prodigious armaments, military and naval, made and sustained for more than seven years, by Frederic the Second, during the war carried on against Eric the Fourteenth, excite astonishment, when we consider how slender were the revenues of the crown, and how impossible it was to impose any considerable taxes, either on the nobility, or on the people. In 1563, the Danish fleet consisted of

<sup>44</sup> Mallet, vol. iv. p. 325.<sup>45</sup> Idem, ibid.<sup>46</sup> Ibid. vol. v. p. 535. Note.



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XV.1574.  
Military  
forces.

twenty-seven large ships, and fourteen of an inferior size, carrying four thousand, six hundred men: it was joined by six vessels from Lubeck<sup>47</sup>. The Swedish squadrons were even, generally, superior in numbers. In the same year, Frederic, when he marched into the province of West Gothland, and laid siege to Elfsburg, had under his immediate command, an army of twenty-four thousand infantry, and four thousand cavalry<sup>48</sup>. The difficulty of finding subsistence for so large a body of men, in a country naturally unproductive, and where the peasants usually were obliged, even in peace, to mix the bark of trees with their flour, and frequently to subsist altogether upon salted herrings, may be easily conceived<sup>49</sup>. In fact, these expeditions, though ruinous to both parties in an extreme degree, were, from that very cause, proportionably short in their duration. National antipathy and resentment furnished arms; and the plunder of the miserable peasants supplied the deficiency of regular pay. Even in the more civilized and wealthy monarchies of Europe, during a great part of the sixteenth century, similar irregularities prevailed.

Letters.

The ravages and calamities, inseparable from war, were deeply felt in the suspension, or extinction of the arts, and of science, throughout Denmark. It was not till after the peace of Stettin, in 1570, that they began to exhibit any vigor, and to become objects of cultivation. Christian the First had, indeed, founded the university of Copenhagen, as early as the year 1478; but, under his successor, John the Second, it fell into total decay<sup>50</sup>. After the confiscation of the ecclesiastical property by Christian the Third, and the introduction of the reformed religion, in 1539, that prince appropriated a portion of the church lands, towards the maintenance of professors in various branches of literature, and re-established the university. He, likewise, assigned funds for its use, payable from the duties levied on all ships, passing through the Sound; endowed it with many valuable privileges; and

University of  
Copenhagen.<sup>47</sup> Mallet, vol. vii. p. 54.<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 53.<sup>49</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 477.<sup>50</sup> Ibid. p. 171—175.

ordered

ordered that the chancellor of the kingdom should always in future bear the title, and exercise the office, of protector of the university. From this period, it continued to acquire celebrity, and to become a national benefit<sup>31</sup>. Surnames began to be used under the reign of Frederic the First, about 1520. Antecedently, families were distinguished only by their armorial bearings; and every person was content to add the word "Son," to his christian name<sup>32</sup>. The attention of Christian the Second to procure for his queen, Isabella of Austria, some of the delicacies, or productions, to which she had been accustomed in the Netherlands, was highly advantageous to Denmark. Immediately after the celebration of the nuptials, and on her arrival at Copenhagen, the king caused a colony of Flemings to be transported thither, and he settled them in the little island of Amak, contiguous to the capital. Those industrious peasants first introduced into the countries of the North, the use of vegetables, fallads, and other roots; or, at least, augmented and ameliorated their cultivation<sup>33</sup>. Fruit trees were little known before the reign of Frederic the Second, when Oxe, high steward of the kingdom, caused several species of them to be brought into Zealand<sup>34</sup>.

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1574.

Of the state of letters in Denmark, it would be requisite to say very little, if the illustrious name of Tycho Brahè did not in some measure, render it necessary. He had already distinguished himself in 1574; but, he did not attain to his greatest celebrity, till some years later. Frederic the Second long extended to him the most princely and munificent protection, though he was induced, by the enemies of the philosopher, subsequently to withdraw his bounty. Besides the island of Huen, in the Sound, destined for his astronomical studies and experiments, the king assigned him a pension of two thousand crowns; the revenues of an episcopal see in Norway; and a canonry

Tycho  
Brahè.<sup>31</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 413, 414.<sup>32</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 367, 368.<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 124.<sup>34</sup> Ibid. vol. vii. p. 95. Note.

of



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of the cathedral of Roskeld, in Zealand". It would be difficult to find in the list of Louis the Fourteenth's gratifications to men of letters, any equal mark of liberality: in the present age, nothing comparable to it is to be met with, even in the magnificent donations of Catherine the Second; the only European sovereign who has extended any real patronage to genius and science. The late king of Prussia, Frederic the Second, knew how to admire and estimate, but, he rarely rewarded talents. Those of Tycho Brahe were, unquestionably, very eminent; though the barbarism and ignorance of the century sullied their lustre. He was still more addicted to astrology, than to astronomy; and every object that met his eye, appeared an omen to his imagination. What can we think of a philosopher, who constantly kept a lunatic chained at his feet when he sat down to table; fed him with his own hand; and listened to the ravings of his delirium, as to the prophetic language of inspiration<sup>33</sup>? But, these absurdities were those of the time in which he lived, and from which he was not exempt. His talents did not less excite the admiration of his contemporaries, or less entitle him to the respect of posterity.

<sup>33</sup> Biogr. Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 391. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 160.

<sup>34</sup> Biogr. Dictionary, vol. ii. p. 392.

## C H A P. XVI.

## S W E D E N.

*State of Sweden at the time of Gustavus Vasa's revolt.—His success.—Elevation to the throne.—Poverty of the crown.—Policy of Gustavus.—Seizure of the ecclesiastical property.—Abolition of the catholic faith and worship.—Insurrections.—Domestic misfortunes.—Crown declared hereditary.—Close of Gustavus's reign.—His death, and character.—Accession of Eric the Fourteenth.—Events of his reign.—War with Denmark.—Insanity, and excesses of Eric.—His deposition and confinement.—Reign and measures of John the Third.—Survey of Sweden in 1574.—Revenues of the crown.—Power and riches of the clergy.—Military forces.—Navy.—Commerce.—Internal navigation.—Arts and manufactures.—Ferocity of the northern nations in war.—Triumphal processions and shows.—Titles and honors.—Luxuries.*

THE Danish and Swedish history is so intimately connected, previous to the elevation of Gustavus Vasa to the throne of the latter kingdom, as to be in fact inseparable. For above fifty years subsequent to "the Union of Calmar" in 1397, the whole Scandinavian monarchy was united under one head; and after that period, though the Swedes successively elected to the office of supreme magistrate, various noblemen, one of whom bore the title of King, yet the final independance and separation of the state from its Danish masters, was by no means effected. Christian the First, and John the Second, had subjected Sweden, and had been solemnly crowned at Stockholm: Christian

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Connexion  
between the  
Swedish and  
Danish history.



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tian the Second, not satisfied with attaining to the same elevation, proceeded to exterminate the nobility, and to establish a despotic government, secured by foreign troops. The abhorrence and indignation, excited by such oppression, was extinguished by the still greater terror, which it inspired; and never did the condition of any country appear to be more desperate, or irrecoverable<sup>1</sup>.

1520—1523.  
Obstacles op-  
posed to Gus-  
tavus Vasa.

It was precisely, in this emergency, that Gustavus Vasa, recently escaped from his prison in Jutland, appeared on the Scene. Nothing can more strongly evince the firm possession which the Danes had gained of Sweden, than the difficulties and reluctance which Gustavus experienced, in his efforts to rouse his countrymen from their state of servitude. The nobility, who had survived the late massacre, were either humbled into submission, or devoted to their new sovereign. The clergy had been Christian's principal agents, instruments, and ministers, in the execution of all his projects, Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, had acted a part in the tragedy of Stockholm, and had been rewarded by the highest confidence, as well as political power. The peasants, conscious that they were the victims of every administration, and hopeless of any amelioration in their condition, long rejected the exhortations of Gustavus to assert their liberties, and to expel their tyrants. It must, likewise, be observed, that, notwithstanding all the enormities justly imputed to Christian, their effects were principally, if not exclusively confined, to the higher ranks of his subjects. His policy induced him to protect the inferior orders, with a view, by their affections, to sustain himself against the hatred, or machinations of the nobility. For this purpose, at the very period of time when he sacrificed the Swedish senators to his vengeance, he distributed among the people, through many of the provinces, a largess, of all others the most necessary and grateful to the inhabitants of a sterile country; and which consisted

State of the  
Swedish pea-  
sants.

<sup>1</sup> Puffendorf, Vertot, Mallet, passim.

<sup>2</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 476, 477.

of salt and herrings'. In fact, Gustavus, far from being able to excite a revolt in Calmar, was in danger of being delivered up to the Danes; and he was equally unsuccessful in East Gothland, and Sudermania. In despair, he retired to the province of Dalecarlia, the inhabitants of which, as he had afterwards frequent occasion to experience, were ever prompt to take up arms on the slightest pretences. Remote from the capital, and protected by their mountains and forests, they felt little indignation at the bloody scenes lately performed by Christian; and in order to induce them to renounce their allegiance, it became necessary to alarm them by assurances, that pecuniary impositions, to which they were unused, would be speedily exacted\*. So true is it, that, in all ages, despotism has found fewer impediments in disposing of the lives, than of the property of the people. Irritated by these apprehensions, they joined the standard of Gustavus, and marched towards the capital; but, far from finding it either defenceless or abandoned, they were defeated near Upsal, and compelled to relinquish the siege of Stockholm. The fortitude of their leader supported him under every reverse; and the succors sent him by the city of Lubeck, enabled him to maintain the contest, till the disaffection of Christian's subjects in Jutland terminated it in his favor'.

It required, notwithstanding, the greatest combination of talents, and the most consummate policy, to attain the ultimate object of his ambition, the crown of Sweden. In the prosecution of that arduous enterprise, we can never sufficiently admire his address, circumspection, and ability, in profiting of every circumstance that could either facilitate, or accelerate, its attainment. Without these qualities, the intrepidity, patriotism, and even the success of Gustavus over the Danes, would neither have conducted him to, nor maintained him on the throne. He evinced in every part of his conduct, a perfect knowledge of the

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1520—1523.

Gustavus retires into Dalecarlia.

His successful revolt.

Talents, ambition, and address of Gustavus.

\* Mallet, vol. v. p. 476, 477.

† Ibid. p. 478, 479. Puffendorf, p. 170. Vertot, tome i. p. 135—137.

‡ Puffendorf, p. 172, 173.



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1520—1523.

Swedes ; and in the moment of victory, or of enthusiasm, he never lost sight of his own interest, nor suffered himself to be diverted from the pursuit of his reward. Those, who regard him only as the heroic deliverer of his country, can have very imperfectly studied his character, or followed his actions. Without diminishing the lustre of his exploits, or arraigning the purity of the principles, which excited him to attempt the emancipation of Sweden, we may be permitted to regard him as not exempt from human frailties ; and to consider him as the most perfect model of a well-regulated and successful ambition, which is presented to us in the history of mankind.

His measures  
for attaining  
the crown.

Raised by the gratitude of the states general of the kingdom, whom he had assembled, to the dignity of administrator, he saw in this promotion, only the facility which it gave, of ascending yet higher. Always master of himself, of his courage, and of his troops, he rendered them subservient to his elevation, by either profiting of his advantages over the enemy, or repressing the ardor of his soldiery, as best suited his purposes. Trusting more to the terrors, than to the gratitude of the people whom he served, he never would consent to the expulsion of the Danes, till he had received the full reward of his public services, by the donation of the crown. His conduct during the siege of Stockholm will best exemplify these assertions. The garrison, left by Christian the Second, in that city, hopeless of succors, and reduced to extremity, demanded to capitulate, without any other conditions, except a promise of receiving from Gustavus the arrears of their pay. A general, who had made the welfare of the Republic the only, or primary object of his consideration, would have instantly accepted proposals, so beneficial to the State, and which secured its future independance. But, far from being desirous to terminate the war, while the throne still continued vacant, Gustavus embraced a different, and a much wiser, as well as more interested policy. He convoked the States anew ; appeared in person as a triumphant commander, in the midst of the Assembly ; filled up all the vacancies in the

He is elected  
king.

the Senate, with persons devoted to his interests; caused the recapitulation of his exploits and services to be made by the president; and then proposed to elect a king without delay. The choice could only fall upon himself; and the acclamations of every order of citizens ratified the decree, which conferred the sceptre on their deliverer<sup>6</sup>. They would even have proceeded to his instant coronation; but, the new monarch, neither intoxicated, nor blinded by his recent elevation, postponed the ceremony to a period of more tranquillity; and having attained the gratification of all his views, resumed the siege of Stockholm. As ready then to grant, as he had been before to refuse, the terms demanded by the garrison, he accorded them all the honors of war, and even engaged to transport them to Lubeck. To the burghers and inhabitants of the capital, he exerted equal clemency and affability; while his application to affairs, his vigilance, and capacity, rendered the royal authority respected throughout the provinces; and Sweden, long accustomed either to foreign tyranny, or to the limited and precarious government of administrators, saw a prince established on the throne, capable of inspiring veneration, while he conciliated affection<sup>7</sup>.

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1520—1523.

He enters  
Stockholm,  
by capitula-  
tion.

Great, as the elevation to which Gustavus had attained, might be justly considered, it only seemed to open new prospects to his vast and aspiring mind, which gradually matured and unfolded its plans, under the guidance of profound discernment, and consummate prudence. If we consider the nature of the power entrusted to him, and the state of the revenues, commerce, and resources of Sweden, at his accession, it cannot excite surprise, that he should be desirous of extending and improving them by every honorable means. Scarcely, indeed, could he be said to possess more than the honors annexed to royalty, as well as its cares and embarrassments. The domain of the crown was reduced so low, as to be unequal to any exertion, demand-

1523, May.  
Limited au-  
thority, and  
revenues, of  
Gustavus.

<sup>6</sup> Puffendorf, p. 173, 174. Vertot, tome i. p. 180—182; and tome ii. p. 18—22.

<sup>7</sup> Vertot, tome ii. p. 22—25. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 97.



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1523.

ing expence; while the clergy possessed not only a vast proportion of the landed property; but, by their castles and vassals, were able to bid defiance to his authority<sup>a</sup>. It was dangerous to attempt the imposition of taxes, at the commencement of his reign; and the people, little accustomed in that age, to the load of modern pecuniary burdens, were, likewise, from their poverty, incapable of sustaining them. Above all, the severe conditions which Lubeck had exacted from him, as the price of her assistance, rendered it indispensable to discover some mode of liberating the country from its commercial fetters. That interested and mercenary city had rated the succors sent to Gustavus, at sixty thousand marks; and as he was incapable of raising so large a sum, he was necessitated not only to exempt their vessels trading to Sweden, from the payment of all duties whatever; but, to concede to them the exclusive and sole monopoly of the trade itself, with its attendant advantages<sup>b</sup>.

1524—1526.  
His able  
measures for  
their aug-  
mentation.

In a situation so beset with difficulties, the active mind of Gustavus beheld only one resource adequate to the magnitude of the evil; and which, while it enriched and strengthened the throne, promised alleviation and redress to the people. The introduction of the protestant religion in every European state, had been followed by the seizure and confiscation of the ecclesiastical property; and this motive may, without impeaching the rectitude of his conduct, be supposed to have entered into the number of his inducements for attempting so great a revolution. His whole life and character evince, beyond any doubt, that neither fanaticism, nor religious zeal, dictated his measures; which, like those embraced by him on every other occasion, were planned with deliberate sagacity, produced with caution, and either delayed, or propelled and accelerated, as the circumstances appeared to authorize. Conscious of the dangers with which the enterprize itself was beset, he developed it slowly and partially; concealed his own opinions;

<sup>a</sup> Langerbring, p. 49. Vertot, tome ii. p. 46.

<sup>b</sup> Mallet, vol. v. p. 502—504. Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. xxxiii. p. 125.

and

and waited till the Lutheran doctrines should have made a greater progress in Stockholm, as well as in the provinces, before he ventured to extend to them even an indirect protection. Advancing gradually, as he felt himself confirmed on the throne, he permitted disputes to be held on religious subjects, and allowed of the translation of the Scriptures; while he at the same time demanded from the dignified ecclesiastics, a contribution towards the necessities of the State. Irritated by their refusal to assist him, he ventured on a hazardous experiment; and having presented himself, with a number of armed followers, during the annual fair held at Upsal, he harangued the multitude, declaimed against the indolence and avarice of the catholic priests, and avowed his intention of converting their useless revenues to the use and extrication of the kingdom. Finding his discourse not so grateful to the auditors, as he had flattered himself it would have been; far from persisting, he relinquished his scheme, turned it into raillery, and affected to care for the primate, in whose presence and diocese so extraordinary a scene had taken place<sup>10</sup>.

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1524-1526.  
He projects  
to introduce  
the Reformation.

Obstacles to  
his plan.

Gustavus, neither deterred from the prosecution of the object, by his ill success at Upsal, nor intimidated by the appearance of an impostor in Dalecarlia, who assumed the name of Sture, son to the last administrator of Sweden; steadily pursued the plan of abolishing the ancient religion: nor did the indirect encouragement and assistance, which Frederic the First, king of Denmark, extended to his enemies, retard the completion of his purpose. Supported by the attachment of the burghers and magistrates of Stockholm, who had almost universally embraced the Reformation, he again convoked the States of the kingdom; among whom the ecclesiastics held a distinguished rank. In the assembly, after having represented the poverty of the crown, the general distress of the kingdom, and the disproportionate wealth of the clergy, as well as their

1527.  
Convocation  
of the States,

<sup>10</sup> Puffendorf, p. 179-184. Vertot, tome ii. p. 47-70.



C H A P.  
XVI.

1527.

Caution and  
vigor of Gus-  
tavus.

political power, of which they had made so pernicious a use; he did not hesitate to propose the resumption of their castles, the confiscation of their valuable ornaments or moveables, and the re-union to the royal domain, of all lands which had been given to the church since the year 1454".

Confiscation  
of the lands  
of the clergy.

Even in this decisive measure, which unveiled the whole system and intentions of the king, we still trace the same consistency of conduct and character; and we behold the same judicious caution, in withholding a part of his plan, for which the nation was not fully prepared. The abolition of the catholic faith and worship, though evidently the necessary consummation of his work, did not yet appear without disguise; and Gustavus only proposed liberty of conscience, as the basis and principle of all his future regulations. It is clear, likewise, that he was not unprepared for the hesitation and reluctance, manifested by the States; and which proceeded to so great a height, that he rose from his seat, declared his resolution to renounce the royal dignity, and for ever to abandon his infatuated and ungrateful country. But, he took care to annex to the menace of his abdication, a condition, the difficulty of complying with which he well knew; the previous repayment of all the sums which he had expended from his private patrimony, in the service of Sweden. Retiring from the assembly during four days, he passed that time among his officers, in festivities and banquets, calculated to retain them in their implicit obedience to his commands; and the States terminated the contest, by a prompt and complete submission. The clergy remonstrated without effect. Their castles were instantly seized, or surrendered; and Gustavus not only appropriated to his own use, the immense sequestrations in lands and effects; but, refused to admit the nobility to any participation in the spoils of the church".

" Vertot, tome ii. p. 74—88. Puffendorf, p. 186—190.

" Puffendorf, p. 190—193. Lagerbring, p. 50—52. Vertot, tome ii. p. 88—98.

Strength-

Strengthened by so vast an accession of influence and wealth, he proceeded more openly, but, not without precaution, towards the consummation of his views. The Dalecarlians, terrified at the approach of a body of troops which he had sent against them, expelled their leader, and submitted. Gustavus pardoned them; but, when they ventured to revolt a second time, he marched into the province in person, forced them to deliver up their chiefs, and after having caused them to be immediately beheaded, dismissed the inferior rebels<sup>13</sup>. It was not till he had visited his dominions, ascertained the revenues of the monastic orders by exact perquisitions, and prepared the minds of his subjects for the final religious innovations which he projected, that he proceeded to his coronation. The ceremony was performed at Upsal, and was the signal for the entire and total abolition of the antient religion, already shaken by repeated attacks. A convocation of the clergy, in which the chancellor presided, publicly announced their separation from the Romish see, and the establishment of the Lutheran form of worship<sup>14</sup>. Able as were the measures by which Gustavus prepared and preceded this last act, it produced a fermentation, which, under a prince of inferior vigor, capacity, and popularity, must have been fatal to his projects, and probably subversive of his throne. The insurrections, occasioned by it, were neither limited to any one province, nor to any particular class of people. The nobles, incensed at having been excluded from a share in the ecclesiastical plunder, or bigotted to the faith of their ancestors, aided the clergy. Not only the Dalecarlians, but the inhabitants in other parts of Sweden, openly renounced their allegiance, and even attempted to elect another sovereign.

The vast ascendancy of Gustavus over his subjects, and the pre-eminent endowments which combined to form his character, were never more forcibly evinced, nor called into action, than at this criti-

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XVI.

1527.  
Gustavus reduces the Dalecarlians.

1528.  
His coronation.

Introduction and establishment of the Reformation.

Insurrections,

1529, 1530.

<sup>13</sup> Vertot, p. 100—105.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid. p. 106—108. Puffendorf, p. 193—196. Champigny, Hist. Abregé de Suede, p. 7—10.



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XVI.1529. 1530.  
quelled.Vigorous po-  
licy and con-  
duct of Gus-  
tavus.

cal and momentous period of his reign. By a happy and judicious mixture of clemency, with severity; by expostulation and argument, as much as by promptitude and decision, he restored tranquillity to Sweden, and dispersed the storm. It was not, however, without the effusion of blood: two senators lost their heads on the scaffold, and others only escaped, by the payment of heavy pecuniary fines".

Denmark, which had fomented the discontents, afforded an asylum to the fugitives; and Frederic seized the occasion, to demand the restitution of some dependencies of the kingdom of Norway, retained by the king of Sweden. But, it was not from a prince of the lofty character of Gustavus, that he was likely to obtain any public, or national concessions; and the Danish ambassador received for answer, that "war or peace were alike welcome to the Swedish monarch, who knew, and was prepared to resent the unworthy machinations of "Frederic". No further proceedings took place; and the invasion made by Christian the Second, their common enemy, compelled the two kings to suspend their personal animosities, while they opposed the antient tyrant of the North. Gustavus, by sending an army to the Frontiers, which harassed the forces of Christian, and impeded his passage into Scania, decided the contest: he was reduced to the necessity of retreating into Norway, and soon afterwards of surrendering himself a prisoner".

1531—1534. This great event, which confirmed the future tranquillity of Gustavus, only served to evince the vigor of his genius. Not more enervated by prosperity, than he had been dismayed by adversity, he embraced the wisest measures for augmenting the felicity of his people, while he consolidated and established the grandeur of his family. After having married Christina, daughter of the duke of Saxe Lawemburg, he once more quelled the insolence and insurrections of the Dalecarlians; to whose generous adherence he originally owed his

New revolts  
of the Dale-  
carlians.<sup>15</sup> Puffendorf, p. 196, 197.<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 197. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 69—71.<sup>17</sup> Vertot, tome ii. p. 111—120. Mallet, vol. vi. p. 78—113.

elevation;

elevation; and who, during a great part of his reign, laboured incessantly to reduce him again to the condition of a subject. It cannot astonish those who know the nature of man, and who reflect on the despicable or insignificant causes by which he is impelled; to find, that the rude inhabitants of this remote and uncivilized province, strongly attached not only to their antient faith, but to every inferior appendage of their religion, were induced to revolt, by their resentment of the orders issued to expose to sale the useless bells in the churches. The king was necessitated to proceed to the last extremities, in order to enforce a compliance, and to reduce them to obedience<sup>18</sup>. Attentive to enlarge the commerce of his subjects, he repaid the sums due to Lubeck; refused that haughty city the continuance of their exclusive, and lucrative monopoly; encouraged the ships of other nations to visit the Swedish ports; and defied the vengeance of the Senate of Lubeck, who insolently threatened to pull him down from the throne, to which he had been elevated by their assistance<sup>19</sup>. With Christian the Third, the successor of Frederic the First, king of Denmark, he entered into the closest connexions of amity and policy; which, at the commencement of that prince's reign, were highly efficacious in confirming his power<sup>20</sup>. Though, from various causes, the harmony between them suffered afterwards some short and casual interruptions; yet the vigilance of the Swedish monarch, and the moderate character of Christian, suspended all hostilities, and preserved the two kingdoms in repose<sup>21</sup>.

If the morning of Gustavus's life had been so stormy, and its meridian so brilliant, its decline was by no means exempt from those clouds and vicissitudes, to which man is always exposed; and proportionably more liable from his elevation. The religion, which he had overturned, was not destitute of zealous partizans: the nobility had not yet learned the submission, which kingly power exacts, and

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1531—1534.

Wisdom of  
the king's  
administra-  
tion.

1535.

Policy to-  
wards Den-  
mark.1536—1543.  
Close of Gus-  
tavus's reign.<sup>18</sup> Puffendorf, p. 198—200.<sup>19</sup> Ibid. p. 200, 201.<sup>20</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 259—262. Puffendorf, p. 203.<sup>21</sup> Ibid. p. 363—370. Puffendorf, p. 202.



C H A P.  
XVI.

1536—1543.

Domestic  
misfortunes.

which is always yielded reluctantly to those who have been our equals: the people, ignorant, credulous, and turbulent, were easily inflamed by artful and seditious spirits. Continual conspiracies, discovered and anticipated by his energy or decision, yet disturbed his tranquillity, and obliged him to recur to measures of severity for their suppression<sup>22</sup>. In his private capacity, he experienced the instability of human felicity; and had a melancholy presage of those domestic dissensions, which, even before his decease, began to manifest themselves among his sons, and to shake the foundations of the grandeur, to which he had raised the house of Vasa. His queen did not possess the qualities, calculated to excite his esteem, or retain his affections. That unfortunate princess was supposed to have laboured under temporary alienations of mind; and the severity, if not brutality, of her husband's treatment, is believed to have accelerated, or produced her death<sup>23</sup>. She left only one son, the more unfortunate Eric, whose reign, deposition, and imprisonment, form a tragical portion of the Swedish history. Induced by motives of policy, as much as by inclination, Gustavus espoused the daughter of Abraham Ericson, a nobleman of the highest rank; with a view of securing to his sons, in case that he should have issue, the attachment and support of the most illustrious families in Sweden. Equally attentive to preserving the national repose, he renewed his alliance with the crown of Denmark; concluded a truce for sixty years with the great duke of Muscovy; and made a defensive treaty for the mutual guarantee of their dominions, with Francis the First, king of France<sup>24</sup>.

1544.  
The crown is  
rendered hereditary in  
Gustavus's  
family.

All these negotiations and measures might be regarded as preludes to the last act of Gustavus's political elevation. Covered with personal glory; established on the throne by a triumphant administration of more than twenty years; revered by his subjects as their de-

<sup>22</sup> Puffendorf, p. 202.<sup>23</sup> Mallet, vol. vi. p. 261, 262. Puffendorf, p. 203.<sup>24</sup> Puffendorf, p. 203.

liveren

liverer and legislator; the only circumstance wanting to complete his high destiny, was the transmission of the sceptre to his posterity. The States, who had already given him so many testimonies of loyalty and devotion, did not refuse this final proof of national gratitude. The crown was declared to be hereditary in the male line of the family of Vasa; and Eric, his eldest son, was instantly acknowledged as successor to the kingdom of Sweden. In order, at the same time, to extinguish the remaining adherence to the catholic faith, the reformed religion was solemnly confirmed, and every other form of worship was abolished throughout the Swedish territories<sup>23</sup>. Arrived at the summit of his ambition by a long and painful gradation, he appeared desirous to secure his acquisition, rather than to augment, or extend it; and though the incursions of the Muscovites into Finland compelled him, reluctantly, to march against them in person, and to continue his military operations during two campaigns, yet the genius of his government was pacific. Satiated with honors, declining in years, and occupied with internal regulations for the extension of commerce, or the increase of his revenue, he courted peace; and in the view of perpetuating it, he even permitted some acts of a hostile, or, at least, of an equivocal nature, in the court of Denmark, to pass unnoticed, which, at a more vigorous period of life, he would probably have resented<sup>24</sup>. All the duties of an enlightened and active prince, attentive to the felicity of his people, he continued to discharge; and while he amassed treasures unknown to his predecessors, the result of a wise frugality, he insensibly introduced the arts and refinement into Sweden. The navigation of the Baltic, hitherto almost confined to the Hanseatic league, became known to, and was carried on by his subjects: trade flowed into the ports of the kingdom; and it may be doubted, whether any European state, in proportion to its means of acquiring

C H A P.  
XVI.

1544.

1545—1558.  
Pacific mea-  
sures and  
system.Tranquillity  
of Sweden.<sup>23</sup> Vertot, tome ii. p. 121—123. L'Art de Verif, vol. ii, p. 97. Puffendorf, p. 206.<sup>24</sup> Vertot, tome ii. p. 122.



CHAP.  
XVI.

1559.  
Conduct of  
Eric

Division of  
the dominions  
of Sweden,  
among Gus-  
tavus's sons.

wealth and consideration, enjoyed a greater degree of both, than Sweden, during the close of this illustrious reign<sup>27</sup>.

The public and political repose, for which Gustavus anxiously wished, attended him to the grave; but, his approach to it was darkened and embittered by the dissensions which generated between Eric, and his younger sons; particularly, John, the eldest of his children by the second bed. In addition to so melancholy a source of apprehension, the intractable and ill-regulated mind of his successor excited alarm, and seemed to partake of the hereditary, intellectual malady, derived from his mother. The pertinacity, with which Eric, in opposition to the aged monarch's advice and exhortations, urged his suit to Elizabeth, princess, and soon afterwards queen of England; and his obstinate prosecution of the match, not only against every reasonable hope of its completion, but contrary to the inclination of the states and people of Sweden; indicated a defect of judgment, and an impetuosity, of the most irremediable nature. Gustavus himself, by his parental fondness for his younger children, and by the ample fiefs with which he endowed them, widened the breach, and rendered them too nearly independant of their future sovereign. John, whom he had always regarded with peculiar predilection, and to whom, it is asserted, that he had entertained intentions of devolving the crown itself, if the substitution could have been effected without danger; received the duchy of Finland. To Magnus, his third son, he gave the province of West Gothland; and to Charles, the last, those of Sudermania, Nericia, and Wermeland<sup>28</sup>. Injurious as these vast donations were, in every point of view, to the dignity and greatness of the crown, they were justified and authorized by the practice of the age; and we see them equally taking place in almost all the other monarchies of Europe. They subsisted, in some parts of the German empire, till the middle of the seventeenth century.

<sup>27</sup> Lagerbring, p. 53, 54. Vertot, tome ii. p. 123.

<sup>28</sup> Puffendorf, p. 223—226. Vertot, tome ii. p. 124—128.

Wearied with the importunities of Eric, his father, after convoking the States of the kingdom, in which he caused his testamentary dispositions to be read, and appearing for the last time among them, surrounded by his sons, consented to his departure for England. The prince, entirely engrossed by his romantic passion for Elizabeth, quitted Stockholm, and was already considerably advanced on his way to the port, from which he was to embark, when he was recalled by the intelligence of Gustavus's decease. In so critical a juncture, he did not venture to prosecute his voyage, and he therefore returned to the capital<sup>29</sup>. It would be useless to delineate the character of Gustavus Vasa, as we do that of ordinary princes. His exploits, his administration, and the length of his reign, have placed him in so conspicuous a point of light, and have so accurately established his reputation, as to leave little to the historian. The commencement of his life does not more forcibly arrest the imagination, than its progress charms the judgment; nor is the hero and avenger of his country, more an object of love and veneration, than the monarch, of respect and approbation. In every situation and condition, whether concealed in the mines of Dalecarlia, or elevated on the throne of Sweden, we follow him with that interest, which great actions alone can excite; and we participate in the just reward of his achievements, a crown, conferred by a grateful people. From the infirmities, and, perhaps, the vices, too frequently found even in the most exalted characters, and inseparable from the nature of man, he was not exempt; but, his defects lay hid in the shade, while his sublime qualities appear in their full lustre. Few persons, more illustrious, have arisen in the annals of the world; and he is almost a singular instance of a private individual, who has obtained, by the voluntary suffrages of a whole nation, a sceptre, which descended to his posterity<sup>30</sup>.

C H A P.  
XVI.

1560.

Death of  
Gustavus.Review of his  
character and  
actions.<sup>29</sup> Cellius, Hist. d'Eric XIV. p. 34—41. Puffendorf, p. 226.<sup>30</sup> Vertot, tome ii. p. 129, 130. Lagerbring, p. 60.

The



C H A P.  
XVI.1560—1563.  
Commence-  
ment of  
Eric's reign.Diffension  
between  
Eric, and  
John, duke  
of Finland.Imprison-  
ment of  
John.

The incapacity and misconduct of Eric, rather than any depravity of natural disposition, opened a very different scene after the death of Gustavus. The conditions, annexed by the new sovereign, to the investiture or surrender of the fiefs, conferred on his three brothers; however just in themselves, and although indispensable for the purpose of retaining them in the rank of subjects; were yet warmly resented, as an infraction of his father's dying injunctions or bequests. John, duke of Finland, retiring to Abo, his capital, began to manifest those symptoms of discontent, which afterwards proceeded to revolt; and he entered into the closest connexions of policy and affinity, with Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland, whose sister he married, in contradiction to the wishes, and in disobedience to the commands of Eric. This conduct was rendered more improper, if not criminal, by the circumstances with which it was accompanied. The king of Sweden having recently taken under his protection, and subjected to his crown, the province of Esthonia, which constitutes a portion of Livonia, claimed by Poland; Sigismund Augustus had demanded it, and attempted to recover it by force of arms. Hostilities commenced between the two kingdoms, and were carried on with alternate success. In such a situation, the alliance of the duke of Finland with the enemies of Sweden; added to his refusal to appear at Stockholm, unless hostages were given for his security, produced a rupture between the brothers. John, after sustaining a siege of three months in the castle of Abo, was brought prisoner to Stockholm; his fief was confiscated; and he himself, together with all his adherents, were adjudged to have incurred the penalty of treason. The sentence was executed in all its rigor, upon many persons of every rank, implicated in the duke's crimes or misfortunes. After a degree of irresolution on the part of Eric, either his consciousness of the injustice and severity of the proceeding, or the emotions of fraternal affection, induced him to mitigate the fate of John, who was conducted with the princess,

his wife, to the castle of Gripsholm, and detained in close confinement".

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XVI.

While these internal sources of future commotion were forming in the court and family of Eric, appearances not less alarming began to threaten his repose, from foreign states. The city of Lubeck, insatiable in its thirst of commercial advantage, and still anxious to retain the monopoly of the Baltic trade, resented the wise and spirited restrictions, which he had imposed upon their navigation and intercourse with Sweden. Incapable of maintaining a contest with that crown, in the declining state of their resources, and incensed at the depredations committed on their shipping, by the subjects of Eric; the Senate of Lubeck applied to Frederic the Second, king of Denmark, to aid them in their projects of vengeance. A war, in which Sweden was compelled to oppose the united forces of Poland, Denmark, and Lubeck, soon commenced; and was maintained, with circumstances of national animosity, which mutually banished every consideration of humanity, for several years. The exertions, made by Eric, during the progress of so unequal a contest, evince the state of prosperity and wealth, in which Gustavus had left his dominions. The Swedish fleets covered the Baltic, while their forces repeatedly ravaged Scania, Norway, and the Danish provinces. Even under all the disadvantages resulting from a weak and relaxed administration, divided counsels, and the augmenting violence or alienation of the king's mind, no important conquest was effected by the confederates, either in Livonia, or in Sweden. If we cast a general view over the leading events, we shall find, that the Danish superiority by land, was almost invariably balanced by the success of their enemies, on the sea. The armies of Frederic repeatedly carried terror and devastation into the interior parts of Sweden, and retired, laden with booty: but, these incursions were retaliated by the triumphant and unresisted

1563—1567.  
War with  
Lubeck,  
Denmark,  
and Poland.

Events, and  
alternate  
successes.

<sup>1</sup> Celsius, p. 185—224. Puffendorf, p. 233, 234, and p. 239.

appear-



CHAP.  
XVI.

1563—1567.

appearance of the Swedish admiral, at the head of a fleet, in the harbour of Copenhagen; as well as by the numerous captures made from the Danes, and from the inhabitants of Lubeck. In Livonia, Eric obtained some important advantages: his troops became masters of the port of Revel, and of the coast, from which the Poles were unable to expel them; and that fertile province, the granary of the North, was reduced to his obedience in a considerable degree<sup>31</sup>.

1567.  
Excesses of  
the king.

Infamy, and  
crimes of  
Eric.

No external prosperity or success could, however, restore tranquillity in the court, where the frantic excesses of the king spread terror and consternation. Naturally suspicious, his distrust, increasing with years, no longer knew any limit; and in the paroxysms of his jealousy, or of his rage, every object inflamed him beyond the restraints of reason. Animated with peculiar detestation towards the family of Sture, which had given more than one administrator to Sweden, before the elevation of the house of Vasa to the throne; he determined on their extermination, as well as on the execution of several other obnoxious senators or nobles. The castle of Upsal, in which these illustrious and unfortunate persons were confined, was the scene of Eric's savage and guilty violence. Seized with a sudden privation of his understanding, he burst the doors of the apartment in which Nicholas Sture was imprisoned, and stabbed him with his own hand; while the father and brother of the defenceless victim, together with their companions, were overpowered and massacred by the guards. History has not disdained to record an action of Sture, almost unparalleled in magnanimity. Eric having plunged the dagger into his arm, he drew it from the wound, wiped the blood from off the blade, kissed it, and returned it to the king. So heroic an instance of duty and self-possession, could not, however, either mollify, or disarm the frantic resentment of his assassin. Pursued by remorse, Eric had no sooner completed his sanguinary purpose, than

<sup>31</sup> Puffendorf, p. 237, 238, and p. 240—244, and p. 245—256. Lagerbring, p. 60—64. Celsius, livres 5, 6, 7, and 8, *passim*.

he

he fled from Upsal; and during three days, disguised in the dress of a peasant, he concealed himself in the woods. When discovered, and re-conducted to Stockholm, the tumult of his mind and senses subsided; and he evinced not only the most sincere contrition for his past enormities, but endeavoured to make every compensation for the involuntary excesses, committed in his frenzy<sup>33</sup>.

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XVI.

1567.

It may justly excite surprise, that after such incontestable proofs of depravity, or of insanity, a high spirited and martial nobility should continue tamely to submit to the caprice of a prince, incapable of governing himself, and whose paroxysms of savage fury were fatal to all around him. But, many causes conduced to prolong the reign, and to protract the deposition of Eric. The memory of the great Gustavus was universally dear to the Swedes: John, the next heir to the crown, was still in prison; and even the crimes of the king rather entitled him to compassion, than demanded vengeance, because they proceeded more from intellectual infirmity, than from vice. He had even manifested his intention to abstain from any further exercise of the functions of royalty, avowed his incapacity, and abandoned his minister, Perhson, accused of propelling him on violent measures, to the judgment of a tribunal, which condemned him to suffer capital punishment. The government, during this sort of interregnum, devolved on two administrators: but, with the return of his intellects, Eric resumed the supreme direction of affairs; and the first use which he made of his reason, was to liberate the duke of Finland from the state of confinement in which he had been so long detained. The brothers embraced, and exhibited every mark of a sincere reconciliation<sup>34</sup>.

Conse-  
quences of  
them.Reconcilia-  
tion of Eric  
and John.

It was not, however, possible, that affairs could remain long in so critical a state. The Danes had advanced into the interior provinces of the kingdom, which were either defenceless, or ill protected by

1568.

<sup>33</sup> Celsius, p. 121—136. Puffendorf, p. 256, 257.<sup>34</sup> Celsius, p. 136—141. Puffendorf, p. 257—259.



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XVI.

1568.

Marriage of  
Eric.His deposti-  
tion.1568—1570.  
Accession of  
John the  
Third.

an army destitute of leaders, and discontented. Eric, with his faculties, had recovered his authority, and appeared to threaten his subjects with new and greater excesses. Perhson not only received a pardon; but, was again replaced in his ministerial situation; while the king prepared to solemnize his nuptials, and to place the crown on the head of his mistress. She was the daughter of a peasant in one of the most remote and barbarous provinces of Sweden, and had already borne him two children; the eldest of whom, named Gustavus, he designed to legitimate, and to declare his successor. The ceremony of his marriage was performed at Stockholm, with a solemnity and magnificence, which augmented the general indignation<sup>35</sup>. But, the term of Eric's misconduct and mal-administration approached. John, who only waited till the national dissatisfaction should call him from his retreat, was joined by his younger brother, Charles; in whom, of all Gustavus's children, survived the greatest portion of his valour, capacity, and virtues. A numerous body of adherents flocked to their standard; and the king, after vainly attempting to disperse, or defeat them, retreated to Stockholm. His defence, though protracted to the last extremity, was ineffectual. After seeing his minister, Perhson, delivered up to the enemy, and executed with every mark of infamy, under the walls of the capital; he was reduced to capitulate, on a promise of gentle treatment. His deposition, which was preceded by a public trial and adjudication, before a tribunal convoked at Stockholm, took place in the following year<sup>36</sup>.

Few princes have ever acceded to a throne, under circumstances more favourable to their reputation, than John the Third. The excesses and crimes of his predecessor, had rendered him odious or contemptible to the nation. Sweden was exhausted by a long series of hostilities, against a powerful confederacy, and had seen her fairest provinces ravaged by the enemy; while the court and capital were:

<sup>35</sup> Celsus, p. 141—156. Puffendorf, p. 259—262.<sup>36</sup> Celsus, livre 10. Puffendorf, p. 262—268.

filled with consternation. The new monarch was, himself, in the prime of life; of a figure and manners calculated to engage affection; and cherished by the people, as the favourite son of the great Gustavus. His reign did not, however, by any means gratify the high expectations, to which it had given birth. The treatment of the deposed and unfortunate Eric, was marked with the most indecent severity, or rather, inhuman brutality. Transferred from one prison to another: subjected to the extremes of hunger and cold: abandoned to the ferocity and revenge of those, whom he had personally injured or incensed: degraded by blows and wounds; his wretched fate excited equal compassion and indignation<sup>37</sup>. Far from recovering the national honor, which had suffered some degree of injury, during the progress of the war against the Danes; John saw himself reduced, after having obtained from the magnanimity, rather than the policy, of Frederic the Second, a truce of six months; either to sign a humiliating treaty, or to try the event of a new campaign. He preferred the latter expedient; but, he had reason to repent of the determination. His arms were unsuccessful: the only place, which Eric had captured from the enemy, in the course of so long and ruinous a contest, was lost; and the king signed at Stettin, a peace, neither glorious nor beneficial to his subjects<sup>38</sup>.

CHAP.  
XVI.  
1568—1570.

His reign.

Continuation  
of the war.

Peace of  
Stettin.

In Livonia, where Ivan Basilowitz, czar of Muscovy, commenced a war with Sweden, the generals of John obtained some distinguished advantages; but, they were not improved with sagacity, or they were not sufficiently decisive, to compel the Russian prince to desist from his pretensions and continual encroachments. It was with difficulty, that he consented to a suspension of hostilities during two years, between Muscovy and Finland, in which Livonia was not included<sup>39</sup>. But, a circumstance, which more than any external

1570—1574.  
Truce with  
Muscovy.

<sup>37</sup> Celsius, p. 209—213. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 88—92:

<sup>38</sup> Mallet, vol. vii. p. 93—112. Puffendorf, p. 268—272.

<sup>39</sup> Puffendorf, p. 273—275.



CHAP.  
XVI.

1570-1574  
John at-  
tempts to  
revive the  
catholic reli-  
gion in Swe-  
den.

misfortune, or disgrace, tended to alienate from John, the esteem and attachment of the Swedes, was his predilection for the Romish faith; and his endeavours to introduce it anew into his dominions. He had imbibed from the queen, his wife, Catherine Jagellon, this regard for a religion, proscribed by his two predecessors; and the triumph over which, had been the most incontestable, as it was the most arduous and laborious proof, of the vigour and capacity of Gustavus. He persisted, during the whole course of his reign, to pursue, with greater, or lesser exertion, the plan of reviving the catholic doctrines, and form of worship. He permitted his son, Sigismund, to be educated in, and to imbibe a bigotted veneration for them; and he, by so obvious a departure from the maxims of policy, and the interests of his descendants, laid the foundation of new convulsions in the family of Vasa<sup>40</sup>. These revolutions did not, however, take place till a period more remote; and nothing can better evince the firm foundations on which Gustavus had erected the grandeur of his house, and the degree of respect and affection entertained for his memory; than the loyalty and allegiance, preserved towards his posterity, in the midst of civil war, heightened by personal and religious animosity. No open attempt was ever made to substitute any other candidate, or to elevate to the throne any subject, while the representatives of Gustavus Vasa remained, to claim the gratitude of the Swedish senate and nation.

1574.  
Obscurity of  
this period of  
the Swedish  
history.

If there is any part of the modern annals of Sweden, which can be regarded, as at least comparatively dark and obscure, it is that portion of time which intervenes between the accession of Eric the Fourteenth, in 1560, and the death of Charles the Ninth, in 1611. The exploits of Gustavus Adolphus, the splendor of his conquests, and the rapidity with which he over-ran the German empire, have fixed on him the attention of posterity, and thrown the actions of his four immediate predecessors into the shade. It was not before the Swedes

<sup>40</sup> Puffendorf, p. 275-278.

landed in Pomerania, and obtained a permanent establishment in the northern provinces of Germany, that they became intimately known to the kingdoms of the south, and were regarded as constituting an integral part of the great political system of Europe. In 1542, when Gustavus Vasa sent ambassadors to Francis the First, king of France, to propose a defensive treaty against the house of Austria; that prince and his ministers were so totally ignorant of the state of Sweden, its constitution, power, and resources of every kind, that they hesitated, and declined giving any positive answer, till they had been enabled, by enquiries, to satisfy themselves in these important particulars. Having ascertained that the nation was warlike, and the sovereign capable of making a formidable diversion, Francis immediately concluded the negotiation; and the two monarchs stipulated to assist each other reciprocally, with twenty-five thousand land forces, and fifty ships<sup>41</sup>. But, we do not find that Gustavus sent any assistance, naval, or military, to the French king, when engaged in war soon afterwards, against the emperor, Charles the Fifth. It was easier to engage than to execute, at the remote distance of the respective kingdoms; and it is probable, that neither court meant seriously to fulfil the conditions specified. A degree of amity, however, continued to reign between them, which has never been wholly extinguished, in the course of more than two centuries. Gustavus Vasa, and his son, both received from their allies, Francis the First, and Francis the Second, the order of St. Michael<sup>42</sup>. That of the Holy Ghost was not then created.

In 1574, the Swedes were still little known, or considered, beyond the limits of the Baltic: they were, in fact, almost cut off from any regular communication with the rest of Europe, the Danes being masters of all the southern provinces, by which that connexion is principally maintained. John the Third possessed, notwithstanding, great resources, which, under a vigorous and popular prince, might be called

<sup>41</sup> Puffendorf, p. 203. Lagerbring, p. 58. Vertot, p. 120.

<sup>42</sup> Puffendorf, p. 204.

into

CHAP.  
XVI.

1574.

Defensive alliance between Gustavus, and Francis the First.



CHAP. XVI. into speedy and effectual action. The antient revenues were sunk so low, that, in 1527, Gustavus Vasa asserted, in an assembly of the States, their insufficiency to support a body of five hundred cavalry; and he added, that many of the bishops possessed an income, superior to the crown. The royal receipts amounted only to twenty-four thousand marks, while the unavoidable annual expences exceeded sixty thousand<sup>43</sup>. But, the resumption of the ecclesiastical property, had rendered the monarchical dignity much more respectable and independant. Gustavus neither divided those immense spoils with the nobles, nor squandered them on favourites, nor affected them to any public uses and institutions. He annexed them to the crown, as the best support of its authority. We may judge of their magnitude, by the prodigious expences, sustained for a number of years, under Eric, and John the Third, in the Danish, Muscovite, and Polish wars; which were carried on by sea and land, under very adverse occurrences, without greatly oppressing, or exhausting the subject<sup>44</sup>. The marriage portion, left by Gustavus, to each of his five daughters, was a hundred thousand crowns: a sum, which, even in this age, and in more wealthy monarchies, would not be deemed very inconsiderable<sup>45</sup>.

Treasures.

Wealth of the clergy.

The revenues and riches of the clergy, before the Reformation, were incredible: two-thirds of the lands of the kingdom are asserted to have been in their possession; and some of the Swedish writers hesitate not to say, that near thirty-six thousand estates were united to the royal domain, by Gustavus<sup>46</sup>. We may judge of the enormous and disproportionate wealth which they enjoyed, by the circumstance of Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, having demanded of the Swedish nobles, in 1520, the sum of six hundred thousand marks of silver; as a compensation for the amount of the income of his see, during four years that he had not received his

<sup>43</sup> Lagerbring, p. 49. Vertot, p. 86, 87.

<sup>44</sup> Puffendorf, p. 192.

<sup>45</sup> Puffendorf, p. 223.

<sup>46</sup> Vertot, p. 98. Lagerbring, p. 51.

accustomed revenue". One might be tempted reasonably to doubt, whether, at that period, Sweden contained so large a quantity of current coin. His successor in the archbishoprick of Upsal, when he made his pastoral visit through the diocese, was usually attended by a train of two hundred officers and followers". Even, Olaus Petri, the first Lutheran, promoted to the see, had fifty guards for his escort; which being suppressed, he substituted fifty students in their place".

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1574.

The obligation, imposed by the antient feudal tenures, which compelled every possessor of a fief, in proportion to its extent or value, to attend the sovereign in the field, with a certain number of armed vassals, had nearly become extinct, or obsolete, in the beginning of Eric's reign. That prince, in 1562, not without extreme difficulty, and much opposition on the part of the nobility, revived the antient institution, at least, in a considerable degree: but, it was a very unpopular act, and contributed principally to alienate from him their affections". We even find, that when he attempted, in the following year, to retain his troops under their standards, and to lead them against the enemy, in the month of November, they refused to obey, or to continue longer under arms". Great numbers of Germans and of Scots served in the armies of Sweden; and the cavalry was almost entirely composed of the former nation".

Feudal  
tenures.Military  
forces.

It is not without astonishment, that we contemplate the vast naval armaments, annually equipped by Eric. In 1565, the fleet amounted to fifty sail; and in 1566, it was encreased to sixty-eight vessels of war". The "Makaleus," on board of which was the Swedish admiral, Bagge, carried two hundred and twenty-five pieces of brass cannon; but, neither her tonnage, nor her compliment of seamen, are precisely specified". She was surrounded by the Danish

Navy.

<sup>42</sup> Lagerbring, p. 50. Vertot, p. 86.

<sup>43</sup> Lagerbring, p. 51.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. p. 51, 52.

<sup>45</sup> Celsius, p. 189-192.

<sup>46</sup> Celsius, p. 262, 263.

<sup>47</sup> Ibid. tome ii. p. 75, 76.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid. p. 47, and p. 102.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 9. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 59.

squadron,



C H A P. XVI. 1574. Squadron, and blown up, after a desperate engagement, off the isle of Oeland, in 1564. Near eight hundred persons perished by the explosion. She was then regarded, as not only the largest ship of war, which had ever navigated the Baltic; but, as the finest and most complete, in all Europe<sup>55</sup>.

Commerce. The commerce of Sweden began to emancipate itself from the oppression of the Hanseatic league, under Gustavus; and Eric, whatever defects he manifested in his general administration, evinced an anxious desire to encourage the industry, and to extend the trade of his subjects. In 1559, it appears, that Stockholm already employed twenty-eight trading vessels; Gefle, nineteen; Oregrund, nine; and the other sea ports, in proportion<sup>56</sup>. But, in order to form an accurate idea of the extent and importance of the Swedish commerce, at this period, we ought to know the quantity of tonnage, as well as the number of sailors who navigated the merchant ships. Towards the end of the reign of Gustavus, corn was exported in plentiful years<sup>57</sup>. It must be remembered, that, when Denmark possessed the three provinces of Halland, Scania, and Bleking, she was mistress of both coasts, and could completely interdict the passage of the Sound to every European nation. Between the southern frontiers of Norway, and the northern borders of Halland, Sweden retained a narrow tract of territory, by which she could still communicate with the German Ocean; and in this part of the province of West Gothland, stood the town of Elfsburg, at a small distance from the spot on which has since arisen the celebrated and commercial city of Gottenburgh. Eric, conscious of the importance of such a port, and anxious to liberate his subjects from their dependance on Denmark, commenced an undertaking which does honour to the extent of his views. He projected, by means of canals, to form a communication between Stockholm and Elfsburg, across the whole kingdom of

Plan for joining the Baltic, and the German Ocean.

<sup>55</sup> Puffendorf, p. 242. Celsus, tome ii. p. 10-16.

<sup>56</sup> Lagerbring, p. 53.

<sup>57</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

Sweden;

Sweden; an enterprize, greatly facilitated by the lakes Meler, Hielmar, and Wener; and which might vie in utility, as well as grandeur, with the junction of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, performed by Louis the Fourteenth, in the last century. So advantageous and enlightened a plan was prevented from being carried into execution, by the troubles which agitated Eric's reign; but, far from renouncing the idea, he fortified Elfsburg, with an intention of resuming and completing it, at a more favourable period<sup>58</sup>. All the productions, or commodities of Sweden, at this time, were purchased in their original, unwrought state, by the members of the Hanse; and that industrious society, after having manufactured them, derived a vast profit, by selling them again to their first possessors. Eric, in 1561, issued some regulations, calculated to repress, and finally to extinguish a species of commercial intercourse, so systematically injurious to his people. Nothing can better evince, that the northern nations began already to embrace sound notions of the balance of trade<sup>59</sup>. Many of the laws, enacted and published by Eric, the tendency of which were incontestably beneficial, were repealed, or annulled by his successor. Such was the establishment of a pecuniary imposition, rated according to the value of estates, to enable the crown to provide horses on all the public roads: before his reign, they were furnished by the peasants. Yet, this tax was regarded as no inconsiderable grievance; and John obtained great popularity, by its suppression<sup>60</sup>. So difficult is it to abrogate any usage, sanctioned by long prescription; or to induce the people to adopt the most salutary and wholesome regulations, if in contradiction to antient prejudice.

Notwithstanding the judicious precautions, embraced by Eric, previous to the commencement of the war with Denmark, in order to open a direct trade with England and France, through the port of Elfsburg; the Swedes were reduced to great distress for many ar-

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System of  
trade.

Laws, and  
institutions.

Impediments  
to the Swedish  
commerce,  
and naviga-  
tion.

<sup>58</sup> Celsius, tome i. p. 130, 131.

<sup>59</sup> Ibid. p. 131, 132.

<sup>60</sup> Ibid. p. 192, 193.



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Scarcity of  
wine.Trade of the  
neutral  
powers in  
the Baltic.

ticles of necessary consumption, during the continuance of hostilities. Elfsburg was taken by the Danes; and, after that event, it became impossible to procure any commodity, except by the passage of the Sound, which was completely occupied by Frederic the Second: Holland and Spain, from whence supplies might have been drawn, were in strict alliance with the court of Copenhagen. Lubeck, and the Hanse towns on the coast of Mecklenburg, were declared and inveterate enemies of Eric. Among other articles, wine became so extremely scarce, that a sufficient quantity could not be found, even for the celebration of the Sacrament<sup>61</sup>. The Calvinists, headed by the king's preceptor, Denis Bury, a native of France, and by the bishop of Westeros, declared their opinion, that as the institution itself was only a symbolical and figurative representation, or commemoration of the death of Christ; any other element might be substituted in the place of wine. They recommended water, mead, or even beer. But, the archbishop of Upsal, as chief of the Lutheran faith, and of the established religion, opposed the proposition of Bury, which he stigmatized as a dangerous and detestable heresy, not unknown in the early ages of the christian church. The king imposed silence on the Calvinist prelates and divines; but, their intractable and obstinate adherence to their opinion, produced a general clamor among the clergy and people, which was not easily extinguished<sup>62</sup>.

Salt was another object of the first necessity, which, from the interruption of commerce, rose more than once to a very high price in Sweden. We may form some judgment of the extensive trade, carried on in neutral bottoms, during that period, by the circumstances attending the appearance of Horn, the Swedish admiral, off Copenhagen, in 1565. He found in the harbour, above two hundred and fifty Dutch, or Flemish vessels, laden with grain. He did not, however, make prize of them; but, contented himself with exacting from each

<sup>61</sup> Celsius, tome ii. p. 26, 27.<sup>62</sup> Ibid. p. 25-31.

ship, the duty, paid on the passage of the Sound, to Denmark<sup>63</sup>. C H A P.  
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Horn returned again in the ensuing year, when near four hundred merchant ships, laden principally with salt and corn, lay at anchor, under the protection of a combined squadron of Danish and Lubeck vessels of war. In defiance of their united force, he exacted and received the customary duty from all the ships belonging to the neutral Baltic powers; and he captured full two hundred, which he conducted safely into the ports of Sweden<sup>64</sup>. 1574.

Towards the commencement of Eric's reign, arts and manufactures were established, of various kinds. A fabrick for saltpetre was begun; and another of fire-arms, founded at Calmar. Gallies for the transport of grain, from one sea-port to another, were constructed by order of government. The important science of ship-building received great encouragement. Foreigners, capable of instructing the Swedish youth in that branch of knowledge, were invited to Stockholm, and liberally rewarded<sup>65</sup>. It ought not to be omitted, in the list of institutions, which mark the progress of society and the humanizing arts; that hospitals for the reception and cure of the wounded, were formed by Eric, in 1566, during the war against the Danes, in the two provinces of Smaland and West Gothland<sup>66</sup>. Arts and manufactures.

If in this regulation we trace a degree of liberality, and attention to alleviate the calamities inseparable from war; we equally perceive all the barbarism and ferocity of the Gothic nations, in their treatment of the unhappy prisoners taken in battle. Bagge, the Swedish admiral, after the loss of his ship, in 1564, when he fell into the hands of the enemy; wrote to Eric, to acquaint him, that the conquerors had bound a great number of the Swedish captives to the side of a trading ship, and then set it on fire. He added, that the bodies of these miserable victims, which had not been reduced to Treatment of captives.  
  
Ferocity in war.

<sup>63</sup> Celsius, tome ii. p. 50.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid. p. 103, 104.

<sup>65</sup> Celsius, tome i. p. 193, 194.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid. tome ii. p. 80.



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Triumph of  
the Swedish  
admiral.

ashes, were left to float on the waves; and that so cruel an act had been committed, in retaliation for the treatment, experienced by the Danes in Sweden<sup>67</sup>.

In the preceding year, Brockenhusen, the Danish naval commander, by an opposite chance of war, had been made prisoner, and carried to Stockholm. Eric, who affected magnificence, and loved exhibitions of splendor, granted Bagge the honors of a triumph. It may convey an idea of the taste and manners of the age, to describe the nature of the ceremony. The admiral came first, accompanied by two barons, and having over his shoulders, a gold chain. All the officers, who had been present in the engagement, followed, dressed in brocade. Lastly, marched Brockenhusen himself, attended by his unfortunate countrymen: they were bareheaded, and carried white staves in their hands. Before them, went the court buffoon, named Hercules, who played on the violin. The procession crossed the capital, from the vessels, to the castle<sup>68</sup>. It must be owned, that the difference was very wide, between this triumph, and those of Paulus Emilius, or Marius, to the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.

Introduction  
of titles.

Eric had already displayed his passion for spectacles of pomp and shew, at his coronation, in 1561. He then first introduced among his subjects, the titles of Count and Baron, unknown before in Sweden as hereditary dignities. Three noblemen were raised to the first, and ten to the last rank, with extraordinary solemnity. Coronets, of different figures, were placed on their heads, by the king himself.

Knighthood.

Twenty-two gentlemen received afterwards the honour of knighthood; to each of whom Eric said, on touching them over the shoulder with his sword, "Thou wast a Pagan; thou art become a Christian, and I create thee a knight<sup>69</sup>." It is by no means undeserving of remark, as it strongly evinces the superiority, arrogated and allowed to the class of nobility in that age; that when Eric proposed

<sup>67</sup> Celsius, tome ii. p. 17.<sup>68</sup> Ibid. tome i. p. 242. Note. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 48.<sup>69</sup> Celsius, tome i. p. 98—102.

to knight the Syndic of Lubeck, and the Burgrave of Dantzic, they excused themselves from accepting such an honor, as unbecoming their condition of citizens. But, the king persisting, and declaring in their presence, that merit and capacity such as theirs, merited the title of knight, in whatever rank of society they were found, the two magistrates desisted from their reluctance, and accepted the dignity of knighthood<sup>70</sup>. Yet, in 1563, when Frederic the Second, king of Denmark, sent an herald to declare war on Sweden, Eric received him, seated on his throne, and surrounded by the principal nobles. But, the envoys, or messengers of Lubeck, who came to announce the same hostile intentions on the part of that powerful and opulent city, were not even admitted to the royal presence: they were sent to the corporation of Stockholm, to relate their errand<sup>71</sup>.

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Eric the Fourteenth, and Frederic the Second, each, struck medals, Arts. commemorative of the principal events, which distinguished their Medals. reigns; but, with this difference, that the former prince seemed only desirous to perpetuate the remembrance of his coronation, or his marriage. The Danish monarch, on the contrary, wished to immortalize the victories, gained over the enemies of the State<sup>72</sup>. Eric, previous to his nuptials with Catherine, his mistress, solemnly conferred on her the privilege of bearing arms; and when she received the crown from the archbishop of Upsal, it was published, that she and her children had been already raised to the rank of nobility<sup>73</sup>. So indispensable did that ceremony appear, to precede her still higher elevation to the throne. The medallion, struck on the occasion, represented on one side, the effigy of the king, with his name; and, on the reverse, a sceptre, descending from the skies, which was received by a woman<sup>74</sup>.

The arts, appertaining to luxury, had not made any great progress, Luxury. in the sixteenth century, among the Swedes. In 1560, Eric, then

<sup>70</sup> Celsius, tome i. p. 102, 103.<sup>71</sup> Ibid. p. 250—252.<sup>72</sup> Ibid. tome ii. p. 155, 156. Mallet, vol. vii. p. 87. Note.<sup>73</sup> Celsius, tome ii. p. 155, 156.<sup>74</sup> Idem. Ibid.

preparing



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Letters.

preparing for his voyage to England, and anxious to present himself before Elizabeth, with a suitable splendor, sent his master of the wardrobe, to Antwerp, to purchase the most superb embroideries and dresses that could be procured<sup>75</sup>. Paris did not assume the pre-eminence in this article, before the time of Louis the Fourteenth. Eric afterwards caused a new and magnificent crown, with other royal ornaments, to be prepared at Antwerp, for his coronation<sup>76</sup>. Flanders had then attained to the highest point of industry and wealth; but, Philip the Second soon banished commerce and manufactures, when he attempted to infringe the civil and ecclesiastical immunities of the Flemings. If the elegant arts had not yet penetrated beyond the Baltic, letters, and philosophy, were still less known, or cultivated, in those polar regions. In the list of Eric's officers of the Court of Chancery, we see, nevertheless, a person, who bore the title of Historiographer: he was a native of France, by name Peter Marfilly<sup>77</sup>. But, true history had not arisen, at this period. Even, many years afterwards, so little progress had pharmacy, or physic, made in Sweden, that the death of John the Third was generally believed to have been caused, by the ignorance of the apothecaries, and the want of every sort of proper medicinal drugs. Physicians, strictly so denominated, were unknown among the Swedes, before the beginning of the seventeenth century<sup>78</sup>.

<sup>75</sup> Celsus, tome i. p. 36.

<sup>76</sup> Ibid. p. 73, 74.

<sup>77</sup> Celsus, tome i. p. 139.

<sup>78</sup> Puffendorf, p. 287.

## C H A P. XVII.

## R U S S I A.

*Review of the Muscovite history, from the accession of John Basilowitz.—Conquest of the kingdoms of Casan and Astracan.—Ravages of Livonia.—Destruction of Novogrod.—Cruelties of John.—Comparison of that prince with Peter the First.—State of Muscovy, in 1574.—Unlimited power of the Czars.—Revenues.—State of military knowledge.—Navigation and commerce.—Manufactures.—Mode of building.—Introduction and encouragement of the Arts.—Letters.—Tolerance in religion.—Manners.—Servitude of the Peasants.—Architecture.*

THE very existence of Russia, under the denomination of Muscovy, was scarcely known to the western nations of Europe, before the beginning of the sixteenth century. That powerful empire, which, conducted by Peter the First, has made the most rapid progress in civilization, and bereaved Sweden of her fairest provinces; which, since his death, governed by four successive empresses, has carried her arms into the center of Germany; reduced Poland nearly to the condition of a province; and after a series of unparalleled victories, has recently driven the Turks beyond the Niefter and the Danube: that monarchy, previous to the year 1550, could only be regarded as a barbarous portion of Asia. Surrounded on the south and east, by the Tartar kingdoms of Casan and Astracan, or by ferocious hordes of Calmucks: pressed on the west, by the Republic of Poland: not

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Recent appearance of Russia, among the European monarchies.

yet:



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Accession of  
John Basi-  
lowitz.

1534.

He plans the  
conquest of  
Casan.

1545.

Institution of  
the Strelit-  
zes.

yet mistress of Siberia; and almost destitute of any communication with the Baltic; the Muscovites were immersed in ignorance, and equally unacquainted with arts or commerce. But, this torpid mass required only the energy of an ambitious and capable sovereign, to awaken and propel it to action. The accession of John the Fourth, commonly known by the name of John Basilowitz, was the æra, from which we may date the rising greatness of Russia. That prince, at a very early period of life, betrayed the vigor and capacity, as well as the ferocity and violence, which have rendered his reign a mixture of illustrious achievements, and of the most revolting barbarities. He had scarcely emancipated himself from the restraints imposed on his childhood and minority, when his active mind already planned the conquest and subversion of the Tartar kingdoms; by which Russia had been antiently enslaved, and which, although in a state of declension, were still objects of apprehension. The kingdom of Casan, from its vicinity to Moscow, as well as from the riches and grandeur of its capital, was the first object of his attention; and the internal dissensions, by which it was agitated, were highly favourable to the ambitious projects of the Czar. But, conscious, that by a superiority in military discipline alone, he could hope to vanquish enemies so numerous and powerful, he began to form a body of forces, which might facilitate the undertaking, and enable him to commence his operations with success. The Russians, previous to his accession, neither knew the institution of troops regularly paid and retained; nor the use of fire-arms. John introduced both into his dominions. The celebrated body of soldiers, distinguished by the appellation of "Strelitzes," which were afterwards broke by Peter the First, owed their formation to the policy of the Czar; and were highly instrumental in contributing to the victories, by which his reign was distinguished.

<sup>1</sup> Histoire de Russie, par l'Evêque, vol. ii. p. 419—422. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 121.

Notwithstanding these wise and vigorous preparations, sustained by the personal and unwearied efforts of John, the conquest of Casan was attended with difficulties almost insuperable. Even the decease of their sovereign, Sapha Gueraï, and the disorders inseparable from a minority, did not induce the Tartars to abandon their own independence. The Russians were repeatedly defeated, and compelled to raise the siege with loss and dishonor; while, Jediguer, son to the sultan of Astracan, who was elected to fill the vacant throne, prepared to support the utmost hardships, and to brave every danger, in support of his newly-acquired dominions. But, the Czar, instructed by his past errors, and having already made the ablest dispositions for securing his ultimate success, renewed the attack. During the memorable siege of Casan, which lasted several months, all the science of war, known in that age, was exerted, and exhausted, in the Muscovite camp. A mine, which was sprung with effect, preceded, and facilitated the storm, by which the city was, at length, carried, not without the most desperate resistance on the part of the besieged. Jediguer, himself, after falling into the hands of the conqueror, was sent to Moscow, and entered into the service of John, by whom he had been deposed. His subjects, unsubdued by the loss of the capital, and the capture of their prince, continued to maintain an unequal contest against the Russians, for near six years; and were not reduced to obedience, till they had severely revenged on their oppressors the calamities, under which they finally sunk.

Animated by the fortunate issue of his late enterprize, and preceded by the terror which that important acquisition had spread among all the Tartar tribes; John proceeded to undertake the conquest of the kingdom of Astracan. It was effected with as much facility, as the siege of Casan had been difficult and laborious. An army of thirty thousand men, provided with a formidable artillery, descended the

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1546—1551.

Siege of Ca-  
san.Capture of  
the city.1553.  
Conquest of  
Astracan.

\* Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 422—449.



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1553.

Similarity of  
the Musco-  
vite, and Spa-  
nish history.

river Wolga, and found Astracan deserted on their approach. The Khan of the Crimea made an ineffectual attempt to prolong the destiny of his countrymen, and the religion of Mahomet: he was vanquished; and the Czar returned to Moscow, after having completely destroyed the antient grandeur of the Tartar nations on the Don and the Wolga, which, for many ages, had menaced the independance and existence of Russia<sup>3</sup>. In the perusal of this interesting period of the Muscovite annals, and in contemplating the expulsion, or reduction of the Tartars; we trace the same causes, as leading to so great an event, and we behold nearly similar consequences arising from it, with those that accompanied and followed the expulsion of the Moors from Spain, under Ferdinand and Isabella. In both, intestine jealousies, and a disputed title, opened the way to their destruction. Like Ferdinand, John constructed a temporary city to facilitate the capture of Casan, which capital was defended with the same valor as Granada. The Mahometan faith was alike subverted, in both instances, by the Christian; and, from those memorable epochs, we may equally date the rapid political elevation of Spain, and of Russia, at the two extremities of Europe.

1554—1557.  
War with  
Sweden.John Basil-  
witz attacks  
Livonia.

It is not without some degree of admiration and astonishment, that, after viewing the progress of the Russian arms on the banks of the Euxine and Caspian Seas, we find them instantly transferred with equal success to the Polar regions, and occupied against the Swedes in the sixtieth degree of northern latitude. Gustavus Vasa, having at the solicitation of the Poles, invaded Carelia, in violation of the truce subsisting with John, was worsted by the Muscovites, and compelled to renew the treaty; while the Czar, victorious over his numerous enemies, already prepared to improve his advantages, by the attack and subjection of Livonia<sup>4</sup>. That beautiful and fertile province was still subject to the Teutonic knights, when the Russians entered

<sup>3</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122. Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 449—453.<sup>4</sup> Puffendorf, p. 223. Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 454—456.

it; and having captured Narva, continued their progress, which was marked by the most brutal excesses. Furstemberg, the grand master of the order, having been taken prisoner, and conducted to Moscow; Kettler, his successor, terrified at the approach of the Muscovite troops, and incapable of resistance, hastened to resign Livonia to Sigismund Augustus, king of Poland; reserving only for himself the two duchies of Courland and Semigallia, as hereditary fiefs<sup>3</sup>. Far from adducing a remedy, the resignation made by Kettler, tended rather to augment the calamities, under which the Livonians suffered. The city of Revel, and a considerable part of the province, invoked, and received the protection of Sweden; while Magnus, duke of Holstein, brother to Frederic the Second, king of Denmark, purchased the isle of Oesel, and its dependencies; by means of which he hoped to attain the sovereignty of Livonia itself<sup>4</sup>. Alternately ravaged by these four contending powers, that unfortunate country was, during a number of years, a prey to calamities of every kind; and it was not till a period, considerably later than the one which we are reviewing, that John Basilowitz, compelled by foreign and domestic losses or defeats, consented to renounce his pretensions, and to abandon his acquisitions in Livonia.

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1558—1562.

Ravages  
committed in  
that province.

This part of his reign was peculiarly marked by acts of cruelty and ferocity, which are, in a great measure, unknown to the history of the most barbarous nations; and the parallel of which can only be found among the tyrants of antiquity. In reading the flagitious enormities of John, we are divided between incredulity, horror, and disgust, while we see the crimes of those monsters who insulted and trampled on the Roman senate and people, exceeded by the Muscovite prince. His stern and savage temper had, during many years, been mollified or subdued by the virtues of the Czarina; but, her death withdrew the only restraint which could mitigate its fury.

1562—1568.  
Enormities of  
John.

<sup>3</sup> Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 456—468.

<sup>4</sup> Mallet, vol. vii. p. 29—37. Celsius, tome i. p. 185—188. Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 468, 469.



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1562—1568.  
Wealth and  
commerce of  
Novogrod.

1569.  
Massacre of  
the inhabit-  
ants.

1570.

1571—1574.  
Passive sub-  
mission of the  
Muscovites.

After affecting a species of voluntary abdication, and retiring from Moscow for a considerable time, he again resumed the supreme direction of public affairs; and, irritated at the attachment which the city of Novogrod had manifested towards the crown of Poland, he exercised on that devoted place, an act of vengeance, that may vie with the destruction of the inhabitants of Alexandria, by Caracalla. Novogrod, situate on the frontier of Muscovy, near the confines of Lithuania and Livonia, was esteemed the most flourishing and commercial city of the empire; and after Moscow, the most populous. It had, for ages, been the only mart, by which the productions of Europe were exchanged for the commodities of Russia; and its antiquity ascended to times the most remote. On a suspicion, which, if not groundless, was by no means clearly ascertained, that the citizens had held a treasonable correspondence with the Poles; the Czar, accompanied by his eldest son, repaired thither in person, and abandoned them to the rage of his guards and soldiery. The defenceless and unresisting inhabitants were massacred, or precipitated into the river, in crowds; and the carnage lasted five weeks, without intermission. It was not an impulse of sudden rage, but, of deliberate and systematical resentment, which it may be difficult to compare with any event in modern history, except the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in France, acted almost at the same time. John had the inhumanity to cause the ice of the Volkhof, on which Novogrod stands, to be broken, in order to drown the victims of his fury; and not the slightest attempt at resistance, appears to have been made, during the continuance of so long and unprovoked a slaughter. The city, desolate and depopulated, never recovered its former lustre, and has gradually diminished to a mean and insignificant village<sup>1</sup>.

After this scene of horror, we might naturally expect, that the Czar, satiated with blood, would have, at least, suspended his further violence; but, Moscow was destined to renew the scene, performed

<sup>1</sup> Lefevreque, vol. ii. p. 478—483. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122.

at Novogrod. It is difficult to know, whether we should most admire the silent and prostrate submission of a whole empire, to the sanguinary mandates of such a tyrant; or, most detest the despotism, which was employed only for the purposes of extermination. The state of degradation and debasement, in which the human mind was sunk among a people, where not one individual was found to oppose or arrest the vengeance of a monster, armed with supreme power, is not the least wonderful object of reflexion; and stands strikingly opposed to the generous and elevated character of antient Greece, or Rome, even in their most depraved and abject condition. The Muscovites of the sixteenth century, by the testimony of their own countrymen, were incapable of political freedom, destitute of elevation or liberality, and only sensible to injuries, oppression, and tyranny. It is more in the genius of the nation, than in the character of the monarch, that we are to seek the cause of so many deliberate acts of brutal ferocity; and if the intractable or debased nature of the people cannot extenuate the cruelties of their sovereign, it may, at least, explain and account for their extent and magnitude. In perusing the description of the executions and punishments, inflicted by the Czar, at Moscow, for the real, or supposed defection of the inhabitants; we may conceive ourselves transported to the most savage countries of Africa, or America. John was not merely the exterminator: he was likewise the executioner of his own people; and his vengeance seemed to delight in every refinement of cruelty, by which their sufferings were heightened, or prolonged. It must be admitted, that if these continual scenes of horror could not shake the foundations of his authority, or awaken to resentment a nation framed for slavery; they yet tended to diminish the opulence, commerce, and population of Muscovy. The destruction of Novogrod was a severe and irremediable blow to the trade of all the western provinces, which remained long in a state of languor and decline.

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1571-1574

Executions at  
Moscow.

\* Lelievre, vol. ii. p. 483-484.

Notwith-



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1571—1574.  
Comparison  
between  
John, and  
Peter the  
First.

Similarity of  
their views  
and projects.

Notwithstanding the barbarities by which the reign of John Basilowitz is polluted and deformed, it would be unjust not to recognize with the applause which they demand, his enlarged and expanded principles of government. It may even be asserted without a violation of truth, that he bore, in many of the leading features which characterize his administration and policy, as well as in the shades and vices of his private conduct, a close and intimate resemblance to that illustrious person, who has merited the admiration of mankind, beyond any prince of the age in which he lived; and on whom, by the unanimous consent of his contemporaries, was conferred the title of "Great." Peter the First may be said only to have matured and perfected the plan, which was conceived and commenced by John. The same desire to reform and ameliorate the barbarous jurisprudence of the nation; the same attention to encourage commerce, to animate industry, and to open sources of advantage to their subjects; similar efforts to draw foreigners to the capital; and to humanize the Muscovites, by their intercourse; equally distinguish the two princes. Military discipline, and the formation of a powerful body of regular forces, occupied each, at the beginning of their reigns. Peter did not more passionately desire, nor anxiously prosecute the conquest of Livonia, and the acquisition of a province, which might facilitate his passage to the Baltic, than did John. But, the circumstances were more favourable to Peter, and he profited of them with greater dexterity, than his predecessor. John over-ran and desolated Ingria, Esthonia, and Livonia: Peter, more magnanimous, wise, and fortunate, not only subjected, but retained those valuable countries, and transmitted them to his descendants. In all points, he is superior to John; but, in none, perhaps more so, than in the circumstance of his being born in a period, when light and science were generally diffused. Europe, in the sixteenth century, was not yet polished, nor capable of affording to a barbarous nation, that variety of assistance, which the conclusion of the seventeenth, and beginning

of the eighteenth century, offered. If from their virtues and endowments, we turn our view to the defects and crimes of the two monarchs, we shall find the similarity yet more striking. Peter, like John, was addicted to the characteristic vices of the Muscovites; intoxication, brutality, and cruelty. His reign and life afford too many proofs of this melancholy assertion; and he owned, that he could more easily reform his people, than himself. Each, in their paroxysms of rage, was sanguinary and terrible: each, even, in those moments of fury, was yet capable of being soothed, or softened, by their wives. In one circumstance, the resemblance is still closer; that both sovereigns put to death their son and successor; and in this act, John, who inflicted a wound, in the transports of his anger, which proved mortal; seems to be far more an object of pardon and compassion, than the Czar, Peter, who premeditatedly and systematically deprived the Czarowitz of his life from motives rather political, than personal.

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1571—1574.  
Resemblance  
of their vices.

There is no period of the Russian history, anterior to the accession of Peter the Great, which merits equal attention with the reign of John Basilowitz. It was the æra, when that vast empire began first to emerge from barbarism; and the troubles, or rather revolutions, by which it was agitated soon after his decease, impeded, and retarded its advances in power, wealth, and civilization, for above a century. Under John, the Russians neither enjoyed, nor, perhaps, even aspired to possess any political constitution. Never was despotism more unlimited, than that exercised by him, over the lives, liberties, and property of his subjects; nor was any order of them exempt from its severity. He united, in some measure, the pontifical and kingly power, in his own person; and even the veneration, paid to the character and office of the Metropolitans of the Greek, or Russian church, imposed no restraint on his arbitrary disposition. He deposed, imprisoned, and condemned them at pleasure, with every circumstance of ignominy\*. The nobility, princes, and even the persons allied to him by

1574.  
State of the  
Russian em-  
pire.

Despotism of  
the Czars.

\* Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 58, 59.

blood,



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1574

Revenues.

Confiscations.

Military forces.

blood, were equally the victims of his caprice, rage, or apprehension. Yet, in the formation of a code of laws for the government of the empire, he assembled the deputies of the nobility, demanded their advice, and conformed himself to it, in the regulations which he promulgated<sup>10</sup>. We cannot entertain a very exalted idea of this system of jurisprudence, framed in 1550, when we find that judicial combats, or appeals to the interposition of Heaven, were still permitted by it, at a time when those institutions of barbarism were either abolished, or fallen into disuse, in almost all the other states of Europe<sup>11</sup>.

It was as difficult to assign any limit to the revenues, as to the prerogatives of the Czar. Besides the immediate domain of the crown, and the impositions levied from the people, John possessed other modes of amassing wealth. Confiscations were a principal source; and several of the highest class of the nobility were seized, and put to death, in order to obtain their vast estates. Numbers of the inferior vassals were commonly implicated in the guilt, and shared the fate of their chief, on these occasions<sup>12</sup>. Almost all the gold and silver, brought into his dominions by trade, was gradually drawn into the treasury of John; and when he invaded Livonia, he carried off every thing valuable, without sparing even the plate, and sacred ornaments of the churches. The ransom of prisoners, or the necessary disbursements for levying foreign troops, were the only occasions and objects, which induced him to permit the distribution and expenditure of his treasures. Leather money was used in the common intercourse of life, by the inferior orders of the people<sup>13</sup>. The Muscovites did not possess a single ship of war, under John Basilowitz: it was reserved for the genius of Peter the First, to transfer the capital from Moscow to the banks of the gulf of Finland, and to create a formidable navy. Even the military force of Russia, in 1574, however superior to the undisciplined and tumultuary assemblage of vassals, which constituted their armies

<sup>10</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 45.<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 46.<sup>12</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 60, 61.<sup>13</sup> Idem, *ibid.*

in earlier periods, was altogether deficient in the knowledge of war. CHAP.  
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The science of fortification, and the art of attacking or defending cities, was still less cultivated; but in passive and invincible courage, 1574.  
Artillery. the Russian soldier ceded to none<sup>14</sup>. It is not unworthy of remark, that cannon were cast at Moscow, as early as 1482, by an Italian engineer, named Aristoteli de Bologna, under the reign of Ivan the Third; and they were even employed in that year, against the town of Fellin, in Livonia; while the Swedes do not appear to have made use of artillery, till thirteen years afterwards, about 1495<sup>15</sup>. At the memorable siege of Casan, in 1552, the Czar's physician acted in the capacity of principal engineer, and prepared the mine, by means of which a breach was made in the walls of the city<sup>16</sup>. After the beginning of the sixteenth century, the use of cannon became general among the northern nations: at the capture of Narva, by the Muscovites, in 1558, they found two hundred and thirty pieces of artillery, of different sizes and dimensions, in the place<sup>17</sup>.

In the distinguished protection which John Basilowitz granted to Commerce; commerce, we trace the extent of his views for augmenting his own greatness, and the wealth of his subjects. No sooner had he gained possession of Narva, in 1558, than he used every means to draw thither the trade of the Baltic; and he succeeded beyond his expectations. The Dutch, French, and English, as well as the inhabitants of Lubeck, repaired to Narva, notwithstanding the prohibitions issued by the emperor Ferdinand the First, at the solicitation of the grand master of the knights of Livonia<sup>18</sup>. Some years before this event, in 1553, the Eng- Navigation  
of the  
northern sea.lish had opened a new and unknown channel of trade, by the discovery of a passage round the North Cape, to the Icy Sea. They landed near the mouth of the river Dwina, at a monastery, named St. Nicholas, not far from the spot where has since been constructed the city of Arch-

<sup>14</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 52—54.<sup>17</sup> Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 462.<sup>15</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 358.<sup>18</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 49.<sup>16</sup> Ibid. p. 444.



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XVII.

1574

Alliance be-  
tween John,  
and Eliza-  
beth, queen  
of England.

angel. They were conducted, across Muscovy, to the capital, and treated by John with extraordinary attention<sup>19</sup>. In 1554, two more English vessels attempted the same voyage; but, being surrounded by the ice, could not reach their destination. The crews perished by the severity of the climate; and when the ships were descried by the Russians, no person remained alive. Yet, to the honor of their national character, a faithful account was rendered, of all the merchandize, or effects, contained on board the vessels. The Czar, anxious to cultivate a connexion with England, sent an embassy to Mary, who then filled the throne<sup>20</sup>. He even entered into closer ties of amity, private and political, with her successor, Elizabeth; and the two sovereigns stipulated to grant each other a mutual asylum in their respective dominions, in case of necessity. The English queen obtained from her new ally, an exclusive patent, in favour of her subjects, for the whole trade of Muscovy, which, before 1570, began to encrease very rapidly. The Czar did not hesitate to demand an English lady in marriage, in order still more to cement the union; and Elizabeth meant to have selected the Lady Anne Hastings, daughter to the earl of Huntingdon, for the future Czarina: but, justly terrified at the character of her Muscovite lover, and at the accounts which she had received of the barbarism of his country and subjects, she declined the dangerous honor of reigning in Russia<sup>21</sup>.

Actuated by rivalry and jealousy, at the progress which John Basilowitz made towards establishing a commercial intercourse with the European nations, by means of Archangel; Gustavus Vasa attempted to impede its further advance. He endeavoured to inspire the court of Copenhagen with apprehensions; and he remonstrated with the queen of England; but, equally without effect. Elizabeth promised to prevent her people from selling arms to the Russians; but, she refused to limit them upon any other article, or object of com-

<sup>19</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 47, 48.<sup>20</sup> Idem, *ibid*.<sup>21</sup> Camden's Life of Elizab. p. 408, and 418, and p. 493.

merce.

merce". Notwithstanding the anxiety, evinced by John, to facilitate and to augment the trade of Muscovy, it lay under numerous impediments, resulting from the barbarous customs and prejudices of the age, or country. No foreigners, except Poles and Lithuanians, were allowed to visit Moscow, for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile transactions; by which injudicious prohibition, the advantages obviously resulting from a concurrence of dealers, was sacrificed. The Czar pretended and enforced a right of pre-emption for himself, which was highly vexatious and inimical to the genius of commerce. Above all, his inhuman treatment of Novogrod, and the consequent decline of that opulent and industrious city, produced effects the most ruinous to his own projects".

C H A P.  
XVII.1574.  
Impediments  
to trade in  
Muscovy.

Every article of elegance or luxury, known in Russia during the sixteenth century, was imported from strangers. Their own manufactures were few, rude, and homely. Coarse cloth, linen, and leather, were fabricated, or prepared, with some degree of skill; and the number of their exports was far more considerable, than it was natural to suppose, from the state of depression, or barbarism in which the nation remained. Furs, wax, salt, iron, timber, and even corn, were largely exported to most of the European kingdoms, under the reign of John". Besides these objects, a great and important traffic was carried on from the interior provinces, with the Tartar nations, and even with Bocharia and Persia. Caravans arrived frequently in the capital of Russia, from all the provinces to the south and east of the Caspian Sea". Moscow was almost entirely constructed of wood, and consequently subject to continual, and most destructive ravages by fire. In 1547, two successive conflagrations laid it in ashes: the palace of the Czars; the Bazar, or assemblage of shops, which, as in all Asiatic towns, were contiguous and collected in one place; together with every edifice of consequence, shared the general ruin. Near two

Manufac-  
tures.  
Arts.Conflagra-  
tions at Mos-  
cow.<sup>22</sup> Lefvesque, p. 48, 49.<sup>23</sup> Ibid. p. 98, 99.<sup>24</sup> Lefvesque, p. 49, 50.<sup>25</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 50, 51, and p. 100.



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thousand persons were supposed to have perished in the flames<sup>26</sup>.  
 1574. A still greater calamity befel Moscow in 1571, at the precise time, when John was preparing to march into Livonia. The Tartars of the Crimea, instigated by the king of Poland, made an irruption into Muscovy, penetrated to the capital, and set fire to the suburbs. A high wind aiding the flames, they gained the powder magazine, which blew up, and involved in its destruction a great part of the city. Seventy thousand people, of both sexes, were massacred or burnt in this expedition of the Tartars<sup>27</sup>.

Mode of constructing towns with wood.

Some conveniencies were, notwithstanding, annexed to the mode of building with wood, which counterbalanced, in certain cases, the disasters to which it was liable. The ease and expedition, with which not only houses and palaces, but even towns were raised, excite admiration. The most extraordinary instance of this invention, was exhibited by order of the Czar, in 1551, before the famous siege of Casan. In order to facilitate the approaches to the city, he took possession of a spot, at the distance of five leagues from it, where the river Sviaga falls into the Wolga. Having caused a number of trees to be prepared for building, and transported by water to the place, he arrived, unmolested, and began instantly to fabricate a town. So dextrous were the workmen, and such incredible celerity was exerted, that in a month, a wooden city was completely finished. A principal church, six inferior, or smaller ones, and a monastery, were included within its limits. Noblemen, merchants, and persons of every rank, raised houses at their own expence. The place, named Sviasjk, was of a very considerable size; and contributed eminently, by the accommodations which it afforded the Russian army, to the prosperous conclusion of the enterprize against Casan<sup>28</sup>.

Sviasjk.

<sup>26</sup> Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 412—414.

<sup>27</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 122. Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 492, 493.

<sup>28</sup> Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 429, 430.

Before

Before the year 1500, Ivan the Third, great prince of Muscovy, C H A P.  
XVII. had already endeavoured, not without success, to attract strangers, artists, and workmen of various descriptions, to Moscow. Several 1574.  
Encourage-  
ment given  
to foreign  
artists. Italians of talents, induced by the hopes of reward and encouragement, had visited that remote and barbarous metropolis<sup>29</sup>. But, John Basilowitz made far greater efforts to introduce arts, manufactures, and civilization, among his subjects. He allured persons from England; with which country, during his whole reign, he appears to have maintained a close communication. A colony, of near three hundred manufacturers, assembled from the different states of Europe, and which was ready to embark from Lubeck, for Narva, was prevented by the Livonians<sup>30</sup>. To John, is due the introduction of the art of Art of print-  
ing. printing into Muscovy. Impelled rather by motives of devotion, than from the desire of propagating knowledge, he rendered this service to his people. The clergy were sunk in the most profound ignorance; and it is asserted by contemporary authors, that in the vast extent of John's dominions, only three ecclesiastics understood the Latin language. A circumstance still more singular, among a people, and in a church, which observed the Greek ritual, is, that not a single priest could read or comprehend Greek<sup>31</sup>. The first work, printed by order of the Czar, under the inspection of a Russian deacon, was a translation of the Acts and Epistles of the Apostles. It was begun in April, 1563, and was near a year in the press; not being finished before March, 1564<sup>32</sup>.

Such was the detestation in which the Romish religion was held Toleration of  
the Czar. by the Muscovites, that they conceived themselves to be polluted by any intercourse with persons who held that faith; and even the Czars, when they gave audience to ambassadors, in which ceremony they presented the hand, always washed it, immediately afterwards, in a golden basin<sup>33</sup>. Yet, motives of policy rendered John Basilowitz

<sup>29</sup> Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 358.

<sup>30</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 47, and p. 54, 55.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid. p. 56.

<sup>32</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 56.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid. p. 57.



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1574.

Manners.

tolerant; and in order to induce foreigners to repair to Moscow, liberty of conscience was granted, in its fullest extent: the Lutheran merchants, settled in that metropolis, possessed two churches<sup>34</sup>.

To complete the picture of Muscovy, under John, it only remains to say a few words on the general manners of the people. They were simple, rude, and partook more of Asiatic, than European customs. A servility, and even passive resignation to the orders of the sovereign, however unjust, cruel, or absurd, characterised every class, from the prince to the meanest of his vassals. We can, with difficulty, conceive, or credit the extent of this submission; which debased and dishonoured the nation<sup>35</sup>. The same despotism, brutality, and triumph of the strong over the weak, pervaded private life. All the refinements, which humanize and soften the intercourse of the sexes, were unknown. Violence, and blows, operated more than the suggestions of generosity, or the emotions of tenderness. The power of fathers over their children had hardly any limit: not only they could inflict upon their unfortunate offspring, corporal chastisement of the severest kind; but, they even possessed a right of selling them four times. Women, secluded from conversation or society, were, if possible, more rigorously, or ignominiously treated. The antient laws did not even specify or decree any punishment for a husband who murdered his wife; so absolute was their dominion, and so uncontrouled their authority, in all domestic transactions<sup>36</sup>.

Divorces.

Divorces were only permitted, according to the rules of the Greek church, in case the husband, or wife, should voluntarily embrace a monastic profession. But, the Czars, accustomed to trample on all institutions, civil or moral, did not respect the ties of marriage, nor regard them as sacred and binding. Basil the Fourth, Father of John, disgusted with the Czarina, on account of her sterility, repudiated

<sup>34</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 57.

<sup>35</sup> Ibid. p. 58—61.

<sup>36</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 81—88.

her,

her, in 1525; and not satisfied with this act of injustice, he banished her to Kargapol, a town little more than two degrees removed from the Arctic circle, where she was treated with extreme severity". John Basilowitz, his son, surpassed him in this respect. He had, successively, according to the testimony of foreigners, no less a number of wives than seven: the Russians limit them to five; two of whom he compelled to retire into convents".

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XVII.  
1574.

The condition of the Russian peasants, though abject, was distinct from slavery. They could even quit the estate of their lord, and engage in any occupation, or enter into a new service, at their pleasure; but, they felt so little either the dignity, or the charms of freedom, that they were accustomed to sell themselves, and voluntarily to renounce the prerogative of liberty". Slaves, in the strict and literal acceptation of the term, were unknown, except captives, taken in war; more particularly, Tartars and Cossacks, who usually were enfranchised at the death of their masters". We may form some idea of the barbarous practice of the Muscovites, when engaged in hostilities, by their treatment of the prisoners, made at the battle of Wyburg in Carelia, gained by prince Paletskoi over the Swedes, in 1556. So great a number of soldiers, peasants, women, and children, fell into their hands, that the conquerors disposed of them at the vilest prices. The young women, as ministering to the pleasures of the Russian troops, were estimated at a higher sum, than the males".

Condition of  
the peasants.

Treatment of  
captives.

The dwellings of the superior classes, and even the palaces of the sovereign himself, were not only rude in their construction, composed of wood, and destitute of elegance; but, they wanted many accommodations of ordinary convenience. Chairs, an article, become so general in the present age, were totally unknown, under John.

Domestic  
architecture.

<sup>37</sup> Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 387.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid. vol. iii. p. 44.

<sup>39</sup> Ibid. p. 89, 90.

<sup>40</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 89, 90.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 455, 456.



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XVII.

1574.

Benches supplied their place, fixed to the walls of the apartment; and they were very commonly used as beds. The rigour of the climate, and severity of the cold, during many months of the year, compelled the Muscovites to adapt their architecture to these circumstances. The windows were very small, and the doors so low, that in order to enter them, it was necessary to stoop considerably. Like the Asiatics, the men occupied the front of the house, while the women were confined in the most retired chambers of the building<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Lefvesque, vol. iii. p. 80, 81.

## C H A P. XVIII.

## P O L A N D.

*Survey of the history of Poland, from the elevation of the family of Jagellon.—Reign of Sigismund the First.—Decline of the order of the Teutonic knights.—Secularization of Prussia.—Accession of Sigismund Augustus.—Cession of Livonia to Poland.—Death of Sigismund Augustus.—Interregnum.—Intrigues preceding the election of Henry, duke of Anjou, to the Polish crown.—Limitations imposed on his power.—Arrival, and coronation of Henry.—His flight.—Reflexions on the Polish history, and form of government.—Weakness of the crown.—Power and privileges of the nobility.—Anarchy, and disorders.—Slender revenues.—Military forces.—Festivities.—Commerce.—Plans for navigating the Black Sea.—Barbarism of the people.—Magnificence of the higher orders.—Letters.—Religion.—Vices of the constitution, and mode of election.*

THE Polish kings, of the race of the Piasts, who had governed that country, for several ages, having become extinct in the person of Louis, king of Hungary and Poland, towards the conclusion of the fourteenth century; after some years of interregnum, Jagellon, great duke of Lithuania, was elected to fill the throne, and became the founder of a new dynasty of princes. It is a circumstance equally curious and authentic, that, at the period of his elevation, when more than a thousand years had elapsed, since the complete triumph of the christian religion over the superstitions of antiquity; and when almost all the other states of Europe had embraced the same faith for

C H A P.  
XVIII.1382.  
Elevation of  
the family of  
Jagellon, to  
the Polish  
throne.Idolatry of  
the Lithu-  
anians.



C H A P.  
XVIII.

1386.

many centuries; the Lithuanians alone still remained in the practice of the grossest idolatry. All the objects of veneration, sacred among their Scythian ancestors, were still retained, and regarded as divinities. The element of fire, thunder, and many inanimate objects; but, peculiarly, serpents of every species, received religious honors: the cock was offered to these reptiles, as the most acceptable sacrifice, accompanied with libations of milk; and captives, taken in war, were frequently burnt alive, as propitiatory victims, to avert the wrath

1386—1508.

Introduction  
of the christian  
religion.

of their offended gods<sup>1</sup>. Actuated by ambition, Jagellon, not only renounced the errors in which he had himself been educated: he, likewise, induced, or compelled, his subjects to follow his example; and he became the apostle, as well as the legislator of the Lithuanians<sup>2</sup>. That barbarous people, assembled in multitudes, were admitted, the last of the European nations, into the christian communion: but, as their numbers rendered it impossible, or tedious to baptise them individually; they were divided into distinct troops, and received the sacrament of baptism by asperision, under one christian denomination, according to the different sexes<sup>3</sup>. The kingdom which Jagellon had acquired, he transmitted, to his descendants. Ladislaus, his eldest son, a prince, who manifested the most elevated disposition, was killed, at a very early period of his life, in the memorable battle of Varna, gained by Amurath the Second, emperor of the Turks; but, the family of the Lithuanian kings continued to reign in Poland.

1508—1513.  
Reign of  
Sigismund  
the First.

Sigismund the First, acceded to the throne, soon after the beginning of the sixteenth century, at the period when the animosity of Charles the Fifth, and Francis the First, involved Europe in long and perpetual wars. From any active, or effectual participation in these quarrels, Sigismund was, in a great measure, precluded, by his remote situation; which rendered him much more deeply interested in the events, or policy, of his northern and eastern neighbours, the Russians, the

<sup>1</sup> Solignac, *Histoire de la Pologne*, vol. iii. p. 245, 246. Note.<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 246, 247.<sup>3</sup> *L'Art de Verif.* vol. ii. p. 72.

Teutonic

Teutonic knights, and the Ottoman sultans. In the first years of his reign, Basil the Fourth, great duke of Muscovy, obtained repeated advantages over the Poles, desolated Lithuania, and reduced to his obedience the two important cities of Pleskow and Smolensko, with their dependant provinces\*. But, the transaction, that has rendered the reign of Sigismund memorable in the history of Europe, and which in its effects is still powerfully felt after near three centuries, was the secularization of the duchy of Prussia, in the person of Albert of Brandenburg. The Teutonic knights, by a series of military exploits, had gradually established their empire, over some of the richest and most commercial provinces of the north. From the frontiers of Brandenburg and Pomerania, they had subjected all the countries which skirt the southern shore of the Baltic, to the borders of Ingria, and the gulf of Finland. Their power and revenues had enabled them, not only to defend, but, to augment their extensive dominions. Frequently engaged in hostilities with Poland, they had more than once nearly reduced Lithuania; but, vanquished by Casimir the Fourth, and obliged to demand peace on humiliating conditions, they had ceded the duchy of Pomerellia, the fertile districts along the river Vistula, and even the city of Marienburg itself, the residence of the grand master, in order to obtain it from that prince. The eastern division of Prussia, they were only permitted to retain, as a fief, for which every successive chief of the order was bound to do homage in person, to the kings of Poland†. It is proper that history should commemorate, as a melancholy proof of the ravages and devastations of war, that in the short space of twelve years, above three hundred thousand persons, bearing arms, had perished, besides a still greater number of peasants; and that of more than twenty-one thousand villages, which Prussia had contained at the commencement of hostilities, only three thousand and thirteen escaped destruction by the flames‡.

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XVIII.

1508—1513.

Power, and  
extensive do-  
minions of  
the Teutonic  
knights.Devastation  
of the Prus-  
sian territo-  
ries.

\* Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 370—374. Solignac, vol. iv. p. 337—341.

† Solignac, vol. iv. p. 186, 187.

‡ Ibid. p. 187, 188.



CHAP.  
XVIII.

1508—1513.  
Decline of  
the Teutonic  
knights.

Seculariza-  
tion of Prussia.

1525.

1526—1548.  
Felicity of  
Poland under  
Sigismund.

From this period, the power of the Teutonic knights continued rapidly to decline, notwithstanding the repeated efforts made by them, to recover their dismembered provinces, and to shake off their dependance on the Polish crown. Albert of Brandenburg, who descended from a collateral branch of the electoral family, was chosen grand master, soon after the accession of Sigismund, and became one of the earliest converts to the Lutheran doctrines. After having, like his predecessors, maintained an unequal contest against the king of Poland, he terminated all further disputes by a treaty, in which he sacrificed the interests and existence of the order itself which he commanded, to motives of personal ambition and aggrandizement. Sigismund consented, that the duchy of Prussia should be converted into an hereditary fief, revertible to the Republic of Poland, in case of the failure of Albert's posterity, and that of his brothers. By this agreement, which was carried into immediate execution, Albert became, from the elective head of a military order of knights, the sovereign of a considerable and opulent province, which descended to his son; and by the failure of his immediate descendants, was, in the ensuing century, united to the other dominions of the house of Brandenburg<sup>7</sup>.

If Sigismund the First has been deservedly esteemed one of the most illustrious princes who has reigned in Poland, his reputation was due, not to the foreign acquisitions by which he augmented the Republic; but, to the vigor of his administration, and to the internal tranquillity, enjoyed under his government. Equally courted by France, and by the house of Austria, he observed a wise neutrality; and refused to take any part in the civil, or religious quarrels, by which the German empire was agitated and desolated. Yet, zealously attached to the catholic faith, and an enemy to all innovations in religion, he steadily repressed every attempt to establish, or to introduce,

<sup>7</sup> Solignac, vol. iv. p. 399—401.

among

among his subjects, the Lutheran, or Calvinist doctrines. The city of Dantzic having thrown off its allegiance, and openly renounced the Romish worship; he had no sooner terminated the war in which he had been engaged with the Teutonic knights, than he repaired thither in person; compelled the inhabitants to return to the obedience of Poland; inflicted capital punishment on the leaders of the sedition, and reinstated the ecclesiastics in their offices and dignities<sup>\*</sup>. The termination of his life, was marked by every circumstance of national prosperity. While, on one hand, he maintained peace with Muscovy, on the other, he repelled an irruption of the Walachians, who had invaded the province of Podolia. The election of his only son, Sigismund Augustus, to the succession, in contradiction to the jealous reluctance constantly manifested by the Poles, who still regarded the throne as elective, and not hereditary; left him without anxiety, on that subject. Sinking in years, but, exempt from all the infirmities which usually accompany old age; he was occupied in the most enlightened and beneficial exertions to introduce arts, civilization, and knowledge, among his rude and uncultivated subjects. Superior to the illusions, or prospects of ambition, he refused, successively, the crown of Sweden, and those of Hungary and Bohemia, which were tendered him; and attentive only to perform the duties incumbent on a king of Poland, he was repaid by the grateful affection and respect of every order of his people<sup>†</sup>.

The reign of Sigismund Augustus opened a very different scene, and was alternately agitated by domestic dissensions, and by foreign wars. His insurmountable passion for a Polish lady, of the family of Radziwil, whom he had privately married before his father's decease; and the generous, but imprudent obstinacy, with which he adhered to his matrimonial engagement, in defiance of the entreaties, expostulations, and even menaces of the Polish nobility; had nearly precipi-

CHAP.  
XVIII.

1526—1548.

Termination  
of his reign.

1548—1551.  
Reign of Si-  
gismund Au-  
gustus.

<sup>\*</sup> Solignac, vol. iv. p. 403, 404.

<sup>†</sup> L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 73. Solignac, vol. iv. p. 409—430.

tated



C H A P.  
XVIII.

1548—1551.

1552.

His conduct,  
relative to  
the protes-  
tants.

tated him from the throne. It required the utmost address, as well as firmness, to avert the danger, and to place the crown on the head of a person, whom the nation seemed unanimous in refusing to acknowledge as their queen<sup>10</sup>. The troubles, occasioned by the progress of Lutheranism, which had been zealously propagated, and universally diffused throughout the kingdom; were encreased by the zeal of the Polish ecclesiastics. Widely different in this respect, from his predecessor, Sigismund Augustus indirectly encouraged, and, on many occasions, openly protected the protestants; whose tenets, if he had not adopted, he was at least supposed to regard with predilection and complacency. After long hesitation, he, notwithstanding, declared himself for the catholic religion; and authorized the bishops to proceed to extremities against heresy: but, the Poles, accustomed to treat the royal authority with disrespect, and insolent from their numbers, repelled every attempt, and even intimidated the clergy from proceeding to further acts of violence and persecution<sup>11</sup>.

1553—1561.  
Affairs of Li-  
vonia.

Livonia, at this period, began to occupy the attention of the king, and demanded the most vigorous interposition of Poland. The Teutonic knights, who had continued to subsist in that province, and who formed a separate order, governed by their grand masters, after the secularization of Prussia, in 1525; having insulted Sigismund Augustus, by the imprisonment of the archbishop of Riga, he marched against them, at the head of a considerable force. Furstemberg, who then occupied the place of grand master, unable to oppose him, demanded a cessation of arms; and not only released his prisoner, but consented to sign a treaty, which virtually subjected Livonia to the crown of Poland<sup>12</sup>. A far more formidable competitor was, however, preparing to dispute the title to so valuable a possession. John Basilowitz, Czar of Muscovy, repeatedly desolated the province,

<sup>10</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 5—26, and p. 35—38.

<sup>11</sup> Ibid. p. 39—47, and p. 52—72.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid. p. 78—93.

carried

carried the grand master in chains to Moscow, and spread such consternation to the gates of Riga, that Kettler, chosen to replace Furstemberg, invoked the aid of Poland, as his last resource. Imitating the example of Albert, duke of Prussia, he repaired in person to Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, where a diet was assembled; and soon afterwards consented to cede the territories beyond the river Duna, comprehending all Livonia and Esthonia, to the king and republic of Poland. For this sacrifice of the interests and dominions of the order, he was recompensed with the duchies of Courland and Semigallia, rendered hereditary in his family, on condition of homage to Sigismund Augustus, and his successors<sup>13</sup>. Livonia, nevertheless, long continued to be disputed and ravaged by the contending powers of Russia, Sweden, and Poland; nor did its calamities terminate, and the province assume a settled form, till towards the conclusion of the sixteenth century.

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XVIII.

1553—1561.  
Cession of  
that province  
to Poland.

The last years of the reign of Sigismund Augustus were more beneficially occupied, in completing the union of the kingdom of Poland, with the duchy of Lithuania. Although the two countries had been governed for near a hundred and eighty years, since the accession of the house of Jagellon, by the same common sovereign, they were by no means incorporated; and their future separation was an event, which the perpetual dissensions of the Poles and Lithuanians rendered highly probable. Destitute of issue, though he had been three times married; infirm in his constitution, and sinking in bodily, as well as mental vigor; the king betrayed the warmest anxiety to consummate so useful a work. He succeeded, after surmounting the delays and impediments which long retarded it; and the act, by which it was solemnly decreed, in a diet composed of deputies from both nations, held at Lublin, has never, in the course of more than two centuries, been infringed, or invalidated<sup>14</sup>.

1562—1569.  
Union of Po-  
land and Li-  
thuania.

<sup>13</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 93—109. Lefvesque, vol. ii. p. 465—468. L'Art de Verif. vol. ii. p. 74.

<sup>14</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 141—152.



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XVIII.

1570—1572.  
Death, and  
character of  
Sigismund  
Augustus.

Sigismund Augustus expired soon afterwards, exhausted by an immoderate and injudicious pursuit of pleasures, no longer suited either to his age, or strength. He may be regarded rather as an amiable prince, than a great one; and his talents were more calculated to excite affection, than to command obedience. Endowed with qualities which enabled him to surmount the bad effects of a vicious education, and to rise above the ignorance of the age and nation; he cultivated the arts, and was the protector of letters. Floating in uncertainty between the catholic and protestant religions, he was a friend to toleration; and Poland, though agitated, was not convulsed, by the theological dissensions, which, at that period, desolated the fairest countries of Europe. In his person, the princes of the house of Jagellon became extinct: an event, which, by rendering the crown completely elective, opened the prospect of its possession to foreign candidates; and augmented all the inveterate political evils, under which the nation already laboured, from the defects inseparably connected with its constitution<sup>13</sup>.

1572, July.  
Interregnum.  
Candidates  
for the Polish  
throne.

The arch-  
duke Ernest.

The death of Sigismund Augustus had long been regarded as probable, if not imminent; and the vacant throne had already excited the ambition, and awakened the hopes of various sovereigns, who did not even wait for the signal of his dissolution, to commence their applications and intrigues. At their head, might be justly ranked the emperor Maximilian the Second, who proposed the arch-duke Ernest, one of his younger sons; a prince of promising virtues, and highly acceptable to the nation. Every circumstance seemed to facilitate and secure his success in the attempt. The nobility of Lithuania were almost universally inclined to the Imperial party; and their choice must necessarily influence, if not decidedly prevail on the Poles; as the union, so recently effected between the two countries, depended on the unanimity of their suffrages in the election of a common sovereign. The papal legate, cardinal Commendon, a prelate of talents and dexterity, ac-

<sup>13</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 153—165. Vie de Commendon, p. 493—496.

quainted

quainted with the genius and manners of the people, among whom he had made a long residence; was warmly devoted to the Austrian faction, and could greatly contribute to its triumph. The character of Maximilian himself, moderate, humane, and beneficent; added to his spirit of religious toleration, and indirect protection of the reformed doctrines in his own dominions, naturally conciliated the protestants of Poland, who, under various denominations, formed a very numerous and powerful body. It is highly probable, that if so many advantages had been vigorously and speedily improved, the young arch-duke would have surmounted all opposition. But, the characteristic indecision and slowness of the Imperial court, which allowed the first ardor of its adherents to cool, and neglected the moment of action, turned the current of national favour and partiality into a different channel<sup>16</sup>.

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1572.

Fortune, which, in the great transactions of states and empires, as well as in the events of private life, continually overturns the maturest plans of human wisdom; eminently influenced in the election of a successor to the crown of Poland. A dwarf, by name Crafski, of liberal birth, and not deficient in any of those qualities or attainments, calculated to raise their possessor in a court; having quitted his native country during the reign of Sigismund Augustus, had visited France, where he received very flattering testimonies of regard, and even more solid proofs of affection, from the queen dowager Catherine of Medecis, and her son, Charles the Ninth. Enriched by their bounty, he returned to Cracow; and, penetrated with gratitude towards his benefactors, Crafski extolled and exaggerated the magnificence of the French monarch, the splendor of his capital, and the wealth of his subjects. Anticipating, in common with all his countrymen, the approaching vacancy of the Polish throne, he depicted Henry, duke of Anjou, brother to the king of France, as a prince, who was eminently qualified to contribute to the glory and

History of  
Crafski.

Henry, duke  
of Anjou.

<sup>16</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 169—172. Commendon, livre iv. chap. vi.



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1572.

felicity of a great people. The victories of Jarnac and Montcontour, gained by him over the Hugonots, though due to the talents of others, had covered the duke with personal reputation, at a very early period of life. His person, manners, and exterior endowments, were seductive; while his vices and imperfections, not yet matured by manhood, left the graces of his figure and deportment to produce their full effect, and to conciliate general partiality. The panegyrics and recommendations of Crafski, operated so powerfully on the minds or imaginations of the Poles, that a considerable party insensibly formed itself in favour of the candidate whom he proposed; and in the expectation of the moment when it would be requisite to produce him on the scene, the principal nobility deputed Crafski to represent to the king of France, their disposition to confer the crown on his brother<sup>17</sup>.

Proposal to  
elect him  
king of Po-  
land.

No proposal could be more grateful to that monarch, nor to his mother, Catherine; though from motives very dissimilar. Charles, deeply affected by the superiority, fame, and achievements of the duke of Anjou; displeased at the queen dowager's unconcealed partiality for him; and anxious to remove him to a distance, where he could be no longer dangerous; ardently seized so favourable an occasion of banishing him from France. Catherine, intoxicated with visions of ambition, and desirous of raising her favourite son to the rank of a sovereign; embraced the offer with equal enthusiasm. Montluc, bishop of Valence, one of the ablest negotiators of the sixteenth century, was instantly dispatched, on the decease of Sigismund Augustus, to commence the public prosecution of the enterprize. In defiance of obstacles and difficulties, under which ordinary men would have sunk; destitute of pecuniary resources; unaccompanied by the retinue, becoming his function and commission; he, nevertheless, penetrated through the German states, and arrived on the Polish frontiers. Though prevented by the violence and ravages of the plague,

Embassy of  
Montluc.

<sup>17</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 552—557.

which desolated the kingdom, from venturing further to prosecute his journey, or to present himself in the diet, and announce the object of his embassy; he surmounted these impediments, and made a rapid progress in acquiring adherents. Even the intelligence of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, committed at Paris, which immediately followed his appearance in Poland; and the participation of the duke of Anjou in that detestable transaction, which was notorious and indisputable; neither disconcerted, nor frustrated his endeavours.

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The security, supineness, and arrogance of the Imperial ministers, aided Montluc; and the natural levity, inconstancy, and love of change, which characterised the Poles, gave him an easy access to their hearts. The very circumstances, which, in their own nature, were calculated to prevent his success; the vast distance of the two countries, and the total unacquaintance of Henry with the customs, language, and interests of the nation over which he aspired to reign, by an extraordinary coincidence of events, facilitated his elevation<sup>18</sup>.

Success of his  
exertions.

Notwithstanding the efforts and opposition of the protestants, who justly apprehended the election of a prince, distinguished for his victories over their brethren in France, and who had recently imbrued his hands in the blood of the Hugonots; his party preponderated in the diet, convoked at Warsaw. Scarcely were the other competitors heard, in the tumultuous assembly of the Polish nobles, who almost unanimously, by their acclamations, rather than suffrages, declared Henry king of Poland, and duke of Lithuania. It is not without some degree of admiration, that we can reflect on this event, when it is considered, that in the vast concourse of persons, who concurred in the choice of the duke of Anjou, hardly a single individual had ever seen or acquired any knowledge of the prince, whom they blindly raised to the throne<sup>19</sup>. As if conscious of their rashness and precipitation, or sensible of the imprudence which they had mani-

Election of  
Henry.

1573.

<sup>18</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 182—207.

<sup>19</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 553, and p. 588—607: Solignac, vol. v. p. 258—334.



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1573.  
Limitations,  
affixed by the  
Poles to the  
royal power.

fested in their past conduct; they endeavoured to impose fetters on their new monarch, by diminishing and degrading the royal dignity itself. Conditions, equally humiliating and severe, were framed, and proposed to Montluc, as indispensable, previous to the ratification of their own act; and that minister, unable to elude or refuse them, was under a necessity of solemnly confirming stipulations, which left to Henry, little more than the external decorations and insignia of a king<sup>20</sup>.

Reluctance of  
the new king,  
to quit  
France.

The ambassadors, deputed to announce to him the choice of the nation, and to witness his formal acceptance of the crown on the terms annexed to it, were loaded with honors in the court of France; and every testimony of public festivity was exhausted by Catherine of Medecis, to evince her grateful sense of the distinction conferred on Henry. But, no sooner had the first emotions of joy subsided, than the new monarch began to betray his reluctance to assume the government, delegated to him by the Poles. His indignation at the distrust, implied by the retrenchment of the royal prerogatives: the repugnance, natural to a dissolute mind, at the idea of quitting a polished and voluptuous court, in order to exercise the painful and laborious duties of sovereignty, among a fierce and turbulent people: the prospect of succeeding to the throne of France, which appeared neither distant, nor improbable: all these motives would have detained him in his native country, if the menaces and commands of Charles the Ninth had not accelerated his departure. Neither the reflexions of the duty which he owed to his own character; nor the incitements of a generous ambition: not even the entreaties, and expostulations of the Polish ambassadors, who threatened to represent to his new subjects, the indignity of his conduct, could have prevailed, without the peremptory injunctions of his brother, who in person conducted him towards the frontiers<sup>21</sup>.

<sup>20</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 344—339.

<sup>21</sup> Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 164—111. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 607—618. Solignac, vol. v. p. 354—402.

Having

Having separated himself, with every symptom of regret, from the embraces of his mother, and crossed all Germany in the most inclement season, he arrived on the borders of Poland, and was received with testimonies of affection by the nobility. His approach to Cracow, the capital of his dominions, was marked by demonstrations of universal loyalty; and his coronation, notwithstanding some sudden ebullitions of discontent or haughtiness, which were instantly suppressed, exceeded in splendor, and barbarous pomp, every preceding ceremony of that nature in Poland<sup>22</sup>. The kingdom demanded counsels of energy and vigor. Not only the long vacancy of the throne, and the temporary extinction of the royal authority, had inflamed the ordinary turbulence and licentiousness of the nobles: but, a foreign enemy had invaded the territories of the Republic. The Czar of Muscovy, John Basilowitz, after desolating Livonia, threatened to extend his ravages into Lithuania; and the Poles expected from a prince, nursed in camps, to whom war was familiar, not merely protection, but, redress. They were soon undeceived in these fallacious hopes. Henry was no longer the hero, who had acquired reputation by renouncing pleasures and sensual indulgence. Regardless of every motive which could stimulate him to exertion; abandoned to the gratifications of appetite, or sunk in indolence; he only endeavoured to banish the recollection of his obligations. Those vices, or weaknesses, which had not been perceived in the duke of Anjou, became visible in the king of Poland. His prodigality, and facility, rendered him poor, without either acquiring the praise of liberality, or the attachment of the persons on whom he lavished his favours. His alienation from the Poles, and his unconcealed contempt for their manners and modes of thinking, excited resentment; while the caprice, or injustice of his decisions and edicts, in the few instances when he exercised the prerogatives of the crown, pro-

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XVIII.1574.  
He arrives at  
Cracow.Supineness of  
Henry's go-  
vernment.Vices, and de-  
fects of his  
character.<sup>22</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 403-435. Commendon, liv. iv. chap. xiv.

duced



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1574.

Flight of  
Henry from  
Poland.

duced a fermentation, which time would probably have soon matured, among a high-spirited and restless nobility, into insurrection. Inaccessible, except to his own countrymen, and plunged in effeminate amusements; he looked back to France for deliverance from a bondage, which he regarded as the most severe of privations<sup>21</sup>.

The death of Charles the Ninth, in these circumstances, by recalling him to his hereditary dominions, extricated him from a situation, beset with difficulties: but, it was reserved for Henry to exhibit to Europe, the new and ignominious spectacle of a king, flying, like a criminal, from his own court and capital, pursued by his subjects, and escaping under shelter of the night, from their vigilance and circumspection. After having deceived the Polish senate, by assurances of his determination to await the convocation of the diet, previous to his departure; terrified at the apprehension of the intrigues which his absence from France might occasion, he embraced the humiliating resolution of quitting Cracow, only attended by a few followers. He executed the plan with success, and reached the Austrian frontiers, before a body of Polish cavalry, sent to pursue and bring him back, could stop his progress; leaving the kingdom in a state of greater confusion and anarchy, than that, from which it was extricated by his elevation to the throne<sup>22</sup>.

Sterility of  
the Polish  
annals.

The history of Poland excites less interest, and contains fewer incidents which awaken, delight, or elevate the mind, than the annals of any other country of modern Europe. Its vicious form of constitution, uniting the extremes and evils of tyranny, anarchy, and slavery, may account for this sterility, and deficiency. However despotism may degrade and debase the nature of man, there yet are found in the history of every people who have been subject to arbi-

<sup>21</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 638—642. Solignac, vol. v. p. 435—453. Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 112, 113.

<sup>22</sup> Mezerai, vol. ix. p. 140, 141. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 642—648. Solignac, vol. v. p. 453—468.

trary

trary monarchs, bright and shining periods; when unlimited power being under the direction of virtue and wisdom, we are almost led to forget, or to pardon the inherent defects and abuses, inseparable from that species of government. Such were the reigns of Trajan, and of the Antonines, in antiquity. Such may be, perhaps, esteemed those of Henry the Fourth, in France, and of Elizabeth, queen of England.

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1574.

Defects, and  
vices of the  
constitution.

The benevolence, heroism, and clemency of the former prince; the vigor, talents, and felicity of the latter prince; take us, in some measure, prisoners; and induce us to lose sight of the state of depression, or servitude, in which their subjects remained. But, in the Polish annals, we scarcely find any thing to compensate for the misery entailed on the people. They were retained in a slavery which approached to that of the Africans, transported to the colonies in the new world; and they were not only attached to the glebe, but, their lives and properties were at the disposal and pleasure of the lord to whom they belonged, and from whose cruelty or caprice, there was no appeal.

The throne, which, in other states, afforded some protection to the meanest vassal; far from being in a condition to grant shelter or assistance, was frequently unable to secure its possessor from insult and menace, or to avenge its own wrongs and injuries. A ferocious nobility, secure in their numbers, unaccustomed to the restraints of law, barbarous in their manners, destitute of science, and only fit for predatory incursions against Muscovites and Tartars: this formidable body, sustained by the equestrian order of inferior nobles, swallowed up all the authority of the Republic, and opposed every institution, or regulation, calculated to set limits to their excesses<sup>23</sup>. Under Sigismund Augustus, new abuses, nourished, or encouraged by the facility of that prince's character, had crept in, and greatly augmented the preceding confusion. The deputies of the equestrian order, whose original functions had only extended to transmitting and circulating the

Privileges of  
the nobility.

Equestrian  
order.

<sup>23</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. p. 303—305; and liv. iv. p. 579—581. Solignac, vol. v. p. 101, 102.



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decrees of the king and senate; emboldened by the licence which accompanied the progress of the Reformation; and secretly supported by the king, with a view to depress the authority of the senate; erected themselves into tribunes of the people. Every act of insolent and lawless interposition was committed by them with impunity, to the extinction of the antient and legitimate privileges of the senatorial body; and many of this latter class voluntarily laid down their office and dignity, in order, by assuming the equestrian rank, to become more powerful and popular<sup>26</sup>.

Royal authority.

So feeble was the royal authority under Sigismund Augustus, that he was incapable of carrying into execution even those measures, or inducing the legislature to adopt those plans, in which the honor, interests, and existence of Poland were most deeply and essentially implicated. In 1561, when Kettler, the grand master of the Teutonic knights, repaired in person to Cracow, to supplicate assistance against the Czar, John Basilowitz, who had almost subjected Livonia; though he offered to cede the province to Poland, and was warmly supported by the king in his request of succour and protection; yet, no attention whatever was paid to their joint recommendations or entreaties. Irritated, as well as mortified by so contemptuous a rejection, Sigismund applied to his Lithuanian subjects, convoked at Wilna; and over whom his influence or authority were more extensive. Yet, even there, before he ventured to disclose the proposition, or to demand their co-operation, he began by according voluntarily, to the nobility of the duchy, every privilege which they chose to reclaim. After so gracious a concession, the diet received the proposal favourably, and agreed to support the Livonians; whose subjection to Muscovy must necessarily have been speedily followed by their own, as the countries were contiguous, and alike open to the Czar's invasion. But, notwithstanding the obvious and striking necessity for a vigorous interposition to save Li-

Difficulty of  
assembling  
the forces of  
Poland.<sup>26</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. p. 304, 305.

vonia;

vonias; and though that fertile province had been completely ceded to Poland, the nobility refused to march, or to assist the king<sup>27</sup>. Encouraged by the supine inaction of the Poles, John, in 1564, made an irruption into Lithuania, invested the frontier city of Poloczko, and rendered himself master of the place. Sigismund issued an order to prince Radzivil, to summon the nobles, as in the last emergency. In these distressful circumstances, only two thousand Lithuanians, and fifteen hundred Poles, could be collected from a country, which boasted to contain above a hundred thousand gentlemen, fit to bear arms<sup>28</sup>.

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1574

It is, however, to be remembered, that the title by which the family of Jagellon held Lithuania, was different from the tenure which conferred on them the Polish crown. They were hereditary great dukes of the former province; and the inhabitants felt for them the attachment, natural towards their ancient princes. But, Poland was an elective monarchy; though the lineal descent, and the right of blood, were respected, while the house of Jagellon continued to exist. At the decease of Sigismund Augustus, this last barrier was removed, and the throne became open to every pretender. The nation, previous to conferring, disarmed the royal authority of every remaining prerogative, which could excite terror; and scarcely left it wherewithal to conciliate affection. It was on these conditions that the crown was tendered to the duke of Anjou, who felt the inanity of the present; but, was unable to resent, or to contest the terms<sup>29</sup>. His reign, if, indeed, his short residence among the Poles, can merit the name; carried the anarchy of that country to its utmost height. All the forms of respect towards the sovereign, ceased; and his palace itself was not an asylum from insult. Under the windows of the royal apartments at Cracow, a fray took place of the most serious nature, between two parties of armed nobles, in which a senator of the

Contempt of  
the royal  
power.

<sup>27</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 100—105.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid. p. 113, 114.

<sup>29</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 610—612; and liv. iv. p. 620—626. Solignac, vol. v. p. 343—347, and p. 363—370, and p. 378.



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Distribution  
of offices.

## Revenues.

## Cavalry.

first rank was killed; and Henry, apprehensive of an insurrection, had already summoned all the French to his aid, and prepared to repel the assailants<sup>30</sup>. Such was the abject condition to which the sovereign was reduced, and such the dissolution of the government at this period.

The principal source of influence or consideration, possessed by the Polish kings, lay in the distribution of offices and dignities; the number of which was great. They likewise nominated to the bishopricks, and principal ecclesiastical preferments. When any of these became vacant during the interval of an interregnum, they usually were not filled up, with a view to enable the future monarch to acquire some support at his accession, by the employments in his power to bestow<sup>31</sup>. It is difficult to ascertain, with any precision, the extent or amount of the revenues of the crown, at the extinction of the race of Jagellon. Previous to the commencement of the reign of Sigismund the First, the royal domain had been almost entirely alienated; but that prince resumed many of the grants made by his predecessors. His son, Sigismund Augustus, destitute of issue, and little interested to maintain the independance of the future sovereigns, diminished by his liberalities, the lands appropriated to their use; and he even contracted a very considerable debt, which Henry, by one of the stipulations annexed to his election, undertook to liquidate<sup>32</sup>. It is clear, that the Poles themselves regarded the royal revenues as inadequate to supporting the grandeur or majesty of the throne; since by another condition, imposed on the duke of Anjou, he was bound to draw annually from the receipts of his patrimonial estates or establishment in France, no less a sum than four hundred and fifty thousand florins, which were to be expended in, and exclusively devoted to Poland<sup>33</sup>.

The military force of the Republic in the sixteenth century, consisted almost entirely in cavalry; and was estimated to exceed two hundred thousand men, when all the nobility mounted on horse-

<sup>30</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 437—443.<sup>31</sup> Commendon. liv. iv. p. 620—622.<sup>32</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 334—337.<sup>33</sup> About forty thousand pounds sterling. Solignac, vol. v. p. 336.

back. But, this tumultuous and disorderly croud was incapable of discipline, devoid of subordination, and resembled the Tartar hordes, who desolated Europe in the middle ages. The only regular troops known in Poland, were foreign mercenaries: the genius of the Poles was incompatible with the restraints, requisite to form a body of infantry; and the licentious spirit of the nobility disdained every curb, which checked their insolence or depredations. All the characteristic love of shew and magnificence, by which the nation was peculiarly distinguished, was manifested in their camps; and they delighted to exhibit the parade of martial splendor, when marching against an enemy. Vast numbers of the finest horses, procured from foreign countries at any expence: rich trappings, and accoutrements, composed of the most precious metals, or materials: all these decorations gave to their camp, the appearance of a tournament, or a carousal, rather than of an army ranged under its banners<sup>34</sup>. Poland was the only European country, in that age, completely open, and unprotected by any garri-son, or fortress, notwithstanding the facility which the want of fortifi-cations gave to the continual inroads of their formidable enemies, the Tartars, Turks, and Muscovites. Long prescription, so powerful in its influence on nations, as well as individuals; the pride of the nobility, who regarded themselves as the best defence of the State; and the total ignorance of the science of attacking or defending cities: these prejudices or motives contributed to perpetuate a practice, so contrary to the policy of every other civilized country.

The reception of Henry of Valois, at his arrival on the Polish fron-tiers, in the Palatinate of Posnania, was a spectacle equally singular, superb, and picturesque. Fifteen thousand cavalry, conducted by the principal nobility, covered the eminences on either side, as far as the view could extend. The variety of arms, military instruments, dresses, and costly ornaments, exceeded imagination; forming a compendium

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1574.  
Magnificence  
of the Polish  
camps.

Want of  
fortresses, or  
garrisons.

Reception of  
Henry in  
Poland.

<sup>34</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 635.



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of those worn by all the European, as well as many of the Asiatic nations. Complete troops of horse, habited in uniforms bordered with furs, and embroidered with gold and silk, encreased the beauty and grandeur of the scene. The air was rent with acclamations of joy, and the sound of military music, as the new king approached; who, transported with so novel and exhilarating a display of pomp, owned, that "for the first time since his election to the throne of Poland, he then felt that he was a sovereign".

Splendor of  
the Poles.

These exhibitions of barbarous festivity, were renewed, and even augmented, at the ceremony of his coronation, soon afterwards; the description of which recalls the idea of the Persian and Mogul encampments, in the plains of Agra, or Isfahan, rather than the inauguration of a catholic prince<sup>36</sup>. The inhabitants of Paris could never sufficiently satiate their curiosity, with viewing and admiring the Polish ambassadors, who came to offer the crown to the duke of Anjou. Their grotesque and singular dress; their bonnets of fur; their sabres, arrows, and quivers; the splendor of their equipage: the display of precious stones on their scymitars, saddles, and housings; their fierce and martial deportment: all these united circumstances produced an effect, difficult to be conceived, in the court of Charles the Ninth. The general admiration augmented, when two of the chiefs of the embassy entered the great hall of state, bearing on their shoulders the act of election, contained in a casket of silver, by virtue of which Henry was called to the throne of the Jagellons<sup>37</sup>.

Stipulations,  
annexed to  
Henry's elec-  
tion.

Notwithstanding the arrogance of the Polish nobles, and the affected confidence which they placed in their own valor, for the defence of their country; they compelled Charles and Henry to stipulate jointly, that they would send a body of four thousand French troops into Poland, whenever the nation should be involved in a war with the Muscovites. As they were destitute even of a single ship,

<sup>36</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 633—636.

<sup>37</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 422—427.

<sup>37</sup> De Thou, vol. vii. p. 8. Solignac, vol. v. p. 375.

and

and incapable of either constructing, or equipping a navy; the French, likewise, engaged to send a fleet into the Baltic, to render them masters of that sea, and to retake the city of Narva, which had been captured by John Basilowitz<sup>38</sup>. It must be owned, that France paid dearly for the honor of seating one of her princes on the throne of Poland, and that it was scarcely possible to purchase an elective crown, at a more extravagant price.

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1574.

The commerce of Poland, at this period, was exclusively confined to the port of Dantzic; their possession of Livonia being too precarious and too recent, to allow them to profit of the facility, which Riga, and other places in that valuable province, lent to trade. The privileges, enjoyed by Dantzic, were so ample, and their municipal franchises so numerous, that the inhabitants might rather be esteemed as living under the protection, than as subject to the obedience of the Polish kings; peculiarly, after the death of Sigismund the First. In 1563, the commerce must have been prodigious; since it is asserted by a contemporary writer, that six hundred vessels were seen there at a time; and the elegance of the buildings sufficiently evinced its wealth. All the productions of the interior provinces of Poland, particularly grain, honey, wax, and tallow, were brought down the Vistula, and exported from Dantzic. By the same channel, manufactures of every sort, articles of luxury, wines, sugar, perfumes, and silk, found their way into the kingdom<sup>39</sup>.

Commerce.

Dantzic.

The Poles, in the sixteenth century, possessed a direct communication with the Black Sea, by means of the river Niester, and the port of Bialogorod, in the province of Podolia. From thence a traffic, equally extensive and beneficial, might have been carried on with all the southern kingdoms of Europe, Turkey, and the Levant. The Venetians would have made it the emporium of the trade of the Euxine; and the fertility of the Ukraine secured inexhaustible supplies of corn, as well as other important articles; in return for

Communica-  
tion with the  
Black Sea.

<sup>38</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 335, 336.

<sup>39</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. p. 235—238.

which,



Pernicious  
nature of the  
Polish con-  
stitution.

which, the commodities of Italy and Spain would have been exchanged. It was proposed to Sigismund Augustus, to avail himself of so inestimable a source of advantage, which only demanded the protection and encouragement of an enlightened government. Unfortunately, that prince, childless, incapable of prosecuting with vigour, any scheme of public utility, and attentive only to his pleasures; was easily induced to relinquish it, on account of the impediments found in the current of the Niester, which rendered its navigation difficult, or dangerous; but, which might have been easily removed<sup>40</sup>. The inattention of Sigismund Augustus, to so obvious a means of enriching, improving, and civilizing his dominions, is only to be satisfactorily explained, by the pernicious genius of the Polish constitution, which left the sovereign without power, or incitement to exertion, or to awaken emulation. The nobles despised trade, as degrading, and unworthy of their stations; while the miserable and abject peasant, chained to the soil, and destitute of freedom, or property, could make no effort to liberate himself from slavery<sup>41</sup>. The intermediate class of citizens, which, in other states, forms the bulwark between the two extremes, and in which order of men, is usually found the greatest portion of industry, opulence, and invention, was unknown.

Immunities  
enjoyed by  
the Jews.

In such a state of society, we cannot wonder, that the nation continued to remain without arts, manufactures, or improvement. Only fabricks of the rudest nature, and of absolute necessity, existed in Poland: all the luxuries of life were drawn from foreign countries, at a vast expence. So supine was the inaction of the people, that the little commerce which existed, was monopolized by the Jews; who enjoyed extraordinary exemptions or immunities, at a period, when, throughout the other kingdoms of Europe, that nation was held in universal execration. They not only applied to trade: medicine, polite letters, the management of the customs and revenue, were principally, and almost exclusively, exercised by Jews. They possessed lands, were regarded as honorable, had the right of wearing swords, or car-

<sup>40</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. p. 279—285.

<sup>41</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 296.

rying

rying arms, and participated in all the privileges of the native Poles<sup>42</sup>. We may form some idea of the state of commercial intercourse in Poland, in 1573, by the circumstance of Montluc, the French ambassador, being unable to find a single merchant in the kingdom, who could furnish five thousand crowns, in the space of three months<sup>43</sup>. All the buildings in the principal towns were composed of wood; and their construction was mean in the greatest degree<sup>44</sup>. Every species of police was banished; and so dreadful were the ravages of the plague, when Montluc entered Poland, that he found it impossible to escape with his life, except by sleeping in the woods, where he had nearly perished from the want of provisions<sup>45</sup>.

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1574.

Architecture.

Ravages of  
the plague.

We may see in the compositions of Desportes, the poet, who accompanied his sovereign, Henry the Third, to Cracow, in 1574, with what horror the French viewed the Polish manners. Desportes describes the country in the same colours and language, which Ovid uses, when writing of Pontus; and the Roman poet was not more deeply sensible to his exile from Rome, than was Desportes to his banishment from Paris. The aspect of Poland must have been truly hideous, to the refined courtiers of a voluptuous and polished capital. The snows, under which the ground was buried, during many months of the year; the barbarous stile of building, not only destitute of ornament, but, deficient even in common convenience; the mode of warming the apartments by stoves, which was new to the French; and the practice of bringing cattle into their rooms, usual among the inferior classes of people: all these circumstances are eloquently enumerated by Desportes. He seems to have been not less affected with disgust, at their characteristic loquacity, arrogance, levity, and inebriety, which he censures with the harshest asperity. Even of their martial prowess, and skill in war, he pretends to doubt. "Poverty alone," says he, "protects and guarantees Poland from

<sup>42</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. p. 270, 271.

<sup>43</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 282. Note.

<sup>44</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. p. 238.

<sup>45</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 199.

"subjec-



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" subjection. The Ottomans prefer the rich vales of Cyprus and Candia, to these icy and sterile plains; and the Germans, though fond of war, direct their attention to Flanders, where their toils are more amply recompensed." However, we may suspect some exaggeration, or trace some prejudice in the descriptions of the Poet, we must still admit, that the banks of the Vistula were widely different from those of the Tyber, or the Seine<sup>46</sup>.

Luxury.

The general penury and wretchedness of the people, did not prevent a great display of magnificence among the nobles. Coaches were already known, and used at the coronation of Henry, in 1574<sup>47</sup>. Many of the Palatines and Starosts were even highly accomplished, and possessed all the graces of the most polished, or cultivated nations. Nothing tended to impress the French court, with a higher opinion of the Polish ambassadors, than the facility with which several among them, conversed in Latin, French, Italian, and German<sup>48</sup>. Casimir the Third, as early as 1362, founded a university at Cracow, and brought, or invited professors, from Paris; but the institution fell into decay. The young nobility studied in the German seminaries of learning. Sigismund Augustus loved and protected letters. Luther dedicated to him a translation of the Bible; and Calvin inscribed the Commentary, which he composed on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, to the same prince: but these offerings were more theological, than literary<sup>49</sup>. Sigismund secretly cherished the Reformation, though he did not think proper to shelter its adherents from the resentment and persecution of the ecclesiastics. The progress which the protestant religion made in Poland, during his reign, was very considerable. In Lithuania, four years after his death, only six catholic priests could be found; and it was supposed, that not more than a thousandth part of the inhabitants remained firm to the

Letters.

Religion.

Progress of  
the Reform-  
ation.

<sup>46</sup> Œuvres de Desportes, " Adieu a la Pol-  
logne," p. 427, 428.

<sup>47</sup> De Thou, vol. vii. p. 32, 33.

<sup>48</sup> Sölnigac, vol. v. p. 358, 359.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid. p. 69. Note.

antient faith<sup>30</sup>. Okini, a native of Sienna in Italy, who had been originally a Franciscan monk, but, having renounced the institutions of his order and the Romish religion, had at length settled at Cracow, ventured not only to preach heretical doctrines; but, publicly to recommend the practice of polygamy, as founded on holy writ. He long remained unmolested, and even followed; till Commendon, the papal legate, after repeated applications, procured from the Senate an edict, by which all foreign heretics were commanded to quit the kingdom. Okini reluctantly complied with the injunction, and died of the plague, in Moravia<sup>31</sup>.

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1574.

All the inveterate defects and vices, characteristic of, and inseparable from the Polish constitution, were called out into action, by the death of the last prince of the Jagellon line. Near two centuries had then elapsed, since the nation might be said to have fully exercised the unrestrained right of election: Sigismund Augustus had been declared the successor to the crown, at ten years of age; and the kingdom, though nominally conferred by the free suffrages of the priests, or gentlemen, was in effect, hereditary<sup>32</sup>. But, the vacancy of the throne, in 1572, was the signal of tumult, outrage, and anarchy. The plain, on the banks of the Vistula, near Warsaw, where the general diet was convoked for chusing a king, exhibited a striking and faithful picture of the genius of the Poles. It resembled rather a camp of ferocious Tartars, met to determine on some hostile incursion, or to execute an enterprize against enemies, than an assembly, summoned for the purpose of conferring the crown on the most deserving candidate. Every individual came armed, according to his choice; and every species of military weapon, used either by antient, or modern nations, was to be found among them. Javelins, spears and arrows, were mingled with matchlocks, and harquebusses. Many of the Poles, at the head of their associates, brought artillery to the place of election, entrenched themselves, and seemed to prepare for the last

State of Poland, at the extinction of the family of Jagellon.

General diets.

Anarchy and ferocity of the Poles.

<sup>30</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 39—45, and p. 70.  
Note.

<sup>31</sup> Commendon, liv. ii. chap. ix.

<sup>32</sup> Solignac, vol. iv. p. 412, 413.



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extremities of violence or bloodshed<sup>53</sup>. These appearances were, by no means, merely external. After the duke of Anjou had been chosen, and even proclaimed, with such apparent symptoms of unanimity; a faction, composed principally of the Palatines and nobles who had embraced the Reformation, and who were discontented at the ambiguity of the article, by which liberty of conscience was secured to them, seceded from the assembly. Conducted by the grand marshal of Poland, one of the highest officers of the Republic, they demanded a confederation; and protested their resolution, either to proceed to a new choice, or to exact from Henry the most ample concessions on the freedom of religious opinion. The catholics, superior in numbers, and irritated by so unexpected an opposition, prepared to reduce their adversaries by force: each party quitted their tents, mounted on horseback, drew out cannon, and only waited the signal for an action. Happily, the moderation of some temperate and conciliating spirits, anxious to anticipate so disgraceful and sanguinary a contest, with difficulty prevented the effusion of blood, and induced the leaders to listen to terms of accommodation<sup>54</sup>.

<sup>53</sup> Commendon, liv. iv. p. 579, 580.

<sup>54</sup> Solignac, vol. v. p. 311—334. Commendon, liv. iv. p. 601—603.

C H A P. XIX.

THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.

*Review of the Turkish history, from the subversion of the Greek empire.—Siege and capture of Constantinople, by Mahomet the Second.—Conquests of that sultan.—Efforts of the Venetians, to retard the Ottoman arms.—Scanderbeg.—Mathias Corvinus.—Repulse of the Turks before Rhodes.—Capture of Otranto.—Danger and terrors of Italy.—Death and character of Mahomet.—Accession, reign, and deposition of Bajazet the Second.—Reign of Selim the First.—Conquest of Egypt.—Extinction of the Mammelukes.—Death, character, and exploits of Selim.—Accession of Solyman the Second.—State of Hungary, Italy, and Spain, at that period.—Attack of Belgrade, and its capture.—Siege, and capture of Rhodes.—Battle of Mohatz.—Reduction of Hungary.—Repulse of Solyman, before Vienna.—Naval expeditions, and ravages of Barbarossa.—Subjection of the islands of the Archipelago, and of the Morea.—Alliance of the sultan with France.—Ill success of the Turks, at Malta.—Death, and character of Solyman.—Glory of the Turkish arms.—Reign of Selim the Second.—Invasion of Cyprus.—Victory of Lepanto.—Reduction of Cyprus.—Peace, concluded by the Venetians with the Porte.—Conquest of Tunis, and the Goletta.—Death of Selim the Second.—State of the Ottoman empire, in 1574.—Nature of the royal power.—Origin, and immunities of the Janizaries.—Their insolence, power, and excesses.—Military discipline.—Numbers.—Artillery.—Barbarities, exercised in war.—Naval force.—Gallies.—Formidable marine.—Turkish admirals, and commanders.—Barbarossa.—Viziers.—Mahomet.—Piali.—Uluciali.—Commerce of the Turks.—State of Constantinople.—Terror, in-*



*spired by the sultans.—Reflections on the magnitude, and resources of the Ottoman empire.*

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XIX.

1453.  
Capture of  
Constantino-  
ple.  
Its conse-  
quences to  
Europe.

Indifference  
of the great  
European  
powers, to its  
fate.

State of Eu-  
rope, in 1453.

THE capture of Constantinople by Mahomet the Second, and the subversion of the Greek empire, were not only events of the first magnitude; but, may be considered as forming an æra in the history of mankind. The Turkish sultans, seated on the throne of the Greek emperors, and having transferred their court and residence to the ancient capital of Constantine, could no longer be esteemed in the rank of Asiatic princes. Masters of the rich provinces to the south of the Danube, and annually extending their conquests towards the frontiers of Hungary, Germany, and Italy; they assumed a place in the general system of Europe, equally important and formidable. It cannot be doubted, that the fate of Constantinople might have been protracted, if not totally averted, by a timely and vigorous exertion of the principal European states. The Turkish troops, however brave and devoted to their leader, were unskilled in the science of attacking fortified cities; and Mahomet, repeatedly on the point of abandoning the siege, was induced to persist in the enterprize, by the consciousness of its facility. So general and supine an indifference excites our surprize; and it appears more singular, when contrasted with the enthusiastic zeal and frantic delusion, which, some centuries before, had precipitated whole nations upon Syria, in order to rescue the Holy Sepulchre from the Saracens.

This inaction can only be explained by the situation and position of the great kingdoms of Europe, in 1453. France, governed by Charles the Seventh, had scarcely effected the entire expulsion of the English, and required a respite, to recruit her exhausted strength, before she ventured to engage in foreign expeditions. Ferdinand and Isabella had not yet united Castile and Arragon into one monarchy; nor could Spain attempt distant projects of glory or advantage, while the Moors continued to occupy the provinces of Granada and Murcia. The Imperial dignity was sunk into

into contempt, and almost into oblivion, under Frederic the Third; who possessed neither the talents, nor the territories, requisite to inspire respect, and to propel the Germans; while the empire, torpid and unwieldy, refused to take any share in repelling the common enemy of the christian name. In Poland, Ladislaus the Sixth, engaged in contests with his own subjects, and compelled to turn his arms against the Teutonic knights, had neither leisure nor ability to attend to the calamities of the Greeks. Hungary, situated nearer to the scene of danger, and deeply interested in the preservation of Constantinople, was, from various causes, incapacitated to extend assistance. The battle of Varna, fought only nine years preceding, in which Amurath the Second, the father of Mahomet, had obtained a decisive victory over the Hungarians, was accompanied with the loss of their sovereign, and the flower of the nobility, who fell in the action. This disaster, which remained deeply imprinted on the minds of the people, inspired a just apprehension of the Ottoman power; and the kingdom, rent by factions under a minor prince, only desired repose, however inglorious, or precarious. It was from Italy alone, that effectual and immediate succour could justly be expected: but, Nicholas the Fifth, who occupied the papal chair, was deficient in the elevation, disinterestedness, and energy, required to animate the other princes or republics. The naval force, consisting of thirty gallies, equipped at the joint expence of the Holy See, of Alfonso, king of Naples, and of the Venetians, which was sent to raise the siege of Constantinople, arrived too late, occasioned by the delays, almost inseparable from the operations of combined forces; and the city was abandoned to its destiny<sup>1</sup>.

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XIX.

1453.

Exertions of  
the Italian  
states.

In this deplorable situation, Constantine the Thirteenth did not forsake himself; and though neither distinguished by his resources of mind, nor sustained by any external circumstances, he prepared to defend the last remains of the empire of Rome. His precautions

Efforts of  
Constantine  
the Thirteenth.

<sup>1</sup> Knolles's Hist. of the Turks, p. 340. Laugier, Hist. de Venice, vol. vii. p. 71.

appear



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XIX.

1453.

Conduct of  
Mahomet the  
Second, to-  
wards the  
Greeks.Exploits, and  
conquests of  
Mahomet.

appear to have been able and judicious: but, the debased and abject character of his subjects, who, even in such an extremity, were incapable either of exerting the courage arising from despair, or of contributing towards the preservation of their own property, by relinquishing a portion of it; precipitated and accelerated the common destruction<sup>2</sup>. It must be confessed, that Constantine did not, in the last act of his life, disgrace the Imperial purple, as so many of his predecessors had done; and that the list of the Cæsars, which terminated in his person, is rescued, in some measure, from the ignominy with which they had been so long covered, by his generous death. The city, exposed to all the outrages of an incensed and ferocious soldiery, was, during some days, a scene of indiscriminate plunder, or carnage: but, the sultan, by his subsequent conduct, exhibited the enlargement of views, and the conciliating policy of a legislator, equally anxious to protect his new subjects, as he had been ardent to effect the conquest of Constantinople. Commercial privileges, and a toleration of every form of religious faith or worship, were conceded in the amplest manner, to those who should establish themselves in the capital; and Mahomet, who had achieved the destruction of the Greek empire, at a very early period of life, evinced, through the remainder of his reign, that he only regarded so important a capture, as the prelude to still greater acquisitions<sup>3</sup>. During the course of near thirty years, his active ambition seems to have been scarcely ever suspended; and its effects were alternately felt on either side of the Bosphorus; in Europe, and in Asia. Thrace and Macedonia submitted without resistance, on the first summons: the islands of the Archipelago were either subjected, or desolated; and the peninsula of the Morea, as well as Greece, were only preserved by the naval force of the Venetians; which, from its superiority to the

<sup>2</sup> Knolles, p. 345, 346. Vanel, Hist. des Turcs, vol. ii. p. 64.<sup>3</sup> La Croix, Hist. Ottomane, vol. i. p. 236—244. Cantemir, Ottoman Hist. p. 98—106.

Turkish marine, could afford continual supplies to the numerous gar-  
risons, possessed by the Republic on the coasts\*.

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If we survey the conquests of Mahomet the Second, we must admit, that in magnitude and extent, they have scarcely been exceeded by those of any prince in antiquity. Timur, and Zingis, who ravaged a larger portion of the earth, neither established their empire on such solid foundations, nor reigned over so beautiful, fertile, and commercial a part of the globe. From the Euphrates to the Adriatic, and from the frontiers of Syria, to those of Poland and Hungary, all the kingdoms and states successively yielded to the Ottoman arms. Since the death of Justinian, and the temporary revival of the eastern empire, by the victories of Belisarius and Narses, during the reign of that monarch; the world had not seen so many provinces permanently united under one head. Servia, which had assumed the form, and arrogated the title of a kingdom, in the darkness of the middle ages, when the debility of the Greek emperors favoured the attempt; had been long governed by a race of christian princes, or despots. They were, nevertheless, incapable of opposing any effectual barrier to the Turkish valor, which speedily reduced Semendria, the capital, and its territory, to the obedience of the sultan. Bosnia followed the example: Walachia, a part of the antient Dacia, conquered by Trajan, was permitted to remain under the administration of its native governors, or waivodes, rendered tributary to the Turks. Bulgaria had been already swallowed up by them; and from Belgrade to the mouths of the Danube, the Mahometan power was firmly and universally established\*.

1453—1481.  
Reflections on  
the magni-  
tude of the  
Ottoman em-  
pire.

Reduction of  
Servia and  
Bosnia.

Beyond the Hellespont, Mahomet, in person, over-ran, with almost as much rapidity as Alexander, and with equal success, the countries of Anatolia, hitherto unsubjected; and after an obstinate contest,

Conquests in  
Asia.

\* La Croix, vol. i. p. 244, and p. 248, and p. 250.

\* Cantemir, p. 108, 109. Knolles, p. 354—356. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252—260.



C H A P.  
XIX.1453—1481.  
Sinopé.

Trebizond.

Other expedi-  
tions of the  
sultan.Terror of the  
Turkish  
arms.

maintained with some success, he made himself master of Caramania<sup>6</sup>. Turning his arms northward, to the coast of the Euxine, he formed the siege of Sinopé, then the metropolis of the dominions of Ismael, a prince, whose pusillanimity rendered his resistance short; and who was rewarded by the conqueror, for his prompt submission, by the present of the city of Phillippopoli, in Thrace, to which he was transferred with his family<sup>7</sup>. A more severe and humiliating destiny awaited David Comnenus, emperor of Trebizond. This obscure and feeble representative of the Cæsars, was descended from Alexis, who reigned in Constantinople, at the period of its capture by the Latins, about the commencement of the thirteenth century, and who had established his residence at Nice, in Bythinia. His successors, driven from thence by Orcan, one of the earliest leaders, or sultans of the Turks, transferred the seat of their government to Trebizond, on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. After a short defence, David consented to surrender, upon assurances of honorable treatment, and personal safety; but, under pretence of some criminal, or dangerous correspondence with the court of Persia, Mahomet violated the capitulation, and condemned the unfortunate emperor to suffer death<sup>8</sup>. Ussum Cassan himself, who then filled the throne of Persia, was vanquished in a general engagement, and compelled to evacuate the Ottoman territories: while Achmed, the grand vizier, expelled the Genoese from Caffa; reduced the Crimea itself; and placed in it a tributary khan, or sovereign, dependant on the sultan<sup>9</sup>.

Acquisitions so vast, cemented by the able policy and martial character of Mahomet, excited terror throughout Europe, and menaced the subversion of Italy, exposed to the fury of the Janizaries, who impatiently demanded to be led against that beautiful, and defenceless

country.

<sup>6</sup> Cantemir, p. 110. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252.<sup>7</sup> Knolles, p. 359.<sup>8</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 254. Knolles, p. 360, 361. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 97, 98.<sup>9</sup> Cantemir, p. 111—113. La Croix, vol. i. p. 252, and p. 278.

country. But, fortune had opposed insuperable obstacles to every attempt for its subjection; and the Turks, by severe experience, were long compelled to regard the Danube and the Adriatic as the boundaries of their conquests. Even Venice alone, at this period, was able to arrest the progress of the Ottoman invasions. Possessed of a lucrative and extensive commerce; mistress of a powerful fleet, and a vast revenue; the Republic slowly and reluctantly gave way before the Mahometans. Her fortresses in the Morea, in Negropont, among the islands of the Archipelago, and in Dalmatia, withstood, and repeatedly repulsed the bashaws of the sultan: Mahomet himself was compelled, with loss and ignominy, to abandon the siege of Scutari; and that impregnable citadel was only ceded, at length, to the Turks, as the price of peace. It must be, nevertheless, confessed, that the Venetians dearly purchased these honorable testimonies of their valor and magnanimity. While they triumphed in Greece, on the shore of the Lesser Asia, and in Epirus, they were unable to protect their subjects in Friuli and Istria. The Turks more than once made incursions almost to the vicinity of Venice itself, retired unmolested, and carried off, or massacred, the inhabitants, with the same inhumanity that had distinguished the barbarians, who desolated those provinces of the Roman empire, a thousand years before.<sup>10</sup>

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XIX.  
1453—1481.  
Obstacles to  
their pro-  
gress.  
Venice.

Providence had raised up, at the same period, a less powerful, but a more formidable and invincible barrier to Mahomet the Second, in the person of George Castriot, prince of Epirus; more generally known in history by the name of Scanderbeg. This illustrious chieftain, whose exploits rendered him justly celebrated, seems to have possessed all the qualities requisite to supply the deficiency of political strength, or extent of dominion: an extraordinary vigor of body; unshaken fortitude; inexhaustible resources; and an unextinguishable enmity to the Mahometan name and faith. Retired

Scanderbeg.

<sup>10</sup> Laugier, vol. vii. p. 181—188, and p. 203—205, and p. 211, 212, and p. 231, 232, and p. 233—245, and p. 252—255, and p. 281—286. Cantemir, p. 110, 111. Knowles, p. 405—408, and p. 411—423. La Croix, vol. i. p. 258, and 266—274.



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XIX.

1453-1483.

among the fastnesses of his native province, Albania, he defied the power of the sultan; and Croia, the capital of his contracted territories, was vainly invested by the Turkish armies. Sensible of the inestimable value of such a bulwark, the kings of Naples, and the Venetians, continually sustained the prince of Epirus with pecuniary and military supplies; nor could either the treachery of Mahomet circumvent his vigilance, nor the superiority of forces reduce him to capitulate. It was not till after the death of Scanderbeg, that Croia surrendered, and that Albania ceased to be an independent state."

John Huni-  
ades.

Matthias  
Corvinus.

If these impediments delayed the progress of the Ottoman arms on the shore of the Adriatic, still greater barriers were imposed to them, beyond the Danube. Early in his reign, and soon after the capture of Constantinople, the sultan, in person, attacked the city of Belgrade, justly regarded as the key of Hungary. That kingdom was then governed by Ladislaus, a feeble prince, who had not yet attained to manhood: but, John Huniades, declared regent, compelled the Turks to retire with disgrace, after sustaining every calamity, incident to a long and destructive siege. He breathed his last among the people whom he had rescued, a few days subsequent to their deliverance; but his capacity, valor, and fortune, survived in his son, the celebrated Matthias Corvinus, who was chosen to fill the throne, left vacant soon afterwards, by the death of Ladislaus. His reign, rendered memorable by a variety of great exploits, and marked by its prosperity, may be regarded as the golden age of Hungary. During its continuance, neither Mahomet, nor Bajazet, his successor, ventured to pass the Danube; and the Hungarians, destined by a reverse of fortune, to experience, in the sixteenth century, all the misfortunes of anarchy and tyranny, were, under Matthias Corvinus, the most flourishing and happy people, to be found in Europe."

" Knolles, p. 365-392, and p. 425, 426. La Croix, vol. i. p. 232-234, and p. 236, and p. 252, and p. 260, and p. 262-264.

" La Croix, vol. i. p. 246-248, and p. 281. Sacy, vol. i. p. 219-226.

The last obstacle to the Turkish conquests at this period, was the military order of knights, transferred in 1309, from Syria, to the island of Rhodes. Their reputation for all the virtues of chivalry, and their rigorous discipline, long protected them from invasion, or attack; and they remained alone, surrounded by the ruins of the Greek empire, at a distance from every species of succour, except that which they derived from their own valor. It was not till towards the conclusion of his reign, that Mahomet, after having reduced the neighbouring islands, and the coast of Asia Minor, ventured on so hazardous an enterprize. All the preparations and precautions, requisite to insure its success, were made; and the bashaw, to whom the conduct of the siege was entrusted, appears to have omitted no endeavours to justify the confidence reposed in him by the sultan. But, neither superiority of numbers, nor disparity of force, terrified the grand master, d'Aubusson, who sustained with intrepidity and firmness, the impetuous ardor of the Mahometans. They retired from before the place, after having held it invested three months; and Rhodes, like Belgrade, remained unmolested, till the reign of Solyman, in the ensuing century."

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XIX.

1453—1481.  
Knights of  
Rhodes.

Unsuccessful  
siege of that  
city.

A less difficult and brilliant, but, a more alarming capture to the states of Italy and of Europe, consoled the Ottoman court for their late disgrace. Otranto, in Apulia, after a short resistance, was taken by the vizier Achmed, and instantly garrisoned with near twenty thousand men. Provisions, for a year, were brought into the city; and the Turkish commander left no doubts of his determination to preserve a fortress, which opened a passage to Rome and Naples. It was in vain that Alfonso, duke of Calabria, at the head of a numerous army, attempted to retake Otranto: he was repulsed in all his attacks. If ever Italy was in serious and imminent danger of becoming a Mahometan province, it was at this period. Every

Capture of  
Otranto.

Danger, and  
condition of  
Italy at this  
period.

" Cantemir, p. 115. Knolles, p. 427—432. La Croix, vol. i. p. 283, 284.

" Laugier, vol. vii. p. 371—373. Knolles, p. 432. Vansl, vol. ii. p. 164, 165.



C H A P. XIX.   
 1453-1481.   
 circumstance favoured the progress of the vizier. The Neapolitans, oppressed under the feeble and tyrannical administration of the Arragonese kings, were incapable of expelling the Turks; and the disaffection, as well as pusillanimity, which equally distinguished the princes and the people, only thirteen years afterwards, when Charles the Eighth of France over-ran Naples without resistance, may evince how little effectual opposition could have been made to Mahomet the Second. From the Roman pontiffs, only spiritual aid or weapons, were to be expected; and such was the consternation spread through the antient capital of the world, at the news of Achmed's having landed in Apulia, that Sixtus the Fourth, who then occupied the chair of St. Peter, prepared to abandon Rome, as insecure. Florence, though in a state of opulence and prosperity under Lorenzo of Medecis, could oppose only feeble impediments to the fury of the Janizaries, conducted by the most experienced commanders of the East. This combination of events, tending to facilitate the conquest of Italy in 1481, no longer existed, when Solyman sent his fleets under Barbarossa and Dragut, to desolate the coasts of Sicily and Calabria, more than half a century later. The Neapolitans had then sunk into subjects of the emperor Charles the Fifth: the defence of Naples was entrusted to veteran troops, drawn from that prince's hereditary dominions; and all the collected force of the Spanish monarchy would have been drawn out, to withstand any serious invasion of the Turks. But, only the death of Mahomet could have rescued the Italians from slavery, after the capture of Otranto; and never did the vacancy of the Ottoman throne take place at a more momentous and critical juncture. The sultan's anxious desire to overturn the capital and residence of the supreme head of the Christian faith, was well known; while his religious zeal would have inflamed and supported his love of glory, and thirst of dominion. The province of history is only to record, and not to speculate; but, it is hardly possible not to reflect with some degree of gratitude and satisfaction, on this interposition of Providence, which rescued

Change of  
circum-  
stances, under  
Solyman the  
Second.

rescued Italy from barbarism, and imposed limits to the Mussulman enthusiasm. If Mahomet had lived only a few years longer, Rome might have become the seat of a bashaw; and the superb church of St. Peter, which rose in the sixteenth century under ten succeeding pontiffs, would have been ill-replaced by mosques and minarets.

C H A P.  
XIX.

1453—1481.

From so vast and awful a revolution, Italy was snatched by the unexpected termination of the sultan's life, in the vigor of his age and faculties, when he had not completed his fifty-second year, and while he was occupied in schemes of further conquest. The Turkish commander, who had been left by Achmed in Otranto, induced by the consideration of his sovereign's decease, and the confusion which had ensued relative to the succession, rather than compelled by famine, or distress, reluctantly agreed to surrender the place upon honorable conditions. They were violated; and the Janizaries, detained by Alfonso, duke of Calabria, were condemned to serve in the Neapolitan galleys: but, the menaces of the new sultan speedily extricated, and restored them to freedom".

1481.  
Death of  
Mahomet.

Surrender of  
Otranto.

Mahomet the Second may be justly ranked among the severest scourges of the human race, who have existed in the history of the world. His ambition, inhumanity, and restless passion for extending his conquests, deluged Europe and Asia with blood, during thirty years. We ought, however, to lend a very academic faith to the legends and aspersions, with which the Christians have defamed his character; and which naturally originated from their detestation of so formidable an enemy. He was unquestionably endowed with talents of the rarest kind; and in activity, vigilance, and the science of war, he has been seldom equalled. His love of justice, and severity towards those who oppressed his people by an abuse of their power and offices, were exemplary. In a taste for the gentler arts, he was not deficient; and his invitation of Bellino, the celebrated Venetian painter, to Constantinople, as well as the rewards with

Character of  
Mahomet the  
Second.

\* Knolles, p. 433. Cantemir, p. 115. Laugier, vol. vii. p. 373—376. La Croix, vol. i. p. 285, 286. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 167, 168.

which



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XIX.

1481—1500.  
Reign of Ba-  
jazet the Se-  
cond.

which he honoured the labours of the artist, may rescue him from the reproach of barbarism<sup>16</sup>.

No event could have been more favorable to the repose and independence of Europe, than the death of a sultan, whose whole reign had been passed in war; and the years of which had been marked with perpetual inroads or devastations of Greece, Hungary, and Italy. The talents of Bajazet the Second, who succeeded to the throne, were less dangerous; and his activity was inferior to that of his father. Zizim, a younger son of Mahomet, long disputed with his brother, the supreme authority, and diverted his attention from foreign expeditions. After the defeat and flight of Zizim, the sultan turned his arms against Egypt, then governed by the Mammeluke princes: but, far from effecting the reduction of the kingdom, he was repeatedly defeated with prodigious slaughter; and if the Christian states had availed themselves of the opportunity, it is probable, that the Ottoman power might have been reduced within narrower limits. Except the transitory appearance of a Turkish fleet on the coasts of Andalusia, which contented itself with only committing depredations; and some irruptions into Croatia and Hungary, the object of which was plunder; Europe enjoyed a tranquillity of fifteen years, succeeding the death of Mahomet<sup>17</sup>. This fallacious calm was followed by hostilities, directed against Venice. The Republic, after sustaining, without any ally, the whole pressure of the Turkish force, was compelled to sue for peace: but, she did not condescend to so humiliating a measure, till her naval strength had been exhausted; the most important places which she had occupied in Greece, or the Morea, captured; and the province of Friuli, desolated by a savage band of Tartars, who massacred, or carried off the greater part of the inhabitants. The cities of Lepanto, Modon, and Coron, together with the fortress of Durazzo in Albania, were sacrificed, in or-

Tranquillity.

Rupture with  
Venice.

<sup>16</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 285. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 168, 169. Knolles, p. 433. Cantemir, p. 115.

<sup>17</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 288, and p. 298—300, and p. 304. Cantemir, p. 118—124, and p. 130. Knolles, p. 437—442, and p. 447—450, and p. 452.

der to terminate so ruinous a war". It must be owned that Europe had no inconsiderable obligations to the long and generous struggle, supported by the Venetians, for more than a century, against enemies, who possessed every advantage; and that to their magnanimous efforts, were principally to be attributed the safety and preservation of all the provinces, that border on the western shore of the Adriatic.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1481—1500.

The last ten years of Bajazet's life were passed in the most profound repose; and the Turks, after having carried their arms over so many kingdoms, might have become acquainted with the arts of peace. The sultan, infirm, and broken by diseases, was incapable of appearing in person at the head of his troops; and he occupied his leisure by researches of a literary kind, peculiarly the study of Averroës, an Arabian philosopher, whose writings on medicine and astronomy were held in high estimation among all the eastern nations. From these reclusive and speculative amusements, he was roused by the revolt of Selim, one of his sons. That ambitious and unnatural prince, having inspired the Janizaries with resentment at the inglorious tranquillity in which the empire was sunk, and at the same time inflamed their ardor to propagate the Mussulman faith, in obedience to the law of their prophet, by the sword; succeeded in rendering his father odious and contemptible. After a longer resistance than might have been expected from so aged and pacific a sultan, Bajazet yielded: quitting Constantinople, he began his journey towards Demotica, a town in the vicinity of Adrianople, which he had chosen for his retreat; and which has been rendered famous in the history of the present century, by the residence of Charles the Twelfth of Sweden, after his flight from Pultowa. But, Selim, whose presence was demanded in Asia, to quell the party of Achmet, his brother and competitor, dreaded the consequences of leaving the capital, at the commencement of his reign, while the deposed sovereign was still alive. This consideration was fatal to Bajazet, whose end was hastened by poison; and the death, not only

1501—1512.  
Repose of Bajazet's reign.

Revolt of Selim.

Deposition, and death of Bajazet.

<sup>23</sup> Laugier, vol. viii. p. 89—92, and p. 112—117, and p. 123—129, and p. 144—146. Knolles, p. 457—462. Cantemir, p. 133.

of



CHAP. of Achmet, but of every other member of the Imperial family, ce-  
XIX. mented the new administration<sup>19</sup>.

1512—1516.  
Accession of  
Selim the  
First.

Detestable as were the means by which Selim acquired the throne, his transcendent abilities enabled him not only to render it respected; but, to enlarge and extend the dominions, transmitted to him from his ancestors. His reign, one of the shortest in the Turkish annals, and which, from its commencement, to its termination, hardly exceeded eight years, forms an epocha in history, by the subversion of the kingdom of Egypt, and the extinction of the Mammeluke sultans, who had governed it for three centuries. After having subjected Armenia, and received the voluntary homage of the inhabitants of Diarbeck, the Mesopotamia of antiquity; Selim entered Persia. The superior discipline of his infantry, and the strength of his artillery, eminently contributed to the decisive victory which he obtained over the Persians, near the city of Tauris; and the principal impediment, which prevented him from effecting the permanent reduction of the country itself, arose less from the valor or resistance of the nation, than from the difficulty of subsisting his troops in the deserts beyond the Euphrates<sup>20</sup>. Similar obstacles had constantly attended and checked the Roman legions, from the time of Lucullus and Pompey, to that of Julian, when engaged in prosecuting their conquests in those remote provinces. Irritated at the indirect support, which Ismael, the sovereign of Persia, had derived from the sultan of Egypt, Selim transferred his resentment to the latter prince. Campson Gauri, who then possessed the Egyptian throne, reigned over all the countries, from Aleppo and Damascus, to the borders of Nubia; and Cairo, his residence, contended in population, wealth, and splendor, with the most flourishing capitals of the east. He was neither deficient in courage, nor in any of the qualities becoming his station; and the total defeat which he sustained, in the vicinity of Aleppo, was due more to the treachery and desertion of his own officers, than

Invasion of  
Egypt.

<sup>19</sup> Cantemir, p. 136—142. Knolles, p. 480—496. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 224—232. La Croix, vol. i. p. 332—338.

<sup>20</sup> Cantemir, p. 145—154. Knolles, p. 505—520. La Croix, vol. i. p. 350—354.

to the genius of Selim, or the superior bravery of the Janizaries. Campson fell in the action, after giving proofs of the most heroic intrepidity ; and the conqueror, improving his success, passed without delay or injury, the sandy and desolate tracts which separate Syria and Palestine from the frontiers of Egypt.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1512—1516.  
Death of  
Campson  
Gawri.

Arriving at the gates of Cairo, he found another sultan, Tomanbai, whom the Mammelukes had elected ; and who was already prepared to defend his newly acquired dominions. But, the fortune and resources of Selim surmounted every effort. Tomanbai, vanquished like his predecessor, and reduced to fly, was discovered, conducted to his capital as a criminal, and executed with circumstances of barbarity and ignominy. Cairo, partly destroyed by fire, and abandoned to the rage of the Turkish soldiery, submitted ; and Egypt, which had been successively conquered in every age of the world, by the Persians, Macedonians, Romans, and Arabs, passed again under a foreign yoke. Selim, embarking on the Nile, like Cæsar, descended that celebrated river to Alexandria, rather to gratify his curiosity, and to accept the homage of the inhabitants, than to confirm his acquisition<sup>21</sup>. It is difficult to believe, that, previous to his final departure from Egypt, he had the inhumanity to assemble the survivors of the Mammelukes on the banks of the Nile, and to cause them, without distinction, to be indiscriminately massacred, and thrown into the stream. In this act, committed with a view to exterminate the race of foreign slaves, by whom Egypt had been so long held in subjection ; we trace all the savage ferocity of a barbarian, who had not hesitated to imbrue his hands in the blood of his nearest relations, in order to ascend the throne, and who cemented his usurpation by still greater crimes<sup>22</sup>.

1517.

Defeat, and  
death of  
Tomanbai.

Subjection of  
Egypt.

The terror of the Ottoman name did not less extend into Arabia, and Africa : it may be questioned whether the Roman arms, at any

1518.

Terror, produced by the  
Turkish  
arms.

<sup>21</sup> Cantemir, p. 156—156, and p. 162—166. Knolles, p. 521—552. La Croix, vol. i. p. 353—356. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 259—279.

<sup>22</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 356, 357. Cantemir, p. 166. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 280. Knolles, p. 553.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1518.

1519, 1520.  
Death of Se-  
lim.1520.  
Review of  
his reign,  
and actions.

period, effected conquests more remote, in those quarters of the earth, than were produced by the exploits of Selim. The tribes of Arabs, from Barca and Cyrené, to the entrance of the Red Sea, appeared by their embassadors, at Cairo, to receive the orders of their new sovereign; and even the Scherif of Mecca, himself, presented him the keys of the holy city, and invoked his protection, as the representative of Mahomet, and the supreme chief of the Mussulman faith<sup>23</sup>. Acquisitions so vast, however they might gratify, were far from relaxing, the ambition of Selim: after having desolated Asia, and subjected Egypt, he was occupied in preparations, the object of which was conceived to regard the island of Rhodes, or Italy; when his life was terminated by a disease, which manifested itself on his return to Constantinople, accompanied with the most acute and incurable symptoms. Under the pressure of these, he expired; and history, which commemorates the retribution sometimes inflicted on tyrants, has not failed to record, that he breathed his last on the spot, where he had caused his father, Bajazet, to be poisoned<sup>24</sup>.

If we appretiate his administration, not by the parricide which opened his way to the throne, nor by the crimes which sustained him in it; but, by the events with which his reign is crowded, we must admit his claim to admiration. In talents for war, in solidity of judgment, and depth of penetration, he was not surpassed by any of the princes, who preceded or followed him; and his reduction of Egypt, annihilated the only power, which could effectually and speedily co-operate with the Christian states, to oppose his progress beyond the Danube, or in the Mediterranean. Europe fully experienced the injurious effect of this important conquest, under the reign of Solyman the Second; and had reason to deplore the apathy that pervaded the kingdoms, which were most deeply interested in

<sup>23</sup> Cantemir, p. 167—169. Knolles, *ibid.* La Croix, vol. i. p. 357.<sup>24</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 357—359. Cantemir, p. 169—172. Knolles, p. 561.

the fate of the Mammeluke sultans. Persia was too far removed, to afford the same assistance; and too weak, or divided, to sustain the shock of the Ottoman forces. Almost every moment of Selim's life, after his accession, was devoted to war; and it was believed, that policy, not less than ambition, propelled him to unremitting exertion. The formidable body of the Janizaries, to whose revolt he owed his power, might have again deprived him of it; and the sultan saw with pleasure, that their numbers were reduced, to less than a third part of the force, which they could boast, before his expeditions to Egypt and Persia. Of forty thousand, only about twelve thousand survived<sup>25</sup>.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1520.  
Sublimity,  
and extent of  
his views.

To Selim the First, was due the formation of the Turkish marine; and he constructed the arsenal of Pera, as well as many of the most sumptuous edifices, by which the principal cities of his dominions were decorated<sup>26</sup>. It is not from a prince of so fierce and martial a disposition, that we should naturally expect any protection of letters: but the ductility of his parts qualified him for every pursuit. His leisure was devoted to the sciences, held in esteem among the Mahometans: even the compositions of his poetry, which remain, attest the variety and elegance of his talents. We are necessarily led to regret, that crimes so flagitious, and abilities so distinguished, should have been blended in the same character; but, history is full of similar examples. Selim, who emulated the fame of Alexander and of Cæsar, delighted in the perusal of the exploits which immortalized those princes, and caused the Greek, or Roman historians who had commemorated them, to be translated into the Turkish language<sup>27</sup>. His genius survived in Solyman, his only son and successor.

Before we enter upon a reign, the measures of which were peculiarly directed against the Christian Powers, and whose effects were

State of Hungary, at this period.

<sup>25</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 358.

<sup>26</sup> Ibid. p. 360.

<sup>27</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 284. La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. Cantemir, p. 172, 173.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1520.

Luxury and  
vices.

Venice.  
Its declen-  
sion.

Charles the  
Fifth.

deeply and lastingly felt through all Europe; it is indispensable to survey the state of those kingdoms or countries, which by their situation lay most exposed to the Ottoman arms. Hungary had already declined from the point of elevation and prosperity, to which it had attained under Matthias Corvinus. Not content with expelling the Turks, and confining them to the provinces beyond the Danube; that active and enterprizing prince had enlarged his dominions at their expence, and added to them Walachia, Moldavia, and Bosnia<sup>28</sup>. But, under Ladislaus, his successor, and peculiarly during the minority of Louis the Second, who ascended the throne only a short time before the accession of Solyman, the vigor of the government disappeared. Luxury, effeminacy, and all the vices of opulent states, had extinguished the generous and manly spirit, by which the Hungarians had been characterised: while the ignorance, or inattention of the ministers, who surrounded the young king, permitted the frontiers to remain open to invasion, or unprovided with sufficient means of defence<sup>29</sup>.

Venice, like Hungary, had passed her meridian, at the same period. The wounds, inflicted by the league of Cambray, which had nearly extinguished the Republic itself, were recent, and not yet closed. A calamity still more irremediable, the discovery of a passage round the Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese, had subverted the foundations of their commerce; the only permanent and solid support of their wealth and consideration: nor were the Venetians any longer able to repair their losses, with the celerity and facility, which they had evinced under Mahomet and Bajazet, in the preceding century. But, as if to occupy the place, left vacant by the decline of two such powerful states, justly considered to be the bulwarks of Germany and Italy, Charles the Fifth had arisen; who, by the possession of Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia, added to his patrimonial inheritance, and the

<sup>28</sup> Sacy, Hist. d'Hongrie, vol. i. p. 222—240.

<sup>29</sup> Sacy, vol. i. p. 248, 249.

treasures of the new world, was equally interested and competent to extend protection to his vast dominions. In the interval of near forty years, between the death of Mahomet the Second, and the beginning of Solyman's reign, the successors of St. Peter had, likewise, in addition to their spiritual authority, acquired no inconsiderable degree of temporal power. Julius the Second had disclosed the resources, possessed by an enterprising or ambitious pontiff; and Leo the Tenth aspired to hold the balance of Italy. Unfortunately for the repose and security of Europe, the new king of Spain, occupied at the commencement of his government, by insurrections in Castile; by intrigues to procure the Imperial crown; and by contests of policy and animosity, with Francis the First; was not at leisure to turn his principal force against the Turks. Leo, immersed in pleasures, little suited to the sanctity of his office; or engaged in hostile enterprizes to enlarge the patrimony of the church, beheld, without emotion, the alarming conquests of Selim. Though his penetration enabled him to predict, that the extinction of the Mammeluke princes, and the reduction of Egypt, would be speedily followed by the invasion of Italy; yet he appears, to the last moments of his life, to have attended solely to the aggrandizement of his family. Instead of exerting his influence to unite the Christian States against the common enemy; he contented himself with making processions, to avert the wrath of Heaven: and while his troops were employed in Lombardy against the French, he carried the Holy Sacrament, barefooted, through the streets of Rome, to deprecate the misfortunes which menaced the Holy See from the Turkish arms<sup>30</sup>.

C H A P.  
XIX.

1520.

Roman pontiffs.

Under these circumstances so favourable to his designs, Solyman acceded to the throne. The natural elevation of his mind, and his native thirst for glory, impelled him to great and daring enterprizes: while advantages, which none of his predecessors had enjoyed, facilitated their execution. The only son of Selim, he had no competitor

Accession of  
Solyman the  
Second.

<sup>30</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 287.

for



C H A P.  
XIX.1520.  
Education,  
and qualities  
of the new  
sultan.His admini-  
stration.1521.  
Siege of Bel-  
grade.

for the succession; and the empire was not convulsed, or thrown into disorder, by a contest between different claimants, as had happened at the close of the two preceding reigns. His education had framed him for the fatigues of government, and expanded his understanding. Selim, with a magnanimity which we cannot sufficiently admire, had neither banished him to Magnesia, nor to Iconium, as had been frequently practised by the jealousy of preceding sultans; nor had he permitted him to be brought up in the soft effeminacy of the seraglio, in ignorance of his duties, among slaves and eunuchs. Perceiving in him a disposition to receive impressions equally beneficial to himself and to his future subjects, Selim committed his son to the care of the bashaw Peri; who accustomed him betimes to the exertion of every manly and generous effort, while he acquainted his pupil with the interests of the different nations, whom he was destined to command<sup>31</sup>.

The first acts of Solyman's administration were dictated by wisdom, humanity, and policy. His restitution of the effects which had been unjustly seized or confiscated during his father's reign, conciliated the affections, while it excited the veneration of the people; and his devotion, liberality, and courtesy completed the favourable impression<sup>32</sup>.

Animated by the dying exhortations of Selim, as much as by his own desire to accomplish the reduction of Hungary, he determined to attack Belgrade in person. The city was not unprovided with the means of defence: but, the spirit which John Huniades had inspired among his countrymen, when he repulsed Mahomet the Second, near seventy years preceding, had become extinct. Treachery aided the efforts of the Turks; and after a siege of considerable duration, rendered Solyman master of a place, justly considered as one of the strongest barriers against his power, or encroachments<sup>33</sup>. Yet, such

<sup>31</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 288, 289. Knolles, p. 567, 568.

<sup>32</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 362.

<sup>33</sup> Cantemir, p. 175, 176. Knolles, p. 569. La Croix, vol. i. p. 364—366. Sacy, vol. i. p. 249. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 301—304.

was

was the supine, and lethargic security of the court of Buda, that even so important a loss, which menaced the existence of Hungary itself, far from spreading alarm, did not suspend the festivities, in which the capital was immersed, during the nuptials of the young king, Louis the Second, with the arch-duchess, Mary of Austria<sup>34</sup>. If the imbecility of his conduct merits contempt, the folly and inhumanity of his treatment of Solyman's embassadors, excites indignation. Resenting on the ministers of the Sultan, whom the laws of nations should have protected, the misfortunes, occasioned by his own want of capacity or exertion; he sent them back to Constantinople, mutilated in a manner equally cruel and ignominious: while Solyman, satisfied with his present acquisition, and desirous of a temporary truce on the Hungarian frontier, prepared to turn his arms towards another quarter<sup>35</sup>.

C H A P.  
XIX.

1521.

Inactivity of  
Louis, king  
of Hungary.

Rhodes, so celebrated in antiquity, situated at the entrance of the Archipelago, near the coast of Asia, had long survived the fate of the numerous islands in its vicinity; and its position enabled the knights, by whom it was held, to molest and intercept the whole commerce of the Black Sea, and of the Mediterranean. Like Belgrade, it had repulsed the efforts of Mahomet the Second, and was regarded as impregnable. But, Solyman, stimulated by a desire of achieving an exploit, under which his predecessors had sunk, and irritated by the assistance which the grand master had sent to Tomanbai, sultan of Egypt; commanded it to be invested by sea and land. His presence became necessary, in order to revive the ardor of the Janizaries; and after a siege of six months, during which every resource was exhausted on the part of the besieged, the place was surrendered by capitulation<sup>36</sup>. We cannot reflect without surprize, on the inaction and indifference of the European states, to so important a capture. Venice alone equipped a fleet for the relief of Rhodes; and if Adrian the Sixth, newly elected to the papal see, would have sent the squa-

1522.  
Attack of  
Rhodes.

<sup>34</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 304.

<sup>35</sup> Sacy, vol. i. p. 249. La Croix, vol. i. temir, p. 176, 177. Knolles, p. 569—600.

p. 366.

Vanel, vol. ii, p. 306—338.

dron,



C H A P.  
XIX.

1522.

Capture of  
Rhodes.1523—1525.  
Invasion of  
Hungary.1526.  
Battle of  
Mohatz.Calamities of  
Hungary.

drop, on board of which he arrived at Ostia, to act in conjunction with the Venetians, it is probable, that Solyman must have relinquished his attempt<sup>37</sup>. But, the pontiff, educated in the privacy and retirement of a Flemish university, was destitute of the elevation of character, requisite for his station; and Charles the Fifth, in raising him to the highest eminence of spiritual power, only exposed the defects and incapacity, which might have lain concealed in the professor of Louvain, or the archbishop of Toledo. Rhodes was lost; and the sultan, rendered more formidable by his success, seemed to regard his acquisition, as the prelude to new and greater enterprises.

The first object of his ambition was the kingdom of Hungary; and so avowed were his intentions, that, in order to commence the campaign early in the year, he passed the preceding winter, near the frontiers, at Belgrade. Yet, by an infatuation, or negligence, of which there are few more fatal examples in history, no adequate preparations were made to sustain the impending attack. The temerity, and precipitation of the young king's subsequent conduct, completed his own disgraces, and the destruction of the Hungarian monarchy. After having committed the supreme command of his forces to an ecclesiastic, unskilled in the science of war; instead of waiting for the German and Transylvanian troops, which were on their march to join him; he ventured, with very inferior numbers, to advance and give battle to the enemy. The celebrated engagement of Mohatz, near the banks of the Danube, was speedily decided in favour of the Turks; and the death of Louis himself, who was suffocated in a morass, left the throne without a successor<sup>38</sup>. From this æra, for more than a hundred and fifty years, till towards the close of the last century, no European kingdom underwent such a variety of calamities, as Hungary. Defolated by Christians and Mahometans: the crown itself disputed by

<sup>37</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 329.<sup>38</sup> Sacy, vol. i. p. 251—257. Knolles, p. 601—603. Cantemir, p. 180. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 341—348.

various competitors: the inhabitants, massacred, or swept away into slavery; no trace remained of the glory and felicity, which it had enjoyed under Matthias Corvinus.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1526.

The victory of Mohatz, however decisive, was not productive of the immediate effects, naturally to have been expected. Solyman, compelled to quit his conquest, by an insurrection of the most alarming nature in Asia Minor, repassed the Danube, and returned to Constantinople: while John Zapoli, prince of Transylvania, and the arch-duke, Ferdinand, brother of the emperor Charles the Fifth, successively raised to the Hungarian throne by their respective factions, continued to augment the general confusion<sup>39</sup>. Oppressed by the superior strength and resources of the arch-duke, who, with the aid of the Germans, had already secured the succession of Bohemia, and rendered himself master of the greater part of Hungary, Zapoli besought the protection of the Turks. Solyman re-appearing, after an absence of some years, traversed the kingdom as a conqueror; entered Buda; and with a disinterestedness or magnanimity, rarely found, permitted the Transylvanian, his ally, to retain the supreme power, of which it was easy to have deprived him<sup>40</sup>. It was not till after the decease of Zapoli, that the sultan, yielding to the dictates of his ambition, reduced Hungary into the form of a Turkish province, and transformed the capital into a Mahometan city. Buda then became the permanent residence of a bashaw; the churches were converted into mosques; and the arch-duke Ferdinand, master only of some garrisons on the Austrian frontier, retained little more than the name and honors of a king<sup>41</sup>.

1529.

Reduction of that kingdom, into the form of a Turkish province.

Not satisfied with having subjected the Hungarians, Solyman attempted to carry his arms into Germany; and trusting rather to the terror which his reputation and presence inspired, than to the preparations demanded for so great an enterprize, he ventured to approach,

Solyman invades Germany.

<sup>39</sup> Sacy, vol. i. p. 258, and p. 264—270. La Croix, vol. i. p. 382. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 350—358.

<sup>40</sup> Cantemir, p. 185. Knolles, p. 609. La Croix, vol. i. p. 386—388. Sacy, vol. i. p. 271.

<sup>41</sup> Sacy, vol. i. p. 296—304. La Croix, vol. i. p. 424—426.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1529.  
He is re-  
pulsed before  
Vienna.

Obstacles to  
the further  
progress of  
Solyman.

1532.  
Ravages  
committed by  
the Turks, in  
Germany.

and to invest Vienna itself. That city was destitute of almost all the requisites for a long, or vigorous defence; and to the presumptuous negligence of the Turks, who omitted to bring battering cannon of a sufficient size, rather than to the skill or ability of the besieged, was due the repulse which the sultan sustained<sup>42</sup>. He never undertook, during his long reign, to repeat so hazardous an experiment; and he always, in speaking of Vienna, denominated it his disgrace and ignominy<sup>43</sup>. The conquests of the Turks were bounded by the course of the Danube; nor was Ferdinand, though continually defeated in his endeavors to recover the crown, at any period, totally ejected from some portion of Hungary. The distance of the Austrian provinces, from the seat and capital of the Ottoman sovereigns; the severity of the climate, to troops, habituated to the warm or temperate regions of Asia; and the bravery of the Germans, who were compelled to defend their dearest possessions; these circumstances conspired to check the Mahometan progress. The German empire was, in a great measure, abandoned to its destiny, by the emperor, Charles the Fifth, notwithstanding the obligations imposed on him from his quality of its chief; as well as from proximity of blood to the king of Hungary, his brother<sup>44</sup>. Engaged in expeditions of personal glory, to the coast of Africa; attentive to the defence and protection of his Italian dominions; or reduced to oppose the invasions of Francis the First; he rarely appeared in the empire, and made feeble exertions for its preservation. Even when the contributions of the German princes and states had placed him at the head of an immense army, with which he might have entered Buda, and recovered the kingdom; he neglected the favorable occasion, and permitted Solyman to retreat, unmolested, to Constantinople<sup>45</sup>. If the Turks could not subject, they were

<sup>42</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 145. Knolles, p. 610—614. Cantemir, p. 190—193. La Croix, vol. i. p. 390—392. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 360—365.

<sup>43</sup> Busbequii Epistolæ. Epistola quarta, p. 384.

<sup>44</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 385.

<sup>45</sup> Pfeffel, vol. ii. p. 150. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 370—372. Knolles, p. 618—623.

allowed to desolate; the empire: Styria, Moravia, and Silesia, were repeatedly inundated by barbarous troops of Janizaries, who carried off the wretched inhabitants: the cavalry, still more enterprising, penetrated beyond Lintz, the capital of Upper Austria, and spread consternation to the borders of Franconia<sup>46</sup>. It must be owned, that, under Frederic the Third, the Imperial dignity was scarcely more degraded, or insulted, than at the time when it was held by Charles the Fifth, the most powerful monarch in Europe, king of Spain, and master of the American continent.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1532.

The whole reign of Solyman may be said to have passed in hostilities, rarely intermitted, against the two branches of the house of Austria. While his armies overran Hungary and Transylvania, the Turkish fleets carried terror over every part of the Mediterranean. Even the internal dissensions and domestic feuds of the seraglio, or the distant and unfortunate expeditions against Persia, did not long suspend the animosity of the sultan. Barbarossa, the ablest naval commander of the age, and who, from the condition of a simple corsair, had become admiral and captain bashaw, perpetually hovered over the coasts of Naples, Sicily, and Spain. It would be difficult to calculate the enormous amount of the damages, sustained from the ravages of this celebrated pirate, during near fourteen years, that he occupied his station at the head of the Turkish navy. It would be much more painful to recapitulate, or particularize the calamities, inflicted by him on the defenceless natives of the various islands, which are scattered from Ivica, to the entrance of the Adriatic, as well as at Reggio, Castro, Messina, and every part of Calabria, or Apulia<sup>47</sup>. The superiority of the Turks, under Solyman's reign, is in no respect more forcibly evinced, than in these inhuman and frequent de-

1533—1539.  
Naval enter-  
prizes of So-  
lyman.

Barbarossa.

<sup>46</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 396. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 373—376.

<sup>47</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 400—408, and p. 410, and p. 412, and p. 416. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 376—385, and p. 391—399, and p. 409—415, and p. 420—432. Knolles, p. 635—645, and p. 687—691. Laugier, vol. ix. p. 520—547.



C H A P.  
XIX.1533—1539.  
Superiority of  
the Turkish  
fleets.

predations, from which all the exertions of Charles the Fifth could not protect his subjects. Doria, who commanded the Imperial fleet, seldom ventured to engage, and never vanquished Barbarossa; though the Spanish gallies were joined on various occasions, by those of Venice, and of the papal see. Far from making any impression on the Ottoman empire, the confederates only aggravated their misfortunes, and loaded each other with recriminations and charges of cowardice, or treachery. It may, in fact, be justly doubted, whether Doria, notwithstanding his high merit as a citizen of Genoa, did not betray, or desert the common cause; peculiarly in the famous action between the two fleets, near La Prevesa, on the coast of Albania.

Feeble efforts  
of the christian  
powers.

The Venetians were so convinced of his disinclination, if not repugnance to attack Barbarossa, notwithstanding the advantageous circumstances under which he might have forced the Turkish admiral to hazard a battle; that they thought it advisable to make a separate peace, upon any terms. It was procured, not without difficulty, by a cession of their last valuable possessions and fortresses in the Morea; accompanied with the renunciation of their right to fourteen islands of the Archipelago, which had been previously captured by Solyman<sup>43</sup>.

1540—1544.  
Expeditions  
of Charles  
the Fifth.

Charles, abandoned by his ally, continued the war; but, with little glory, and less advantage. The expedition which, at an early period of his reign, he undertook against Tunis, had been crowned with signal success; and the brilliancy, as well as seeming disinterestedness of the enterprize, conduced to raise his reputation. But, the benefit, resulting from the capture, was short; and Tunis was reconquered in a few years by the Moors, who instantly claimed the protection of the Porte. In his attempt upon Algiers, the emperor not only rejected every exhortation of Doria, who dissuaded him from commencing it, at so unpropitious and advanced a season; but, he sacrificed, at the most critical juncture, the interests of his

Unsuccessful  
enterprize  
against Al-  
giers.

<sup>43</sup> Laugier, vol. ix. p. 555—579. Knolles, p. 691—694. Cantemir, p. 204. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 440—450. La Croix, vol. i. p. 420—422.

brother,

brother, Ferdinand, and the duties imposed on him by his imperial station. Hungary might have been conquered, and the Turks driven beyond the Danube, into Servia and Bulgaria, by the army, which was swallowed up in the waves, or exterminated by the Moors, on the coast of Africa <sup>49</sup>.

C H A P.  
XIX.  
1540—1544.

Instead of retaining Tunis, or subjecting Algiers, he was unable to defend his own dominions. Barbarossa committed his annual, and accustomed ravages, from Dalmatia, to the straits of Gibraltar; and returned in triumph to Constantinople, laden with slaves, and plunder. The fleet of France formed a junction with that of Solyman, and carried on their joint depredations or hostilities against Nice, the Tuscan coast, and every power, allied with, or subject to Spain <sup>50</sup>. If we try the measure of Francis the First and Henry the Second, in forming so close, and offensive an alliance with the sultan, by the feelings, prejudices, and modes of thinking, universally adopted in the sixteenth century, we shall find it difficult, or impossible, not to affix to it our condemnation. The antipathy, which then subsisted between the followers of Mahomet, and the Christians; the ferocity and inhumanity which marked the former, in their treatment of the unfortunate victims, who fell into their hands; together with the sacrifice of every generous or magnanimous sentiment, to the gratification of their animosity against the emperor, have justly conduced to raise the indignation of posterity. The French did not even derive those benefits from the connexion, with which their sovereigns had flattered themselves; and the calamities, inflicted by Barbarossa, Dragut, and the other Turkish commanders, rather fell upon individuals, than affected materially the power of Charles himself. Nice repulsed the combined forces; and the services, performed by Solyman's troops, were infinitely overbalanced by the odium which the alliance excited, throughout Europe.

Ravages of  
Barbarossa.

Alliance be-  
tween the  
French kings  
and Solyman.

Reflections on  
it.

<sup>49</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 426—428. Knolles, p. 718—724.

<sup>50</sup> Knolles, p. 734, 735. and p. 743—745. Cantemir, p. 205, 206. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 454—460. La Croix, vol. i. p. 428—434.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1545—1565.  
Reverses, ex-  
perienced by  
Solyman.

Siege of  
Malta.

Repulse of  
the Turks.

Notwithstanding the splendor of the Ottoman empire, under Solyman's administration, and the terror inspired by his arms, he was not exempt from the reverses and misfortunes, attached to human affairs. In his first expedition against Persia, he was compelled to evacuate Bagdad with precipitation, pursued and harassed by the enemy; nor even in his second more prosperous invasion of that country, does he appear to have derived any solid acquisition of power, or glory<sup>51</sup>. All his efforts, in person, at the head of a vast army, and supported by the fleet under Barbarossa, to take the city of Corfu from the Venetians, were ineffectual<sup>52</sup>. But, more than any of these, the repulse of his choicest troops, and of the flower of the Janizaries, before Malta; while it raised the fame of the knights, who could so long defend an inconsiderable island against his utmost exertions; covered him with confusion. The whole force of the Turkish empire, by land and sea, was drawn out against a barren rock, of the smallest size; and the only defence of which consisted in the invincible valor of its garrison, commanded by La Valette, the grand master of the order. They were long abandoned by Philip the Second, king of Spain, and the other christian states; but, their courage surmounted the rudest assaults. The Spanish fleet did not appear off the harbour, till Mustapha, the bashaw who conducted the operations of the siege, wearied with repeated and fruitless efforts, had determined to withdraw his dispirited and diminished forces from the place. Such was the humiliation attached to the defeat, that he did not venture to meet the popular resentment on his return, by entering the port of Constantinople during the day: his vessels took advantage of the obscurity of the night, to conceal their shame and disappointment<sup>53</sup>.

<sup>51</sup> Cantemir, p. 209—211.

<sup>52</sup> Laugier, vol. ix. p. 486—494. La Croix, vol. i. p. 412.

<sup>53</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 518—534. Knolles, p. 793—818. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 499—502.

A repulse

A repulse, distinguished by circumstances of such ignominy, and disgrace, affected Solyman in the most sensible manner, and may be said to have accelerated the termination of his reign. Animated with the desire of vengeance, he shook off the infirmities of age; and at a period when repose is equally desirable and necessary, he put himself at the head of his troops, entered Hungary, so often desolated, and sat down before the town of Sigeth. Under the walls of the place, rendered memorable in history, he expired; and victory, which had so eminently attended him living, accompanied him beyond the grave. His death was concealed by the vizier, till the arrival of Selim, his successor, in the camp; and Sigeth, after resisting till the last extremity, was stormed and taken by the Janizaries<sup>34</sup>.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1566.  
Death of Solyman.

It is not sufficient to say of Solyman the Second, that he was, on a comprehensive view of his character, the greatest sultan, who has reigned over the Turks. He was, unquestionably, one of the most illustrious princes of the sixteenth century; and possessed many qualities, equally calculated to promote the felicity, as to augment the glory of his people. His regard to justice was inflexible, and knew no distinction between Christians and Mahometans. Naturally element, his acts of cruelty are more to be imputed to the genius of his age and nation, than to the ferocity of his nature. Abstinent in his diet, simple in his manners, and an enemy to every species of excess; he neither indulged in the use of wine, nor was ever, at any period of his life, suspected of a propensity to the unnatural pleasures common among the Asiatics<sup>35</sup>. His rigid discipline and military talents, inspired the Janizaries with respect and veneration: that fierce soldiery never dared, even under any circumstances, to proceed to acts of violence; and his death was bewailed, by them, as the most irreparable loss to the empire. Formed for war, he yet loved and cherished the

Character,  
and great ex-  
ploits of So-  
lyman.

<sup>34</sup> Sacy, vol. ii. p. 39—51. La Croix, vol. i. p. 534—538. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 502—507. Cantemir, p. 215, 216. Knolles, p. 819—823.

<sup>35</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 105, 106.



C H A P.  
XIX.1566.  
Crimes of  
Roxalana.

arts of peace: capable of love, he was too easily enslaved by the objects of his affection. The celebrated Roxalana, with whom he divided his throne, and whose history or supposed adventures have furnished ample subject for fiction, abused her ascendancy over him. Her jealousy, or her desire to open a way to the diadem for her own children, produced convulsions in the empire, and polluted the seraglio with blood.

Mustapha, the eldest son of Solyman, by one of his concubines, whose qualities rendered him peculiarly obnoxious to her resentment or apprehension; and who is depicted as highly accomplished, brave, and virtuous, was strangled in the tent, and under the eyes, of the sultan<sup>56</sup>. Bajazet, his brother, by Roxalana, terrified at the fate of Mustapha, and apprehensive of a similar destiny, after the decease of Solyman, took up arms. The tears and entreaties of Roxalana induced his father to pardon him; but, when her death had deprived him of so powerful an intercessor, he was compelled to fly into Persia, where he did not long receive protection, or support. The sophy, alarmed at the menaces, and softened by the presents of the Turkish emperor, permitted the unfortunate Bajazet to be strangled in prison. In consequence of these successive deaths, Selim, the only surviving son of Solyman, by Roxalana, became the undisputed heir to the Ottoman dominions<sup>57</sup>. We are, however, so little acquainted with the interior of the Turkish seraglio; and the information, acquired, or transmitted us, of its intrigues, its crimes, and its transactions, is so doubtful, that we ought to read them with some distrust.

Deaths of  
Mustapha and  
Bajazet.Power of the  
sultan.

In power and reputation, Solyman held the first place among the European sovereigns, through the course of his long reign. We can conceive nothing more dignified and majestic, than the picture of the sultan, receiving the ambassadors of the emperor Ferdinand

<sup>56</sup> Knolles, p. 767—782. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 492, 493. La Croix, vol. i. p. 466—480. Busbeq. Epist. p. 52—64.

<sup>57</sup> Busbeq. Epistolæ, p. 125—139, and p. 224—242, and p. 261—265, and p. 267—275, and p. 346—351.

the

the First, at Amasia, in 1554. It is drawn by Busbequius himself, who performed the principal part on that humiliating occasion. In perusing his description, we are reminded of Tamerlane and Zingis, the conquerors of Asia, whose arms and presence diffused terror over so large a portion of the globe. To attempt a translation of the passage, would divest it of all its beauty and originality.—“Sed, ille nec orationem, nec rationes nostras, nec mandata, animo, aut fronte satis benigna, suscepit. Sedebat ipse in folio perquam humili, ab humo haud altiore uno pede. Erat illud instratum pretiosissima, plumaque veste stragula, pulvinisque exquisito opere elaboratis. Juxta erant arcus, et sagittæ. Frons, ut dixi, minime læta, tristisque in vultu; sed, tamen, plena majestatis severitas.” If we compare this portrait of Solyman, with the picture left us of the Roman emperor, Carus, giving audience in his camp, to the ambassadors of Varanes, king of Persia, we shall not hesitate to admit the vast superiority of the Ottoman sultan. In Carus, we trace only the hardy simplicity of a veteran general, inured to fatigue, and accustomed to privations. But, Solyman blended the monarch with the soldier, and united the majesty of the throne, with the rough austerity of the camp. Familiar with victory, and habituated to triumphs during more than forty years, his mind was never indecently elated by success, nor the serenity of his features affected by any external circumstances. With the same apparent calmness and composure, he marched to quell the insurrection of his son, Bajazet; and beheld the captive fleet of Philip the Second, conducted into the harbour of Constantinople, after the ignominious defeat of the Spaniards, at Gerbes, in 1562.

The glory of Charles the Fifth sinks, on a comparison with that of the Mahometan prince; and his triumphs over Francis the First, or the members of the confederacy of Smalcald, only augmented the humiliation of his defeats, when opposed to Solyman, or Barbarossa.

<sup>38</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 98.

<sup>39</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 247, and p. 284.

<sup>40</sup> Gibbon's Roman Emp. oct. edit. vol. ii. p. 94, 95.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1566.

Grandeur of  
the Ottoman  
empire, at his  
decease.

He was reduced to supplicate the ministers of the Porte for a truce ; and he obtained it, at the expence of his pride and his interests. Ferdinand, king of Hungary, his brother, did not hesitate to descend to still greater mortifications, and voluntarily purchased a precarious, or ignominious peace, by the payment of an annual tribute of thirty thousand ducats \*. We may justly regard the close of Solyman's life, as the period at which the Ottoman power and greatness had attained its summit ; and though, after his decease, the empire received some accessions of territory, as that of Rome did subsequent to the reign of Augustus ; yet, the foundations of its prosperity and stability were weakened. This change was not, however, apparent ; and Europe long continued to regard, with anxious terror, every equipment or preparation for war, made at Constantinople.

1566—1569.  
Accession,  
and character  
of Selim the  
Second.

Selim the Second, on whom devolved the vacant sceptre, was ill calculated to sustain its majesty, or to augment the glory of the Turkish name and arms. Pusillanimous, indolent, and dissolute, he neither put himself at the head of his forces, nor attended to the administration of public affairs. Equally unfit for the fatigues of a camp, or the occupations of the cabinet, he passed his time in the excesses of the table, and abandoned himself to the gratification of his passion for wine \*\*. The victories, as well as the defeats, which have rendered his reign memorable, were performed by others ; and though he was not insensible to the extension of his dominions, or the success of his troops, he committed the toils of state to delegates. Under a prince of such a character, we might be led to imagine, that Europe, so long desolated or invaded by Solyman, would begin to taste repose ; and that Selim, content to maintain his father's acquisitions, would not have attempted to effect new conquests. But, however unwilling, himself, to quit the enjoyments of the seraglio, his ambition was easily inflamed ; and the apparent facility of adding Cyprus

He projects  
the invasion  
of Cyprus.

\* La Croix, vol. i. p. 446. Busbeq. Epist. p. 455, 456.

\*\* Busbeq. Epist. p. 236, and p. 275.

to his numerous provinces, seems to have been the principal, or only reason, which induced him to commence hostilities on the Venetians, to whom that beautiful island belonged. The Republic, declining in her strength, and conscious, from experience, how slender was the assistance which she had derived from Charles the Fifth, when engaged in former contests with the Turks; had little room to expect that Philip the Second would act with greater liberality, or sincerity. The emperor, Maximilian the Second, averse to war, and destitute of resources to support it against Selim, refused to take any part in the quarrel; and no other power could extend effectual aid.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1566—1569.  
State of the  
Republic of  
Venice.

Convinced of the validity and force of these obvious reflexions, the Senate, anxious to avert the storm, made every offer, calculated to appease the sultan; but, as the cession of the island itself could alone mollify the Divan, or produce an accommodation, the Venetians prepared for a vigorous defence<sup>43</sup>. Nicosia, one of the principal cities of Cyprus, was taken by the Turkish forces, after a siege of short duration: but, Famagosta sustained a long and obstinate attack, in defiance of every effort on the part of the Mahometans. The combined fleets of Philip, Venice, and the Holy See, were meanwhile assembled on the coast of Caramania; and only unanimity, or inclination were wanting, to have enabled them to obtain a decisive advantage over the enemy, dispersed through Cyprus, and occupied in reducing the capital. But, the king of Spain did not sincerely desire the elevation, or extrication of the Republic; and the Spanish commander, on pretexts the most futile, refused to hazard a general engagement<sup>44</sup>. Encouraged by such evident proofs of dissension or incapacity among the allies, the vizier resumed the enterprize on Famagosta, with increased alacrity; and notwithstanding the intrepidity manifested by the Venetian commander, Bragadino, the place capitulated. The articles were violated by the Janizaries, and eluded

1570.

Attack of  
Cyprus.

Capture of  
Famagosta,  
by the vizier.

1571.

<sup>43</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 151—176.

<sup>44</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 177—186, and p. 194—197, and p. 198—204. La Croix, vol. i. p. 566—568. Knolles, p. 845—863.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1571.

Battle of Lepanto.

Consternation of the Turks.

Inaction of the allied powers.

by Mustapha, their general ; who sullied his acquisition, by the most perfidious and inhuman treatment of the garrison and inhabitants. They were massacred, or reduced to slavery ; and Bragadino himself expired by a punishment equally cruel and ignominious<sup>45</sup>.

In these circumstances, little more than two months after the reduction of Cyprus, took place the celebrated battle of Lepanto. Don John of Austria, impelled by his own passion for glory, and at the hazard of his brother's indignation, engaged the whole naval force of Selim, commanded by his ablest officers. He obtained a signal victory ; and only about thirty gallies, under Uluciali, escaped the general destruction. If the advantage had been improved, the Turkish empire might, probably, have been shaken to its basis, or even subverted. The sultan possessed neither fortitude, courage, nor resources of mind. In Constantinople, the alarm exceeded description ; and Selim, who was absent at Adrianople when the intelligence arrived, hurried to the capital, overcome with terror and despondency. The passage of the Dardanelles, unfortified, or in a state of neglect, the result of security, might have been forced, without difficulty ; and no obstacle, except the advanced season of the year, presented itself to impede the progress of the victorious confederates. But, internal jealousies, and jarring interests, formed insurmountable impediments to their joint operations. Instead of improving the victory, they were occupied in dividing the spoil. Far from approaching Constantinople, they seem only to have conquered, in order to retreat ; and the Venetians alone remained at sea during some time longer<sup>46</sup>. It can scarcely be believed, that a detachment of fifty vessels, sent by Don John, immediately after the action, to reduce the little island of Santa Maura, the Leucadia of the Greeks, was repulsed, and compelled to retire. Not the smallest advantage seems

<sup>45</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 562—566. Cantemir, p. 222. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 56—67. Knolles, p. 863—868. Laugier, vol. x. p. 236—244.

<sup>46</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 244—252. La Croix, vol. i. p. 574—580. Cantemir, p. 223—225. Knolles, p. 873—886.

to have been derived from one of the most glorious victories, to be found in modern annals. No attempt was even made to recover Cyprus, or any part of the Morea <sup>67</sup>.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1571.

Uluciali, who might have been cut off by Doria, the commander of the Genoese galleys in the service of Spain, revived the courage of the sultan, by his appearance at Constantinople: he was instantly declared captain bashaw, and Selim committed to his ability the fate of the Ottoman empire. We cannot help conceiving a high idea of the resources and energy, then possessed by the Turks, when we find that in less than eight months from the battle of Lepanto, a fleet more numerous, and equally well equipped with the former, was fitted out, and sent against the Christians <sup>68</sup>. Uluciali, by his prudence, skill, and dexterity, proved himself deserving of the important deposit entrusted to him; and he successfully eluded the attempts repeatedly made by the Venetians, to force him to a second general engagement. It is, however, incontestable, that the Turkish galleys were constructed of materials deficient in the most essential requisites; that they were ill provided with cannon; manned with unexperienced sailors; and that the crews were dejected by their recent defeat <sup>69</sup>. Blocked up in the port of Modon, in the Morea, they must either have hazarded an action under manifest disadvantages, or have surrendered at discretion to the combined fleets; if the Spanish admiral had not withdrawn his division, and opened a passage for their escape <sup>70</sup>. The Venetian commander vainly implored of him the delay of a few days; and the Senate, indignant at such treatment from their ally, hastened to conclude a separate accommodation with the Porte; which, far from relaxing its demands, in consequence

1572.  
Measures of  
Uluciali to  
retrieve the  
Turkish af-  
fairs.

Peace be-  
tween Venice  
and Selim the  
Second.

<sup>67</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Laugier, vol. x. p. 250, 251. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 80.

<sup>68</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 263. La Croix, vol. i. p. 582.

<sup>69</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 84, 85.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid. p. 85—89. Cantemir, p. 225. La Croix, vol. i. p. 584. Knolles, p. 887—901. Laugier, vol. x. p. 263—271.

of



C H A P.  
XIX.

1573.  
Capture of  
Tunis, by  
Don John of  
Austria.

1574.  
Retaken by  
the Turks.

Death of  
Selim.

of the late defeat, rather exacted greater concessions from the Republic".

Philip the Second continued the contest; and Don John of Austria transferred the theatre of the war to Africa. Landing near Tunis, he made himself master of that city, as well as of Biserta; defeated the Moors, and placed upon the throne a prince, dependant on Spain. To ensure his conquest, he caused a new fortress to be constructed; left a considerable body of Spanish and Italian troops in garrison; and returned to Sicily, to enjoy the acclamations which attended his arrival. But the triumph was transitory, and succeeded by the most humiliating reverse. Ulucciali, and the bashaw Sinan appearing on the coast of Barbary, with incredible celerity, not only recovered Tunis, and the fort recently built by the Spaniards; but, carried the Golletta itself by storm, and put the forces, found in it, to the sword. This citadel, taken by the emperor Charles the Fifth, near forty years before, from Barbarossa; preserved at an immense expence, and by the most watchful vigilance; dear to the pride of the Spanish sovereign and nation; was immediately demolished by the Turks, who returned victorious, to Constantinople". Almost at the same period, Walachia, which had revolted, and under the conduct of its waivode or prince, had obtained numerous advantages over the Ottoman armies, was subjected; and the province experienced the severest treatment from their incensed and implacable masters". In every quarter, the Turks acquired a decided superiority, and increased the respect or terror of the European powers, for their arms. Under this blaze of glory, to which he had not, in any measure, contributed, Selim terminated his reign; carried off by a distemper, produced from his excesses, in the vigor of his age.

<sup>21</sup> Langier, vol. x. p. 278—282. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 89—92. Knolles, p. 904, 905.

<sup>22</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 588—590, and p. 592—594. Knolles, p. 901, 902, and p. 914, 915. Cantemir, p. 226, 227. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 92—98.

<sup>23</sup> Knolles, p. 905—914. La Croix, vol. i. p. 590, and p. 594—596.

Few

Few princes have experienced greater political vicissitudes, in the course of only eight years; and none was ever more passive, amidst the great events, which distinguish the time when he lived. Amurath the Third, his son, succeeded to the empire<sup>24</sup>.

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The Turkish government, during the period which we have reviewed, as well as at every other, can only be regarded as a despotism. In a country, destitute of hereditary nobility, or of any intermediate order, between the sovereign and the people; whose inhabitants knew no respect for birth; where slaves, educated in the apartments of the seraglio, were selected to fill the highest offices; and which was unacquainted with the existence of any legislative, or deliberative assembly; the will of the sultan was the supreme law. But, indefinite as such an authority may appear, it had limits, not to be transgressed with impunity. The precepts of the Alcoran; the usages and customs, sanctioned by prescription; the very prejudices of the Turks, could not be violated by the most able, or tyrannical prince, without the hazard of deposition and death, as the immediate consequence. Like arbitrary power in every age, it was held by the most frail and precarious tenure; a military force. The Janizaries, who had signified to Bajazet the Second, their commands that he should descend from the throne, on account of his inaptitude for war, and bodily infirmities; conferred the supreme authority on Selim the First. That sultan endeavoured systematically, to extinguish so powerful and dangerous a body of troops; but, his reign was not of sufficient length, to carry into execution, the design which he meditated<sup>25</sup>. Under Solyman, they arrogated their antient right of naming, removing, or confirming the head of the empire. Notwithstanding the great endowments which he possessed, the perpetual hostilities in which he was engaged, and the rigid discipline that he en-

Despotism of  
the Ottoman  
sultans.

Limits affixed  
to it.

The Janiza-  
ries.

Their mili-  
tary disposi-  
tion.

<sup>24</sup> Knolles, p. 915. Cantemir, p. 227, 228. La Croix, vol. i. p. 596—598. Vânel, vol. iii. p. 98.

<sup>25</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 358. Busbeq. Epist. p. 55—60.

forced;



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Donatives.

Insurrections,  
and immuni-  
ties of the  
Janizaries.

forced; Solyman was repeatedly on the point of experiencing the fatal effects of their indignation. In 1553, after the execution of his eldest son, Mustapha, strangled by his orders, in the camp, near Amasia, on the Persian expedition; the troops mutinied, and with loud cries, demanded vengeance on the authors of his death. The personal appearance, and exertions of the sultan, aided by the distribution of money, with difficulty allayed, and averted the storm from himself<sup>76</sup>.

At the commencement of every reign, like the Prætorian guards, they expected, or exacted, a donative; and during the first days of the new government, it was customary to accord the demands or requests, which they thought proper to make, of every nature. On the accession of Solyman, in 1520, they insisted that the sultan should issue a decree, prohibiting all Christians in future to appear on horseback, in the streets of Constantinople<sup>77</sup>. It was not without difficulty, at these periods, when the supreme power was in some measure suspended, during its transmission from one prince to another; that the Janizaries were restrained from plundering the capital: particularly, the houses, or shops of the Christian and Jewish merchants<sup>78</sup>. Solyman, though he had no rival or competitor for the empire, as being the only son of Selim the First; yet, did not venture to withhold the customary distribution of money, on his father's death<sup>79</sup>. The most alarming insurrection took place among the troops, when Selim the Second, in 1566, presumed to commence the functions of government, before he had satisfied their rapacious exactions. Not content with a prodigious largess, which he had divided among them; they assembled tumultuously, and demanded the confirmation of all their privileges, together with a larger donative, before they would permit the new sultan to enter the seraglio. Their insolence was so great, that Ma-

<sup>76</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 470—472. Knolles, p. 764. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 5. 6. Busbeq. Epist. p. 58, 59.

<sup>77</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 288.

<sup>78</sup> Knolles, p. 567.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid. p. 568.

homot and Pertau, the two principal viziers, or bashaws, attempting to mollify their resentment, were nearly sacrificed to their fury; and suffered severely from the blows of the matchlocks, or harquebusses, with which the Turkish soldiery were armed. Selim, terrified, and unable to resist, instantly made an ample distribution; after which they dispersed<sup>80</sup>. Amurath the Third extended and augmented all their immunities, in 1574<sup>81</sup>.

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Such was the apprehension entertained of their excesses during the vacancy of the throne, that the deaths of Solyman, and of Selim, were studiously concealed by the viziers, till their respective successors could arrive, and take possession of the capital. In the former instance, as the army was engaged before Sigeth, and the place was reduced to extremity, it became, on every account, indispensable to keep the soldiers in ignorance of so important an event; and in order to effect it, the grand vizier did not hesitate to strangle the physician, who had attended Solyman in his dying moments<sup>82</sup>. The Janizaries having, notwithstanding, entertained some suspicions that the sultan was no more, the body was placed in a horse-litter, his customary mode of conveyance; the curtains of which being undrawn from time to time, the troops were permitted to see him at a distance; and as he appeared in a sitting attitude, habited as usual, the deception operated completely. It is scarcely credible, that his decease should have been thus concealed for more than six weeks, from the knowledge of the Janizaries. It was only divulged on Selim's arrival in the camp, forty-six days after his father had expired<sup>83</sup>. The great bashaws contrived to keep all Constantinople in a similar ignorance of Selim the Second's death, for twelve days, till his son, Amurath, then absent in Asia, could reach the seraglio<sup>84</sup>.

Concealment  
of the deaths  
of the Otto-  
man empe-  
rors.

<sup>80</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 540. Knolles, p. 827, 828. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 15.

<sup>81</sup> Knolles, p. 919.

<sup>82</sup> Ibid. p. 823. La Croix, vol. i. p. 537. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 47.

<sup>83</sup> Knolles, p. 823, and p. 825. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 47, and p. 52.

<sup>84</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 161.



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Superiority of  
the Turkish  
troops, in the  
sixteenth cen-  
tury.

Towards the close of Solyman's reign, the Ottoman troops were justly regarded as superior to those of any christian power, and they inspired a degree of terror, of which we can scarcely form an exaggerated conception. From the banks of the Tygris and the Euphrates, to the western extremity of Europe, every nation had experienced, in its turn, their intrepid valor, and their destructive ravages. If, after the decease of Solyman, the Turkish sceptre had devolved to a prince of activity, capable of maintaining in its utmost severity, the established discipline, and able to lead them in person against Germany, or Italy; it is difficult to say what adequate barriers could have been opposed to the Mahometan arms, and religion. The extended frontier of Hungary, feebly defended by a tumultuous and refractory army, could not long have delayed the inroads of such invaders; and the Austrian princes vainly attempted to rouse the German circles from their habitual apathy, and characteristic inaction. Venice, unable to defend Cyprus, alarmed for Candia and Corfu, unsustained by Philip the Second, and sinking in her internal resources; might have beheld a Turkish squadron riding triumphant in the Adriatic, and perhaps, have been necessitated to abandon the seat and capital of the Republic. The weakness and debility of the European states, which bordered on the provinces of Turkey, were wonderfully contrasted with the vigor, energy, and resources of the sultans. We may see in the letters of Busbequius, the Imperial ambassador at the court of Solyman, the precise state, condition, and number of the Ottoman soldiery, between 1554, and 1562. He had repeatedly, during the course of his humiliating and painful mission, been a spectator of their military skill; and he describes in glowing language, the formidable aspect which they presented, when encamped on the frontiers of Persia, as well as when drawn up, under the eye of their master, in the vicinity of Constantinople".

" Busbeq. Epist. p. 102, and p. 266, 267.

The Janizaries, strictly so denominated, do not appear to have exceeded twelve thousand, a part of whom were always retained near the person of the sovereign; the others were stationed on the frontiers, or dispersed through the vast extent of the Turkish dominions<sup>86</sup>. While employed on active service in the field, they exhibited the most exemplary pattern of temperance, sobriety, and submission. A profound tranquillity reigned in their camps, where gaming, intoxication, and quarrels were unknown<sup>87</sup>. Water was the only refreshment of the Ottoman soldier, who was not more restrained from the use of wine, by the prohibitions of the Prophet, or by the orders of his general, than by habitual and constitutional abstinence. Their food was equally simple; and seemed more adapted to ascetics or hermits, than to nourish the hardy courage of veteran troops, accustomed to carnage, and familiarized to conquest. Vegetables constituted their principal nourishment; and so slender a proportion of animal food was consumed among them, that Busbequius declares, four or five sheep to have been amply sufficient for the daily consumption of near four thousand Janizaries<sup>88</sup>. The cleanliness of their camps, was strikingly opposed to the filth of the christian armies in the sixteenth century, among whom, scarcely any precautions were taken, to prevent diseases and infection<sup>89</sup>. Strict attention, and unremitting care were exerted by the Turkish officers, to preserve the health of the troops; and, in a peculiar manner, to protect them from the inclemency of the weather, to which, as being mostly natives of a warm, or sultry climate, they were greatly sensible. Their clothing was adapted to enable them to support the severity of Hungarian campaigns, in which the cold was frequently intense. Every tent held from twenty-five, to thirty Janizaries. The state supplied the materials of their dress, which was composed of cloth, and distributed with the most rigorous impartiality. In like manner, and with a view to prevent complaint, or imposition,

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The Janizaries.

Their sobriety, and abstinence.

Regulations.

<sup>86</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 23, and p. 24.

<sup>87</sup> Ibid. p. 250.

<sup>88</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 251, 252.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid. p. 250.



C H A P. the money in which they received their pay, was not counted, but,  
XIX. dealt out by weight, to each individual <sup>90</sup>.

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Arms.

The bow and arrow constituted the favourite weapon of the Turkish soldier. From the age of seven or eight years, the youth were taught its exercise; and they attained to a dexterity, celerity, and precision in the use of it, which could scarcely have been exceeded by the Parthians, so renowned in antiquity <sup>91</sup>. Nor were they less skilful with the spear. The cavalry, denominated Spahis, offered a superb spectacle to the eye, mounted on beautiful Cappadocian, or Syrian horses, whose trappings were covered with gold, and inlaid with gems. The men wore defensive armour, and dresses of the most costly, or splendid kind <sup>92</sup>. Fire-arms were little used by the Turks, before the end of Solyman's reign. Rustan, one of the bashaws of that prince, attempted, about the year 1550, to introduce matchlocks, or harquebusses, among the cavalry, during the Persian war: but, the experiment did not succeed <sup>93</sup>. The infantry, however, submitted to adopt them, though not without difficulty and reluctance.

Punishments.

Among the punishments common in the Ottoman armies, the most frequent was the scourge, from which the Janizaries themselves were not exempted. Death was inflicted on the common soldiers, for crimes of magnitude; but, by a distinction, calculated to operate in the most powerful manner on the human mind, the Janizary could not, in any case, be deprived of life, or capitally punished. They were supposed to act from higher principles, than the fear of death, or the love of life. A sense of shame and of honor elevated them above both, and directed all their sensibility towards the preservation of their military reputation, rank, and station. In cases of such magnitude or atrocity, as to merit exemplary chastisement, they were publicly degraded; deprived of their arms and military insignia; and afterwards banished to the distant garrisons,

<sup>90</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 175, 176.

<sup>92</sup> Ibid. p. 210, 211.

<sup>91</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 20, and p. 245—247.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid. p. 199, 200.

on the frontier of Persia, Lybia, or Poland, there to drag out a miserable and forgotten existence, amid contumely and oblivion. Such a punishment, to the Janizary of the sixteenth century, must have been far more severe than death".

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This formidable body of infantry was principally composed of, and recruited from, the christian youth, scattered through the various provinces of the Turkish empire. They were annually brought in vast numbers, to Constantinople, from Hungary, Dalmatia, and Greece". After being exposed to sale, they were educated with the utmost care; inured betimes to labor, fatigue, and the severest renunciations; instructed by masters in all the exercises of the body, and in the practice of arms; till they were judged deserving of incorporation in the ranks of the Janizaries, or Spahis. Some chosen youths, distinguished by their personal beauty, or by the vivacity and pregnancy of their parts, were usually reserved for the sultan, the viziers, and bashaws. They often rose in the Turkish court, to the highest honors, offices, and preferments, civil and military. Hungarians, Greeks, Slavonians, and Germans, occupied places of trust and responsibility, commanded expeditions by land and by sea, desolated the countries from whence they derived their origin, or disposed with unlimited power, of the sultan's authority and treasures". Charles the Fifth, and Ferdinand the First, found no opponents more formidable than the christians, thus naturalized and received into the Turkish armies, or councils.

Mode of recruiting the Janizaries.

The terror, inspired by the Ottoman arms in the sixteenth century, was principally due to the rigid military discipline, and exact temperance, enforced by Solyman; who gave in his own person, an example of the virtues, which he enjoined to his soldiers. But, his death was the term of their observance; and under Selim, universal relaxation took place. The sultan, no longer present in the field,

Discipline of the soldiery.

<sup>24</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 256, 257.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid. p. 108, 109.

<sup>26</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 256, 257. Exclamatio de Re militari, p. 432—439.

with-



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Temperance.

Severity of  
Solyman.

Relaxation  
under Selim.

withdrew the greatest incitement to emulation and valor. Solyman would not have succeeded before Rhodes, if he had not repaired thither in person, and animated the operations<sup>97</sup>. To his incapacity of conducting the attack upon Malta, occasioned by his age and infirmities, may, probably, in some measure, be attributed the ill success of the enterprize. So devoted were the Janizaries to him, and so confident of victory under his auspices, that they continued to believe themselves invincible, while he led them against the enemy. The abstinence of Solyman from wine, in obedience to the Mahometan injunction, enabled him to compel the troops to practise the same renunciation. Such was his severity upon this point, that, in 1546, finding the inhabitants of Constantinople not only guilty of frequent intoxication, but, universally occupied in the culture of the grape; he issued the most rigorous edicts against the former practice; and to eradicate the latter, he caused all the vines in the vicinity of the capital, to be pulled up and destroyed<sup>98</sup>. Conscious, nevertheless, that the use of the grape was not only in itself harmless, but, beneficial, he, at a subsequent period of his life and reign, encouraged, and even enjoined the cultivation of the vine<sup>99</sup>. Selim gave a very opposite example from that of his father, Solyman. He was accustomed to pass whole days, in a balcony of the seraglio, which looked upon the sea, engaged in excesses of wine; and at every glass that he swallowed, cannon were discharged<sup>100</sup>. The troops soon caught, and imitated so pernicious an infection: but, their reputation long survived their discipline; and it was not till towards the conclusion of the last century, that the Germans and Hungarians began to assert a decided superiority over the Ottoman armies.

Under the reigns of Solyman and Selim, the blood of the Turkish troops was prodigally shed on every occasion. No account seems to

<sup>97</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 370, and p. 540.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. p. 442.

<sup>99</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 295, 296.

<sup>100</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 98. Cantemir, p. 228. La Croix, vol. i. p. 598.

have been made of the diminution of the human species; and the ranks were speedily filled by new recruits from Europe and Asia. The unsuccessful expedition against Malta, cost the lives of twenty-four thousand of their choicest soldiers<sup>101</sup>. The conquest of Cyprus, which was only the triumph of brutal strength, was not obtained without the sacrifice of near sixty thousand men<sup>102</sup>. At Lepanto, it was calculated, that thirty thousand Turks were killed, or made prisoners; and an equal number fell before Tunis and the Goletta, in 1574. Only the Ottoman empire could have sustained, and replaced, such vast and repeated losses<sup>103</sup>. The accusation, laid to the charge of the Janizaries, that they violated all capitulations, and put to the sword the enemy who had surrendered on terms, is, undoubtedly, too well founded, in many instances. The cruelties, exercised at Famagosta, in 1571, may be more justly imputed to Mustapha, the Turkish commander, than to the private soldiers; and admits neither of excuse, nor extenuation<sup>104</sup>. But, that the Janizaries were capable of granting quarter, and even of extending protection to their enemies during the heat of action, is evident by their behaviour at the storm of Sigeth, in 1566. Charmed with the valor of the Hungarian garrison, they snatched many individuals from immediate death; and rescued them from the scymetars of their comrades, by placing their caps or bonnets on the heads of such, as they desired to exempt from the indiscriminate carnage<sup>105</sup>.

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Loss of men  
in war.

Behaviour of  
the Janiza-  
ries.

Solyman, in all his campaigns, brought into the field, a numerous artillery; but, the Turks were unskilled in the art of attacking fortifications. They rarely captured any city, except by an incredible expenditure of human blood. In 1531, the army, commanded by the sultan in person, entered Hungary, and sat down before the castle of Ghinz, not distant from the memorable plain of Mohatz, where only

Ignorance of  
the Turks, in  
the art of at-  
tacking cities.

<sup>101</sup> Knolles, p. 817.

<sup>102</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 574.

<sup>103</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 75, and p. 97. Knolles, p. 883.

<sup>104</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 574.

<sup>105</sup> Knolles, p. 823.



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five years before, he had vanquished Louis the Second. After remaining twenty-three days before the place, which was in no respect provided for defence, and the walls of which were old and ruinous; he was compelled to decamp, with the loss of his bravest soldiers, and to retreat immediately into his own dominions<sup>106</sup>. Vienna, Corfu, and many other unsuccessful sieges, undertaken by the same prince, prove the ignorance of his officers and troops in the attack of cities.

Treatment of  
enemies.

Count Serini.

In order to terrify, or to insult the enemy, it was common among the Turkish commanders, to send the head of a general, slain in battle, to his surviving friends. When the intrepid count Serini was killed, in 1566, at the assault of Sigeth, Mahomet, the grand vizier, after causing the head to be placed on a pole, for the gratification of his troops; ordered it to be wrapped in a red scarf, covered with white linen, and in this state to be transmitted to count Salm, the Imperial general, then encamped on the banks of the Danube, near Rääb, in Hungary. He accompanied it with the following laconic note:—"In token of my love, I send thee the head of a most resolute and valiant captain, thy friend: the remainder of his body, I have honorably interred, as became such a man." We must allow, that there is, even in so barbarous a proceeding, a mixture of liberality; and that the antipathy of the Mahometan minister, had not extinguished his veneration for Serini's valor and merit<sup>107</sup>. The bashaw, Mustapha, who commanded the expedition against Cyprus, was of a much more sanguinary and ferocious disposition. After having taken Nicosia, he proceeded to invest Famagosta; and with a view of intimidating the inhabitants, he had the inhumanity to put to death several of the principal persons, found in the former city, whose heads, placed upon staves, were carried round the walls of Famagosta. That of Dandolo, the Venetian governor, was transmitted in a basket, by a Cyprian peasant, liberated expressly for the

Dandolo.

<sup>106</sup> Vanel, vol. ii. p. 369, 370.<sup>107</sup> Knolles, p. 823, 824. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 507. Sacy, vol. ii. p. 50.

purpose,

purpose, to Bragadino; as an earnest of the treatment which he might in his turn expect, if he ventured to resist. But, far from producing the effect intended, he sent word to Mustapha, that "he was prepared for the same destiny, and determined to hold out the place to the last extremity"<sup>108</sup>.

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Formidable as were the military forces of the Turks, their navy, at this period, was equally calculated to inspire apprehension. When Solyman sent his fleet to besiege Malta, in 1565, it consisted of one hundred and forty-two gallies, seventeen galliots, and about twenty-two victuallers, of various sizes<sup>109</sup>. At Lepanto, six years afterwards, the bashaw Ali had under his command, more than two hundred gallies, besides vessels of other denominations<sup>110</sup>. The chief reliance of the confederates was on their Galeasses, of which the fleet contained six. They were vast, unwieldy, floating castles, furnished with heavy artillery, and manned with soldiers. It was usual to station them, in front of the gallies, about a mile a-head, and at equal distances, as advanced forts, or redoubts. They do not, however, appear to have eminently contributed to the famous victory of Lepanto; and their construction rendered them slow, as well as difficult to manage<sup>111</sup>.

Naval force.

Notwithstanding the severe blow given on that occasion, to the Turkish marine, it immediately revived. Barbaro, the Venetian envoy, detained in confinement at Constantinople, wrote to the Senate, that he himself had reckoned two hundred and fifty gallies, which, under Ulucciali's command, sailed out of the harbour; and he was to be joined by others, at Gallipoli<sup>112</sup>. If we reflect that the battle of Lepanto took place in October, 1571, and that in the month of June following, a naval force more considerable than ever was already equipped and sent against the enemy; we may, perhaps, doubt whether any European state in the present century, could make equal,

Numerous  
marine.

Gallies.

<sup>108</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 46. Knolles, p. 852.

<sup>109</sup> Knolles, p. 795. Vanel, vol. ii. p. 499.

<sup>110</sup> Knolles, p. 839. La Croix, vol. i. p. 576.

<sup>111</sup> Laugier, vol. x. p. 245, 246. Knolles, p. 878.

<sup>112</sup> Knolles, p. 889.



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or greater exertions, by sea. The admiral galley, commanded by Ali, who was killed at Lepanto, exceeded any other of the Turkish fleet, in magnificence, as well as dimensions. Her deck was composed of black walnut wood, curiously inlaid; and the cabin was hung with gold brocade, ornamented with devices<sup>113</sup>. Three thousand, four hundred and eighty-six Christian slaves were liberated from on board the galleys captured; and five thousand Turks, taken prisoners, were substituted in their places<sup>114</sup>. No circumstance attending that memorable day, could have been more grateful or exhilarating to the conquerors, than the restoration of liberty to their unfortunate countrymen. Three hundred and sixty-seven pieces of cannon, of various sizes, were taken in the Ottoman galleys<sup>115</sup>.

Turkish commanders.

Ibrahim.

It is not a little remarkable, that almost all the illustrious commanders, naval and military, employed under the reigns of Solyman and Selim, were originally christians. Ibrahim, the grand vizier of the former sultan, who long enjoyed unlimited authority, and to whose rare endowments, was principally due the success which attended the arms of his master against Hungary, and in Asia; was born in an obscure village, near the town of Perga, in Epirus. During twelve years, he governed the Turkish empire with the most despotic power; but, his treasonable correspondence with the Venetians, which was intercepted; and the exhortations of Roxalana, induced Solyman, not without hesitation and reluctance, to put him to death, in 1536<sup>116</sup>.

Barbarossa.

The elevation of Barbarossa, was even greater and more singular. He, and his elder brother, Horuc, were the sons of a renegade Greek, of Mytilene, in the island of Lesbos. Having stolen a little galliot, and being of an enterprising disposition, they betook themselves to the sea, and conquered the kingdom of Algiers, a few years afterwards. Horuc was killed by the Spaniards, and his head was

<sup>113</sup> Knolles, p. 883, 884.<sup>115</sup> Vanel. vol. iii. p. 75, 76.<sup>114</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 578. Vanel, vol. iii. p. 76.<sup>116</sup> Knolles, p. 645-654. La Croix, vol. i. p. 408, 410.

carried

carried in triumph, through the principal maritime cities of Andalusia, on a lance : but Barbarossa succeeded him in his usurped dominions ; and his high reputation for skill, intrepidity, and knowledge of the Mediterranean coasts, induced Solyman, in 1534, to offer him the supreme command of the Turkish fleets. He accepted it, and was declared captain bashaw by the sultan, who delivered him a sceptre and a sword, as the symbols of his regal dignity, and naval pre-eminence. Eight hundred thousand ducats were presented him out of the public treasury, to commence his operations. He was the scourge of Italy, during many years. The close of his active life was passed in repose, at Constantinople, near which city he expired, at an advanced age, in 1574. He was buried at Besiktas, four miles from Pera, on the European side of the Bosphorus ; a place, in which he had, only a few years preceding, sold near sixteen thousand christians, captured by him, and principally natives of the island of Corfu<sup>117</sup>.

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His death.

Mahomet, who was grand vizier, during the conclusion of Solyman's reign, and through the whole of Selim's, was a Sclavonian by birth, and eighteen years old, when he was made a slave. He was not only a christian ; but, he had been a clerk in the church of St. Saba, in the province of Bosnia ; and after his elevation, he bestowed peculiar marks of favour and regard on his native place. The protection of Roxalana conducted him to the highest dignities and honors, though his talents were very moderate, and neither his personal courage, nor military skill were conspicuous. His concealment of Solyman's death, in the camp before Sigeth, by securing the throne to Selim, endeared Mahomet to that prince. He vainly, however, exerted his credit and endeavours to prevent the war with the Venetians, which produced the loss of Cyprus. The bashaw Sinan, and Piali, induced the sultan to turn his arms against the Republic<sup>118</sup>.

Mahomet.

<sup>117</sup> Knolles, p. 635—639, and p. 751. Vânel, vol. ii. p. 391—396.

<sup>118</sup> Vânel, vol. iii. p. 26, 27.



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Piali.

In no instance was the power of fortune more fully evinced, than in the person of Piali himself, who succeeded to Barbarossa, as captain bashaw. He was a Hungarian by birth, of extraction so obscure as to be unknown; and after the memorable defeat of Louis the Second, at Mohatz, in 1526, his mother, to conceal him from the fury of the Turkish soldiery, threw him into a ditch. He was taken out, presented to Solyman, in a state of nudity; and being well made, the sultan ordered a nurse to be provided for the infant. His valor and talents achieved the rest <sup>119</sup>.

Uluciali.

Uluciali, to whose ability was due, that any part of the Ottoman gallies escaped the defeat of Lepanto, and who merited the highest applauses for his subsequent conduct, was born at a little village, in Calabria; and being destined to a monastic life, he embarked for Naples, in order to pursue his studies. On his passage, he was captured by a Turkish vessel, and chained to the oar, as a slave; but, having embraced the Mahometan faith, he commenced the profession of a Corsair. It is asserted, that he always retained his original attachment to the Christian religion; and it is certain, that he frequently, after his elevation in the service of Solyman and Selim, visited his relations in Calabria, and gave them marks of his affection and regard. His enterprize against Tunis and the Goletta, in 1574, covered him with glory <sup>120</sup>. The bashaw Hali, who rose to the highest point of power and consideration, after the death of Rustan, towards the end of Solyman's reign, was, by birth, a Dalmatian. In elegance of manners, humanity, and courtesy, he had no equal in the Turkish court. His mind, liberal and enlarged, rose above the prejudices of his age and nation. Capable of friendship, and disposed to commiserate and to relieve the unfortunate, he endeavoured to alleviate the severity with which the ambassador of Ferdinand the First was treated at Constantinople <sup>121</sup>. Of all the ministers, or celebrated

Hali.

<sup>119</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 30, 31.

<sup>120</sup> Knolles, p. 889.

<sup>121</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 103, and p. 307—316.

commanders, who, during this period, distinguished themselves in the Turkish service, Dragut alone was, by birth, a Mahometan, and an Asiatic. He was a native of Anatolia, and the son of a peasant.

CHAP.  
XIX.

1574.  
Dragut.

The Turkish commerce, before the reign of Amurath the Third, was almost exclusively carried on by the French and the Venetians. The other European states had little share in the trade of the Levant. Francis the First, by the intimate connexions of policy, into which he had entered with the Porte, obtained very beneficial exemptions or privileges for his subjects, who navigated the eastern part of the Mediterranean; and the flag of France was particularly respected in all the Ottoman ports<sup>122</sup>. The Republic of Venice, always attentive to her commercial interests, even when engaged in hostilities with the Turks; resumed her intercourse immediately on the cessation of war, and derived from it prodigious advantages. England had no share in this lucrative traffic before the year 1583, when Elizabeth sent ambassadors to Amurath the Third, to negotiate the terms of a treaty, which might open it to her subjects. Every impediment was thrown in the way of the negotiation, by the French and Venetian ministers at Constantinople, who warmly remonstrated with the grand vizier, and endeavoured to represent as an infraction of treaty, the permission of the English nation to participate in the Levant trade. But, their opposition was ineffectual. English consuls, for the protection of commerce, were soon afterwards sent to Smyrna, Aleppo, Alexandria, and Constantinople itself. The Dutch, about the same period, began to appear in the Archipelago, and to share in these benefits<sup>123</sup>.

Treaty between Amurath the Third, and Elizabeth, queen of England.

Notwithstanding the magnitude and resources of the Turkish empire, the splendor of the sultan on days of ceremony, and the local beauty of the situation of Constantinople; neither the capital, the court, nor the nation, could be regarded as other than barbarous.

Constantinople. Its state.

Barbarism.

<sup>122</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 126, 127.

<sup>123</sup> Idem, ibid.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1574.

Situation.

The arts were either unknown in a great degree, or they were exercised by the Jews and Christians only. Medicine and surgery were in the rudest and simplest state. Insurmountable prejudices, religious or habitual, impeded the progress of science, extinguished knowledge, and depressed the human mind. Printing, which had been so widely diffused among the European nations at the period under our review, was interdicted in Turkey<sup>124</sup>. Articles of luxury were imported from foreign countries; and the people, indolent, destitute of activity, and fettered by ignorance or prescription, made no efforts to emancipate themselves from poverty and servitude. The tyranny of the Bashaws and Sangiacks destroyed industry, and compelled the opulent to conceal, or bury their wealth. The situation of Constantinople, on the extreme verge of Europe, between the Euxine and the Mediterranean seas, furnished from the neighbouring provinces of Asia with every delicacy, fed with perpetual supplies of grain from Egypt, and defended towards Hungary, by the Danube, and the defiles of Mount Hâmus, and Rhodopè; seemed to point it out as the fit residence of the sultans, and as the capital of the world. But, its interior did not, in any degree, correspond with these external, and local advantages. Except the superb edifice of St. Sophia, which had been converted into a mosque, and some dilapidated remains of the Roman, or Byzantine grandeur, that still survived, no monuments of art, or taste, were to be found in the antient capital of Constantine<sup>125</sup>.

The palace of the sultans exhibited neither magnificence, nor regularity of structure. It was only a vast and irregular building, the gardens of which extended to the sea-shore, in that part of the city where was supposed to have stood the antient Byzantium<sup>126</sup>. Such were the ravages committed by the plague, that during the violence of the distemper, it was common for a thousand, or twelve hundred per-

<sup>124</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 23, and p. 213, 214.

<sup>125</sup> Ibid. p. 64-66.

<sup>126</sup> Ibid. p. 67.

sons to be carried off daily in Constantinople <sup>127</sup>. The city was not less desolated by fire; the frequency and ravages of which destructive element, never produced any precautions to avert its return. All the buildings, not only in the capital, but throughout the Ottoman dominions, were of the meanest kind, composed of wood, and scarcely to be regarded as other than frail and temporary sheds, to exclude the inclemency of the elements <sup>128</sup>. In 1569, a conflagration took place at Constantinople, which lasted in all its violence, during seven days, and laid the greater part of the metropolis in ashes <sup>129</sup>. Its effects were so calamitous, as to retard for some time, the expedition against Cyprus.

C H A P.  
XIX.

1574.  
Conflagra-  
tions.

The ferocity of the Turks, and their detestation of Christians, made Constantinople a residence equally insecure and dangerous, for strangers of every description. Even the sanctity of a public character formed no protection against the fury of a bigotted and insolent populace. We may see in the epistles of Busbequius, to what severe privations, as well as personal mortification, an ambassador of the first crowned head among the Christian Powers, was perpetually exposed. Immured in his own house; denied the liberty to stir beyond its walls, except by a particular permission from the vizier; capriciously menaced with mutilation, or death; and loaded with contumelious language, whenever he appeared in the streets of Constantinople; his embassy was only a state of constant humiliation and imprisonment. Busbequius, during his repeated missions to the Porte, owed the few indulgencies which were shewn him, principally to the humanity and generosity of the bashaw Hali <sup>130</sup>. But, his successor was not equally fortunate. In 1566, Albert de Viis, the Imperial minister at the court of Selim, being on horseback, with intention to take the air, was met by the Mufti; and not alighting to shew his veneration for the chief of the Mahometan faith, the Janizaries fell upon him, and so severely beat, or ill-treated him, that his death ensued. Yet, the vizier re-

Ferocity and  
insolence to-  
wards fo-  
reigners.

Treatment of  
the Imperial  
ambassadors.

<sup>127</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 296—298, and p. 306.

<sup>128</sup> Ibid. p. 27, and p. 67.

<sup>129</sup> La Croix, vol. i. p. 554.

<sup>130</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 149—152.

fused.



C H A P.  
XIX.

1574.

Series of vic-  
tories, gained  
by the Turks.

refused to make any reparation, or to inflict any punishment on the soldiers, who had thus insulted and degraded the representative of the first prince in Europe; nor did Maximilian the Second think proper to resent so cruel and atrocious an outrage. The strength of the Ottoman empire, and the weakness of the house of Austria, compelled him to submit to the indignity<sup>131</sup>.

The enthusiastic confidence of the Turks in their superior valor, discipline, and military skill, during the whole reign of Solyman, and even under his successor, Selim, rendered them equal to achieving the most arduous enterprizes. During above a hundred and twenty years, which had elapsed since the final subversion of the eastern empire by Mahomet the Second, the sultans had marched from one victory to another. If we except the unsuccessful siege of Vienna, the repulse before Malta, and the defeat sustained at Lepanto; the whole period, from the deposition of Bajazet the Second, in 1512, to the death of Selim, in 1574, was an almost uninterrupted series of prosperity and triumphs. Corresponding dejection, terror, and disunion, characterised the counsels of the Christian princes. The memorable battles of Nicopolis and of Varna, gained by the predecessors of Solyman, in the fourteenth, and fifteenth century, still impressed with dread. At Mohatz, where the unfortunate Louis, king of Hungary, perished, the plains were yet white with human bones<sup>132</sup>. The feeble efforts of Ferdinand the First, and Maximilian the Second, to stem the torrent, were ineffectual. Solyman repeatedly passed the Danube, and covered the Upper Hungary with two hundred thousand horse. Ferdinand's forces hardly exceeded thirty thousand infantry<sup>133</sup>. Strigonium, the frontier garrison of the Turks, was not removed more than five days march from the gates of Vienna. Under Amurath the Third, before the conclusion of the sixteenth century, they even made nearer

<sup>131</sup> Vanel, vol. iii. p. 16.

<sup>132</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 380, 381.

<sup>133</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 379, and p. 381.

approaches,

approaches, and became masters of Râab, or Javarin, only a few leagues below Presburg. Little more than the name of King of Hungary, remained to the Austrian princes.

CHAP.  
XIX.  
1574.

It must be owned, that the apprehensions of the Germans were by no means imaginary; and that another reign such as Solyman's, might have established the Ottoman power in the centre of Germany, or Italy. Busbequius seems to question, whether the danger was not so imminent, inevitable, and unsurmountable, as to justify and to dictate the total dereliction of all the eastern provinces of the empire, bordering on Hungary and Sclavonia<sup>134</sup>. The language which he adopts, when he mentions Solyman, is such as the Romans of the fifth century used, when speaking of Attila; and he expressly asserts, that to hazard an action with the dispirited and tumultuous troops of Ferdinand the First, against the veteran and victorious bands of the sultan, might not only be taxed with imprudence, but, must be regarded as partaking of insanity<sup>135</sup>. It is hardly possible to make a more unequivocal confession of the weakness of the christians, or a more candid avowal of the Ottoman power.

Danger of  
Germany,  
and Italy.

Every circumstance contributed, in that age, to intoxicate the Turks, and to confirm them in the opinion that they were destined by the Prophet, to subject the earth. It was not, perhaps, possible for human wisdom to foresee, during the splendid career of Solyman, that the Ottoman empire had reached its highest point of elevation, and already began to verge towards its decline. On every side, they beheld, like the Romans under Trajan, only prostrate princes, or terrified and suppliant provinces. The wretched remains of the Byzantine sovereigns, who had reigned over the eastern empire, were sunk into the lowest classes of Bulgarian peasants. "I saw," says Busbequius, "as I passed through that country, the survivors of the Imperial race of the Cantacuzeni, and the Palæologi, living among

Elevation of  
the sultans.

<sup>134</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 380.

<sup>135</sup> Ibid. p. 379, and p. 396-398. Ibid. Exclam. de Re milit. p. 416-418.



CHAP. XIX. "the Turks, in a state of more contempt, than that of Dionysius, at  
 1574. "Corinth"<sup>136</sup>. Greece had submitted to the sultans; who no longer divided any part of Epirus, or of the Morea, with the Republic of Venice. Solyman, as if peculiarly flattered by his conquest of that celebrated part of Europe, assumed among his titles, the quality of "Lord of the Land of Ionia, and of the Athenian cities"<sup>137</sup>. Constantinople, like antient Rome, continually saw within its walls, the most illustrious visitors, whom a desire of conciliating the favour of the court, or the chance of war, had induced, or compelled, to visit the Turkish capital. Even from Mingrelia, and the banks of the Caspian sea, the kings of those remote and almost unknown countries, hastened in person to implore the assistance, or to deprecate the anger of Solyman<sup>138</sup>. The king of Algiers commanded the Turkish fleets; and the unfortunate defeat, sustained by the duke of Medina Sidonia, on the coast of Barbary, in 1562, filled Constantinople with Spanish prisoners of the highest rank and quality<sup>139</sup>.

Magnitude  
and splendor  
of the Otto-  
man empire,  
at this period.

If we contemplate the number of kingdoms, provinces and islands, over which Selim the Second reigned, we shall not wonder at the terror, inspired by the Turks, during that period. The eastern empire of Rome, in its original splendor, as it descended to Arcadius, on the decease of Theodosius, in the year 395, was far inferior in extent and magnitude, to the dominions of the Ottoman princes. Africa, with the exclusion only of Egypt, fell to the share of Honorius, in the division, made by the Roman emperor, between his two sons. Arabia was not conquered by the arms of Rome; but, retained its independence in every age. The "Chersonesus Taurica," the Crimea of the Moderns, lay beyond the limits of the empire; and was regarded as a barbarous portion of Scythia, little known, except by the expedition of the Argonauts, and the tragical amours of Jason and Medea. But, the coast of Barbary, Arabia, and the peninsula of Crim

<sup>136</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 44.

<sup>137</sup> Ibid. Legatio Solimanni, p. 453, 454.

<sup>138</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 202—207.

<sup>139</sup> Ibid. p. 283—285.

Tartary, were all included in the obedience of the sultan. From the frontiers of Fez and Morocco, to Erivan and Teflis, the capitals of Armenia and Georgia: from the kingdom of Yemen, beyond the entrance of the Red Sea, and from the deserts which divide the Upper Egypt from Nubia; to the borders of Istria, Poland, and Muscovy; Selim reigned either by his delegates, or in person. His power was sustained by the Mahometan religion; by the veneration of his subjects for the Ottoman family; by an army, which had vanquished under Solyman; and by a fleet, which had only risen with superior lustre, from its recent defeat. We must confess, that the greatest of the Christian Powers were feeble, in comparison with so vast a monarchy; and that the dread of Europe being subjected to a Turkish yoke, was neither absurd, nor groundless. Happily for mankind, that empire had already passed its meridian; and the imbecility, or vices of the successors of Solyman, by introducing a relaxation of military discipline, dissolved the only support, upon which rested its grandeur and stability <sup>140</sup>.

C H A P.  
XIX.

<sup>1574.</sup>  
Comparison  
of it, with the  
eastern em-  
pire of Rome.

Reflexions.

<sup>140</sup> Busbeq. Epist. p. 174; and Excl. de Re Mil. p. 396—398.



1874

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